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"One hand on Scythia, th' other on the Moon."—BYRON.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
THE DEFENCE OF INDIA. By General the Right Hon. Lord Chelmsford, G.C.B. Parts I. and II. (<i>also a reply to criticism</i>)	1, 265
THE PROPOSED CHANGES IN THE INDIAN ARMY. By Major-General F. H. Tyrrell.	15
IS INDIA SAFE? By Sir Lepel H. Griffin, K.C.S.I.	20
THE AFGHAN DILEMMA. By "Historicus"	35
RUSSIAN TURKISTAN. By M. Paul Gault	50
THE FRANCO-SIAM IMPASSE. By "Resident"	60
FRANCE AND SIAM. By Muang-Thai	65
THE "HOME CHARGES" OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA. By W. Martin Wood.	75
INDIANS IN ENGLAND AND THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE. By Dr. G. W. Leitner	90
THE CAPABILITIES OF EASTERN IBERIA. By Francis Parry, F.R.G.S.	106
THE POSITION OF CANADA. By J. Castell Hopkins	123
THE HISTORY OF TCHAMPA (NOW ANNAM OR COCHIN-CHINA). By Commandant E. Aymonier	140, 365
WHERE WAS MOUNT SINAI? By Prof. A. H. Sayce	149
THE KELAM-I-PiR AND ESOTERIC MUHAMMADANISM. By Dr. G. W. Leitner	159
THE HILL STATIONS OF INDIA FOR RETIRED ANGLO-INDIANS. By R. A. Sterndale	168
THE ORIENTAL WEATHER IN ENGLAND. By Pandit Indravarma Saraswati. (A poem).	177
"YAMATO DAMASHI-I," THE SPIRIT OF OLD JAPAN. By Arthur Dibsy	179
THE PELASGI AND THEIR MODERN DESCENDANTS: "The Pelasgic Origin of the Homeric Poems." "The Coincidence in Ancient and Modern Pelasgic Manners." By the late Sir P. Colquhoun and His late Excellency P. Wassa Pasha	187, 435
MISCELLANEOUS NOTES OF THE LATE SIR W. ELLIOT: "Witchcraft among the Indian Kōls and the Zulu and Amakosa Kafirs." "The Early History of Cholera." By R. Sewell, M.D.C.S.	195, 445
DARDISTAN: "Legends—Routes and Wars in Chilas." "Dardistan in 1893, and the Treaty with Kashmir." By Dr. G. W. Leitner	202, 422
THE ALLIANCE OF CHINA AND INDIA. By A. Michie.	274
FACTS ABOUT THE ALLEGED AFGHAN TREATY. By an <i>Ex-Panjab Official</i>	284
THE SPOILATION OF LANDLORDS AND TENANTS IN BEHAR: THE CADASTRAL CORVÉE. By Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E.	299
THE SALT MONOPOLY AND THE OPIUM AGITATION. By J. B. Pennington, M.C.S. (retired)	313
THE GRADUAL EXTINCTION OF THE BURMESE RACE. By G. H. Le Maistre	321
THE COW-KILLING RIOTS IN INDIA, THEIR CAUSES AND CURE. By Dr. G. W. Leitner	329
THE LAST PROPOSALS OF THE IMPERIAL BRITISH EAST AFRICA CO. (<i>With a Map</i>). By the Right Hon. the Marquis of Lorne	357
AUSTRALIA FOR ANGLO-INDIANS. (A reply.) By the Hon. J. L. Parsons	344
THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE AND THE COLONIES. By A. Silva White	350

ANTHROPOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS ON TWELVE DARDS AND KAFIRS IN MY SERVICE. By Dr. G. W. Leitner	420
NOTE ON THE ABOVE. By Dr. J. B. d'Arce, F.R.S.	434
THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST: Pahlavi Texts and the Chronology of the Zendavesta. By General J. G. R. Furlong, R.E.	410
TUSSUR SILK AND OUR SERI-CULTURAL OUTLOOK. (Illustrated.) By Miss L. N. Badenoch	455
CORRESPONDENCE AND NOTES	208, 462
Russianized Officialism in India (a reply, by A. Rogers, C.S. (ret.), late Member of the Bombay Legislative Council.—The Causes of the Australian Crisis, by Henrker Heaton, M.P.—Side-Lights on Australian Failures, by An Australian Landowner.—California for Retired Anglo-Indians, An Anglo-American.—Proposed Changes in the Indian Army, A retired Bengal General.—Amir Abdurrahman and the Press, Anglo-Russian.—Racial Dwarfs in the Atlas and the Pyrenees, R. G. Haliburton, Q.C.—Chinese Progress—a Chinese Menu, A Chinese Mandarin.—A French View of the Siam-Cambodia Imbroglio, A Cambodian.—The late F. S. Growse, C.S., C.I.E.—Lord Chelmsford's Remarks in the House of Lords.—Last Publications of the Oriental Congress of 1891.—Facts about Siam.—Australian Prospects.—Vivisection and Dissection.—The Bust of the late Dr. H. W. Bellew, C.S.I.	208—228
Siam and Lord Salisbury: followed by a French Map of Siam showing the claims and possessions of France in Indo-China.—Arbitration—the Behring Sea and Newfoundland, C. D. Collet.—Cow-killing and Greased Cartridges, Nawab Abdurrahman.—Food Regulations of Hindu Castes, Pandit Judge J. S. Gadgil, LL.B.—A Race of Hairy Savages in Tibet, D. MacRitchie.—The Covert Indian Frontier Policy: J. D.—Recrudescence of Leprosy owing to Vaccination, W. Tebb.—The Indian Currency Question.—A Claimant to the Zanzibar Throne.—Last news from Central Asia.—The present British Mission to Afghanistan, by "Historicus."—Vivisection and Medical Fees.—The Disturbing Effects of English Education in India, by "a Director of Public Instruction."—The "Law Magazine" on "the Cadastral Survey," and "the Financial State of India."—Burma-Shan Surveys	462—480
SUMMARY OF EVENTS IN EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA AND THE COLONIES	229, 481
REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS PUBLISHED DURING THE HALF-YEAR	241, 493
Memoirs of my Indian Career, by Sir George Campbell, K.C.S.I.—The Oxford Teachers Bible (Clarendon Press).—Helps to the Study of the Bible (Clarendon Press).—The Cambridge Teachers Bible (C. J. Clay and Sons).—Comparative Philology of the Old and New Worlds in relation to Archaic Speech, by R. P. Greg, F.S.A.—James Thomason, by Sir Richard Temple, Bart.—Philistines and Israelites, by H. Martyn Kennard.—Social Life among the Assyrians and Babylonians, by A. H. Sayce, LL.D.—New Lights on the Bible and the Holy Land, by B. T. A. Evetts, M.A.—The Influence of Buddhism on Primitive Christianity, by Arthur Lillie.—The Recrudescence of Leprosy, by William Tebb.—Japan as we Saw It, by M. Bickersteth.—The Children's Japan, by Mrs. W. H. Smith.—Rhyning Legends of Ind, by H. R. Gracey.—Letters from Queensland, reprinted from the <i>Times</i> (Macmillan and Co.).—More about the Moogols, by James Gilmour.—Indian Wisdom, by Sir Monier Monier-Williams, K.C.S.I.—Official Year Book of the Scientific and Learned Societies of Great Britain and Ireland (C. Griffin and Co.).—Bimetallicism and Monometallicism, by the Most Rev. Dr. Walsh.—The Portuguese Records relating to the East Indies, by F. C.	

Danvers.—Primitive Religions, by G. T. Bettany, M.A.—	
The great Indian Religions, by G. T. Bettany, M.A.—	
A History of Currency in the British Colonies, by Robert Chalmers, B.A.—Epochs of Indian History: Ancient India, by Romesh Chander Dutt, C.I.E.— <i>Histoire du Peuple d'Israel</i> , par Ernest Renan.—The English Baby in India, by Mrs. Howard Kingscote.—Indian Nights' Entertainment, by the Rev. C. Swynnerton, F.S.A.—The Anti-Foreign Riots in China, in 1891 (<i>North China Herald</i> office).—The Simple Adventures of a Mem Sahib, by Sarah Jeannette Duncan.—The Origin and Growth of the Healing Art, by Edward Berdoe.—Recollection of an Egyptian Princess, by Her English Governess, Miss E. Chennells.—Arabic-English Dictionary, by the late W. T. Wortabet, with the collaboration of J. Wortabet, M.D., and H. Porter, Ph.A.—The Sanskrit Monthly Magazine, <i>Vidyodaya</i> .—The Chinese Classics, by James Legge, Professor of Chinese in the University of Oxford.—Where Three Empires Meet, by E. F. Knight.—The second volume of "Entartung," by Dr. Max Nordau.—The Nine Circles; or, the Torture of the Innocent, by G. M. Rhodes.—A Pargiānya, Inno di Vāsista, by Giuseppe Turrini.—Sommaire des études turques, by M. Clement Huart.—Aperçu des études philologiques des langues malaises, by J. J. Meyer.—Sommaire des travaux relatifs à l'Indo-Chine, by M. E. Aymonier.	241—264
Our Indian Protectorate, by C. L. Tupper, I.C.S.—Ceylon in 1893, by John Fergusson.—Round the Black Man's Garden, by Zélie Colville, F.R.G.S.—Lord Auckland, by Captain L. J. Trotter.—Lord Clive, by Colonel G. B. Malleon, C.S.I.—Aurangzib, by Stanley Lane Poole, B.A.—Lord Wellesley, by the Rev. W. A. Hutton, M.A.—The Book of Enoch, by R. H. Charles, M.A.—The Story of Abibal the Tsourian, by Val C. Prinsep, A.R.A.—The Life and Enterprise of Ferdinand de Lesseps, by G. Barnett Smith.—Persian Literature, Ancient and Modern, by Elizabeth A. Reed.—Canadian Poems and Lays, by W. D. Lighthall, M.A.—The Story of a Dacoity, etc., by G. K. Betham.—Parthia, by Prof. George Rawlinson, M.A., F.R.G.S.—Hindustani as it Ought to be Spoken, by J. Tweedie, Beng. C.S.—Études économiques sur la republique de Nicaragua, by Desiré Pector.—The Great Palace of Constantinople, by Dr. A. G. Paspates.—Chips by an Old Chum (Cassell and Co.).—The Spoilt Child, by Peary Chand Mitter.—Herodotus, by E. S. Shuckburgh, M.A.—A Short History of China, by Demetrius C. Boulger.—Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al Medinah and Meccah, by Captain Sir Richard Burton.—The Life of Sir R. F. Burton, K.C.M.G., by his wife (Lady) Isabel Burton.—The Chronicles of Budgepore, by Iludus Pritchard, F.S.S., F.R.G.S.—Abridgment of the History of India, by J. C. Marshman, C.S.I.—The Indian Mummy: Selections from State Papers, by G. W. Forrest, B.A.—A Practical Arabic Grammar, by Major A. O. Green, R.E.—English Arabic Vocabulary, by Lieut. Colonel E. V. Stage, C.B.	493—510

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JULY, 1893.

THE DEFENCE OF INDIA.

BY GENERAL THE RIGHT HON. LORD CHELMSFORD, G.C.B.

THE despatch from the Government of India, dated 2 November, 1892, lately laid before Parliament, in anticipation of the debate on the "Madras and Bombay Armies Bill," indirectly opens up once more the important question of the "Defence of India."

It is therein clearly laid down that, in the event of Russia approaching closer to our Indian frontier with hostile intent, it is the deliberate opinion of our Rulers in India that we must adopt what is called a "Forward Policy."

We are to deliberately ignore the extraordinary natural strength of our North West Frontier; and, leaving it behind us, to move forward, for the fifth time, into that country which, as Dost Mahomed said, "contains only men and stones." The following extracts from the despatch in question will bear out what I have just stated.

10th Para. "The necessity confronting us of providing an efficient force for service against an European enemy *beyond the frontier.*"

12th Para. "The necessity for this is now brought the more prominently before us, in view of the possibility, that the next great operations our army may be called on to undertake may be against a more formidable enemy than it has ever yet encountered, and *in a rigorous climate, in*

which the inhabitants of the tropical parts of India are not adapted to serve."

25th Para. "We must therefore accept the fact that our fighting army, *so far as a great campaign beyond the North West Frontier is concerned*, must be composed mainly of the Sikh, the Punjābi, the Pathān, the Balūchi, and the Gurkha."

It is clear from the above-quoted extracts, giving expression to the opinion of the Governor General in Council, that a "Forward Policy" is looked upon, both as a political, and military, necessity, in the event of an attempt being made by Russia to occupy Afghanistan, either by conquest, or with the consent of the Amir.

The bitter experiences of all our former occupations of Afghanistan are to be ignored; and we are to embark once more in a sea of troubles, as regards our transport and supplies: our relations with the most treacherous nation on the face of the earth; and, the discontent of that portion of our native troops which may form our army of occupation.

And for what purpose? If our own natural frontier presented features so weak, and so unsatisfactory, as to render any defence of it almost impossible; and if, on the other hand, the country beyond our border contained a position, or positions, of exceptional strength, then there might be something to be said in favour of such a plan. As a fact however the very reverse is the case. We have on the North West border of India an exceptionally strong frontier, which can, I believe, be made impregnable; whilst on the other hand Kandahar and its neighbourhood, and Kabul and its surrounding country, are exceptionally weak as defensive positions. By a "forward policy" we place our army with its back to a succession of most formidable defiles, which, in case of reverse, would most undoubtedly prove its destruction; and which, under favourable circumstances, would cause a tremendous strain upon the transport service, and a very serious addition to the cost of the campaign. By remaining within our own border we oblige

our enemy to commit himself to those dangerous defiles, and can meet him with every chance of success, as he debouches from them, on our side, in inevitably lengthened, and straggling, array.

The strength of our North West Frontier lies, not only in the formidable obstacle which the Indus river presents to an invading force, and to the strong posts which we hold at Quetta and Peshawur; but also in the difficult nature of the country which lies between the Indus river and the Afghan frontier proper, which frontier, although not geographically correct, may fairly be represented by the line: Kabul, Ghazni, Kandahar. The distance between that line and the river varies from about 300 miles to 173 miles. The main roads towards India are the Bolan, the Gomal, the Kochi, the Kuram, and the Khyber, but there are numerous alternative routes besides those above-mentioned. All however present formidable difficulties to an European force advancing with artillery and the other necessary impedimenta. Scarcely any supplies are procurable; water is often very scarce, as is also grass. Before reaching the Indus, the Sulimān range of mountains must be crossed, the heights of which vary from 7500 to 11000 feet; and then, should all these difficulties be successfully overcome, a wide, unfordable river stares an invading force in the face.

The essential condition, when a large river is taken as the line of defence, is that the defending force should have the command of both banks. This condition in the case of the Indus is satisfactorily fulfilled. We not only occupy Quetta and Peshawur, well in advance of that river, but we are also in possession of that long and narrow strip of country, 300 miles long and with an average of sixty miles in breadth, which stretches between the Suliman Mountains and the Indus, and is called Daman or the Derajāt.

The Indus river is, as I have already said, practically unfordable; as although Shah Shujah forded the river above Attock in 1809, his success was considered almost a

miracle. It could only be attempted during the months from October to March, when the river is lowest. During the remaining six months of the year the river rises rapidly, and expanding over the country in numerous parts converts it into an extensive lake. Between Mithankote and Bukkur island the inundation extends sometimes twenty miles from the western side of the river. The width of the river during its shrunken state varies from 480 to 1,600 yards, and its general velocity is about 3 miles an hour in the winter, and six miles an hour in the flood season. An invading force must therefore contemplate the necessity of bridging the Indus within the short time available for that purpose.

General von Clausewitz, the highest strategical authority of this century, says in his work—"On War": "As the equipment for crossing rivers which an enemy brings with him, that is, his pontoons, are rarely sufficient for the passage of great rivers, much depends on the means to be found on the river itself, its affluents, and in the great towns adjacent, and lastly on the timber for building boats and rafts in Forests near the river. There are cases in which all these circumstances are so unfavourable, that the crossing of a river is by that means almost an impossibility." There are no great Towns; there are no Forests within 60 miles of the Indus river; and there are only a few insignificant affluents on the right bank. It would therefore be the grossest negligence on the part of the military commanders, if an enemy, arriving at the Indus, were allowed to secure a single boat available for bridging purposes.

Assuming, however, for the sake of argument, that an enemy *has* been able to secure the requisite number of boats and bridging material, which would enable him to bridge the Indus, let us consider the nature of the work which would then lie before him.

During the campaign in Afghanistan of 1839-40 the Indus was bridged between Sukkur and Rohree. 74 large

boats were employed; 19 from Sukkur to the island of Bukkur; and 55 from the island to Rohree on the left bank. These boats averaged $7\frac{1}{2}$ tons in weight on the Sukkur side; and 17 tons in weight on the Rohree side.

The extent of river bridged was about 500 yards, the site chosen being the narrowest available part of the river, the island of Bukkur much facilitating the operation.

The Sukkur side was bridged in four days; the Rohree side took sixteen days, but it ought to have been done in ten. It may be said therefore that the operation required fourteen days to be completed.

The river rose on the 27th January and again on 3rd February, when danger for its safety was apprehended.

The above facts taken from Hough's "Campaign in Afghanistan" and the "Professional papers of the Royal Engineers" show the difficulties that had to be faced by our Engineers, when they had peaceful possession of both banks of the Indus, a friendly population to deal with, and the unlimited resources of India to draw upon.

Without boats; without timber; with a hostile force on both flanks of the right bank; and a powerful army on the left bank, ready to oppose any attempt to cross the river, what chance would an enemy have of being able to transport from one bank to the other all the men and material requisite for such a task as the invasion of India?

If then General von Clausewitz's opinion is to be accepted, the crossing of the Indus by an enemy, in such force as to endanger the safety of India, should be considered, not as almost, but as entirely, impossible.

It may be argued however that Russia, assuming that she had full possession of Afghanistan as a base, from which she could move forward to the conquest of India, would not attempt to cross the Indus during her first move forward from that base, but would content herself with gaining possession of all the country lying between the Indus and the line Kandahar-Ghazni; in other words, the whole country lying between the Bolan and the Kuram

passes—and from that advanced base complete her preparations for bridging the Indus, so as to enable her to move across that river immediately the state of its waters would permit of the attempt being made.

It will be necessary therefore to consider the strength of our position on the right bank of the Indus; what has already been done in the way of improving its naturally strong features? and then, what remains to be done? so that it may be made, as it is capable, the strongest military frontier in the world.

An invasion of India, such as to endanger its safety, can, I contend, only be made from the West. An advance upon India from the North, over the Hindu-Kush mountains, by the Baroghil or Dorah passes, either upon Gilgit into Kashmir; or upon Chitral into the Peshawur valley, could only be attempted, and that with great risk, by small bodies of troops:—as the physical difficulties on that line are tremendous, and would effectually preclude the possibility of advancing in any formidable force. At the same time it seems unwise to make those routes easier by constructing military roads from our territory towards those points as is being done. There, as elsewhere, we should meet the enemy, as he debouches from the pass nearest to our own frontier.

Assuming my contention to be true that danger to India is only to be looked for from the West; it remains to be seen whether our advanced posts at Quetta and Peshawur, can effectually bar any attempt on the part of an European enemy to advance towards India from its base; Kandahar, Ghazni, Kabul.

I propose to deal first with our entrenched camp at Quetta, which can exercise no influence over an advance from Kabul upon Peshawur—and which route will be considered later on.

The late Major-General Macgregor in his so-called "confidential" work, "*The Defence of India*—a strategical study," lays down at page 203 six routes leading

from Kandahar to the Indus ; and five routes from Ghazni in the same direction. With regard to the routes leading from Kandahar he says "these routes have the disadvantage that they are very liable to flank attacks" ; and, with respect to the routes from Ghazni he writes—"all these roads are more or less practicable ; from the North they are not liable to flank attack, but they are from the South." This information, which can, I believe, be implicitly relied upon, is valuable, with reference to the consideration of our military position at Quetta.

The entrenched camp at Quetta is situated a mile or two in front of the Town of that name, in an excellent position, far out of reach of any other commanding ground, and dominating the valley beyond. I am quoting from General Sir Edward Hamley's lecture delivered at the Royal United Service Institution on December 13, 1878 : "On the left of Quetta, between it and the desert, the line of hills is only passable at a single gap ; and a similar range, not passable at all, exists on the right. Tactically then, as well as strategically, for defence, as well as for offence, against either a powerful or an inferior enemy, it would appear alike advantageous ;" . . . "It appears, if the advantages are such as I have stated, that we have here the most valuable possession on which England has laid her hand for many a day. By occupying Quetta we practically close all passes to the Indus valley which issue South of Dehra Ismail Khan."

Since Sir Edward Hamley delivered this lecture, the railway has been completed to Chaman, a point on the Afghan frontier, beyond the Khojak Pass. The garrison of the entrenched position can therefore be reinforced in a very short space of time, either from Kurrachee or the Punjab, thereby increasing very largely the strength of the position ; and justifying the use of the word, which has been applied to it by those who are most competent to express such an opinion ; viz. "impregnable."

The line, being carried to a point beyond the Khojak

pass, would also facilitate any operations which it might be thought desirable to make from Quetta to oppose the debouching of an enemy's force, advancing from Kandahar.

The entrenched camp at Quetta, it will thus be seen, not only blocks directly the main roads from Kandahar to India, *viâ* the Bolan pass; and that leading to Karachi *viâ* Kelat and Sonmiani; but, by its position on the flank of the minor routes, which lead from Kandahar towards the Indus, practically blocks these also. So long therefore as we hold that important post in such force, as to render it absolutely secure against direct attack, or investment, we may confidently assume that no attempt to cross, or to bridge, the Indus river between Sukkur and Dehra Ismail Khan can possibly be made, with any chance of success, or rather, without the most serious risk to the force making the effort. Three hundred miles of our river frontier are thus practically protected by one strong post, and would only require the ordinary precaution of watching and patrolling. There is another stretch of our Indus river frontier, some hundred and ten miles long, which may be safely characterised as absolutely impassable by any invading force. I allude to that part of the river which runs between Attock and Kalabagh. The river here runs between high cliffs of slate rock, and precipitous banks, varying from 70 to 700 feet high; down a valley varying from 100 to 400 yards wide and with a velocity of current, varying from six, to about ten, miles an hour. The only portion therefore of our river frontier, which lies open to the possibility of invasion, is that lying between Kalabagh and Dehra Ismail Khan, a distance of under one hundred miles.

It being, as I have already shown, most unlikely that any of the routes leading from Kandahar to this part of our frontier would be taken by an invading army, so long as we hold the Quetta position in sufficient force; there remains therefore only the routes from Ghazni by which an invading army could advance.

The main routes from Ghazni towards India are the

Kuram valley, the Tochi and the Gomal. It is not probable that the former route would be taken by a force having Dehra Ismail Khan, or Edwardesabad, as its objective point; the Gomal and Tochi passes being much shorter and easier. Should the enemy's main attack be upon Peshawur, it is most probable however that then some use would be made of that route, in conjunction with the one passing through the Khyber pass. There remain then practically only two routes which are likely to be taken by an enemy, advancing with the object of crossing the Indus, viz.—the Gomal, and the Tochi. The Gomal route is one of the most important trade routes on the north-west frontier. It is about 250 miles long; comparatively easy for laden camels, and has abundant water, forage and fuel. It is scarcely probable that the enemy would venture to advance along this route with less than 40,000 to 50,000 men, and that number would be swollen no doubt by camp-followers to nearly double. The transport of such numbers along very difficult tracks, not suited to wheel carriage, would present very formidable difficulties; as it must be remembered that all food supplies, except for animals, would have to be brought from the rear. The country, through which this route passes, is inhabited by an Afghan tribe called the Mahsūd Waziris, who have always kept aloof from the Amir, and have denied and defied his authority. They number nearly 20,000 fighting men, and are described in official reports as the most inveterate, and the most incorrigible of all the robbers on the border.

By a little judicious diplomacy, and by the distribution of a liberal supply of rupees, it would not be difficult to induce these Mahsūd Waziris to become our allies; and to act, in the defence of our frontier, by attacks in the rear and on the convoys of the enemy.

Those who remember the difficulty which was felt in feeding our troops during the Abyssinian campaign, although the country through which we marched to Magdala was inhabited by friendly tribes, who sympathised heartily with

the object of the expedition, will easily appreciate the difficulties which a force, numbering some four or five times in excess of those which took part in that expedition, would experience, in advancing unopposed along this difficult route ; and how those difficulties would be intensified were the tribes inhabiting the country to prove hostile. What I have said with regard to the Gomal pass, will apply with equal force to the Tochi. In spite however of the difficulties thus pointed out, and the improbability, in my opinion, that they would ever be faced, it is absolutely necessary for the safety of our Indian Empire that the portion of our frontier under review should be made absolutely secure. This, I consider, could be done effectually by the formation of an entrenched camp at a selected point between Dehra Ismail Khan and Edwardesabad, similar to what we already possess at Quetta. There would be no necessity to occupy it in force until the necessity arose. Thanks to the wise foresight of the Government of India, a railway now runs along the left bank of the Indus from Dehra Ghazi Khan to a point not far from Kalabagh. The only vulnerable part of our frontier can therefore be reinforced at the shortest notice, and made absolutely secure, provided the above mentioned precaution is taken, and communication between the camp and the left bank of the Indus secured by means of a bridge, or by steam ferry, according to the time of year.

Having thus roughly described the naturally strong features of that portion of our frontier lying between the Bolan and Kuram passes ; and the means which, in my opinion, should be taken to render it perfectly secure against invasion ; I pass to the consideration of the extreme right of our forward defensive position, viz., the Peshawur valley.

Sir Edward Hamley, in the lecture I have already alluded to, and from which I have quoted, clearly and firmly combats the idea of taking up a defensive position beyond the Khyber pass. In summing up the arguments

which have been brought forward in favour of such a scheme, he says:

"I think therefore there is much to be said against, nothing for, the occupation of a post beyond the Khyber, and that it would be a source, not of strength but of weakness."

Sir Edward then lays down his alternate plan, which as he says, involves no extension of territory, no expenditure worth mention, and no increase of frontier force.

The plan in question is as follows:—

"It consists first in blocking the mouths of the Khyber (and I may venture to add of the two other alternate routes, which both debouch into the Peshawur valley) on our side, with an entrenched camp, armed with powerful artillery, to be garrisoned by the Peshawur troops, reinforced in case of need." This can now be easily done, as the railway crosses the Indus, and is completed to Peshawur. Sir Edward goes on to say—"If this were suitably occupied, I cannot conceive how an enemy's force, however superior, advancing as it must of necessity, in lengthened, even straggling, array to the mouth of the Khyber, could expect ever to issue from it."

With such a strategical authority, speaking in such decided tones, it is clearly unnecessary, and would even be presumptuous, for me to elaborate further this part of my argument.

I venture to hope that I have shown conclusively that on the north-west frontier of India, the only one where danger of a serious invasion can possibly arise, we have such a naturally strong, offensive-defensive, position, as, when strengthened by engineering works suitable to the needs of the situation, will render an attempt to invade India so hazardous a proceeding, as to make it practically impossible.

By keeping the main bulk of our army on the left bank of the Indus, in a central position, such as the line Lahore, Jhelum, Rawal Pindi, we shall have the advantage of

what is called in strategy "Interior Lines"; whilst an enemy, advancing from Afghanistan towards our frontier must necessarily act on "Exterior Lines," unless he elected to put all his eggs into one basket, and to advance upon one only of the numerous available routes leading to the Indus. Such a plan of campaign would simplify our plan of defence; and would enormously increase the difficulties of transport, supplies and forage to our enemies. By such a plan of defence as I have sketched out, there is moreover the advantage that the whole defending force would be under the *direct* control of the Commander-in-Chief in India; who, in a central position, connected with all the advanced posts by telegraph, could issue his orders, as occasion required, and ensure the complete co-operation of all the forces under his command.

Another advantage also would be gained by a defence within our own borders. It would not be necessary to trust in our first line only the Sikh, the Punjabi, the Pathan, the Baluchi, and the Gurkha, as now contemplated by the Government of India, on the supposition of our being obliged to go beyond the frontier to meet our enemy. Our Hindustani, Madras and Bombay troops could be advantageously mixed up with those excellent fighting troops, and would, I feel sure, be able to give a good account of themselves.

No large amount of transport, moreover, would be required, as would be the case were a forward policy of defence, beyond our line of railways, to be adopted. Thus a very large diminution of expenditure would be obtained; and India would be saved from that serious drain on her transport resources, which has occurred in all our campaigns in Afghanistan, and which has so hampered the interior trade in India. Our Sepoys would also, one and all, appreciate remaining inside their own country; and recruiting, instead of being brought to a stand-still, as was the case in the last Afghan campaign, owing to the unpopularity which an uncongenial climate and the transport to a service away from their homes produced in the minds of

our native troops, would, I feel sure, show such vitality, as would enable us, if required, to increase very largely the numbers of our native army, in the event of a war with Russia making such a step desirable. Should such a plan for the defence of India, as I have thus very imperfectly sketched out, be accepted, it would of course be necessary to take the Princes and Peoples of India into our confidence, so as to prevent, as far as possible, any idea arising in their minds that we are afraid to go forward to meet our enemy, and also to explain to them why we have determined "to speak with our enemy in the gate."

It would also be necessary to come to a clear explanation with the Amir of Kabul, and to make him understand that we have definitely abandoned all idea of entering his dominions, with an armed force, should Russia advance further towards his borders. He should be told distinctly that he must rely on his own resources in men, and not on any direct assistance from India, should his territories be invaded.

The possible occupation of Afghanistan by Russia ought not to give us any cause for anxiety, much less, alarm.

At Kandahar and Ghazni she would still be some 300 miles from the Indus river; and at Kabul she would be 175 miles from Peshawur. This zone would practically be a neutral one; as it is occupied, as I have already said, by quasi-independent tribes, very jealous of any interference; and ready to resent any encroachment on their territory. The country is quite unfit for occupation by Europeans; and would always be likely to remain as a convenient buffer between India and Afghanistan proper.

Whilst deprecating therefore any undignified alarm at the nearer approach of Russia towards India, I quite recognise the desirability of having the whole of Afghanistan between the two nations, instead of the narrower zone above alluded to, if it can be managed without our making any forward military movement to secure it. It is clear however that the Amir has no military resources at his

disposal, sufficient to prevent an occupation of his dominions by Russia ; and I am absolutely convinced that it would be a suicidal policy on the part of India, were she to pledge herself to directly assist the Amir. There remains therefore but one other alternative ; the power of diplomacy, as represented by our Foreign Office at home.

Were the English Government of the day to inform the Russian Government that any advance of troops within the frontiers of Afghanistan would be regarded by Her Majesty's Government as a hostile act, which must lead to the rupture of friendly relations, and to an immediate declaration of war, I cannot but think that Russia would abandon her design, if she felt convinced that we were really in earnest. This however involves questions far beyond the scope of this paper ; and into which I have no desire to enter.

My sole object has been to try and show that, from a military point of view, there ought to be no danger to India should Russia either take forcible possession of Afghanistan ; or occupy the country with the consent of the Amir ; provided that proper precautions are taken to increase the natural strength of our frontier. Any forward movement beyond our borders, as at present contemplated by the Government of India, would, I feel sure, defeat the very object it is intended to obtain :—viz. the safety of India.

THE PROPOSED CHANGES IN THE INDIAN ARMY.

BY MAJOR GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL.

THE proposed Reform of the present system of Army administration and Army organization in India, to effect which a Bill has been introduced into the Imperial Parliament, generally follows the lines of the Reform in the Civil administration of the country made half a century since, when the Governor General of India was relieved from the duty of a provincial administration. But though the Earl of Dalhousie ceased to be Governor of Bengal, the Commander in Chief of the Bengal Army still remained the Commander in Chief in India; and he has remained so to this day. The positions of the Civil Governor General and the Military Commander in Chief under the East India Company were both *Primi inter pares*. The former has been exalted into a Viceroy; but the latter, though the force of circumstances has really made him supreme over the whole Indian Army, has as yet received no official or formal warrant for his increased dignity and extended responsibilities.

It is now nearly a century and a half since a few independent companies of Sipáhi infantry were united into a battalion at Fort St. George, and called the First Carnatic Battalion. That Battalion, now the First Regiment of Madras Pioneers, is the *doyen* of our Indian Army. The experiment proved so successful that next year six more battalions were formed or newly raised; and, for a hundred years more, hardly one passed without a fresh addition to the strength of the Honourable East India Company's Native Army. The Army grew with the growth of the Empire whose history was a record of its labours and achievements. At the end of a century, it had attained to a strength of two hundred and fifty thousand soldiers, armed, trained and disciplined in the European fashion.

This formidable army had grown out of the half dozen companies composed of the "miserable Kafirs of Telingana," as they were called by the Musalman warriors of India, who had been drilled to the use of foreign arms at Fort St. David on the Coromandel Coast in 1745, to fit them to encounter the French Sipáhis trained under the orders of Dupleix.

The English sphere of influence in India was gradually extended over the whole interior of the country, from the three Seaports and Presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. These three seats of government were at first virtually independent of each other; and until our position in India as a *de facto* sovereign power was defined in the time of Warren Hastings, the Presidency of Fort St. George had generally held the paramount position. The local governments made their own treaties and alliances, raised their own revenues, and maintained their own armies. Of these the Madras Army was the first to enter the field; and its "Telinga Sepoys," whom Clive carried with him to Calcutta in his expedition to avenge the tragedy of the Black Hole and to restore the position of the English in Bengal, formed the *nucleus* of the Bengal Army. Hence the name "Telinga" came to be applied by the Musalmans of Hindustan to all Sipáhis trained in the European fashion, whatever their nationality.

The Bombay Army was considerably the junior of the three; for though Bombay was one of the oldest English settlements, its neighbourhood to the dominions of the powerful Mahratta Confederacy long limited its territorial expansion, while Bengal and Madras were carving out provinces from the disintegrating mass of the dying Mogul Empire.

Thus three separate military establishments were formed in the three Presidencies, of Bengal, Madras and Bombay. They were recruited from the territories under the sway of the governments to which they owed allegiance, as well as from the neighbouring native states; for the terms of our

service attracted the pick of the military adventurers who swarmed in India in those troublous and distracted times.

The three armies thus differed widely in composition, and also, to some extent, in the regulations which they obeyed, and in the details of their dress and equipment. When they met upon some joint expedition, they met more as the allied armies of friendly Powers, than as troops of the same State. The British officers shared the strong *esprit de corps* of their native soldiers; and Presidential jealousy almost rose to the dignity of national rivalry. And this jealousy was not purely a matter of sentiment. The "Qui-hye," the "Mull," and the "Duck" * could be readily distinguished, the one from the other, by the differences in their social customs as well as by the breed of their horses, the pattern of their tents, and the fashion of their kit. Each stoutly maintained the excellence of his own traditions, and contemned those of his rivals. The cabals and mutinies of the officers against the Government, which occasionally marred the record of the Company's Army during the first half-century of its existence, were always confined to one Presidency only.

The rivalry between the Bengal Army and the two Armies of the Minor Presidencies was, however, always keener and stronger than that between Madras and Bombay. The jealousy of the two latter was excited by the circumstance that the Bengal Army was immediately under the patronage of the Supreme Government, and was therefore supposed to be the especial object of its favour. The Commander in Chief in India was also Commander in Chief of the Bengal Army, and his *entourage*, in so far as it was composed of Company's officers, was composed of Bengal officers. The keen spirit of rivalry which animated the officers of the King's and the Company's

* Nick-names for Bengal, Madras, and Bombay officers respectively: the first from the manner of calling a servant "Koi hai?"—"Is anyone there?" the second from the favourite dish at Mess, Mulligatawny soup; and the last from the appetising condiment called a "Bombay duck."

Armies in India was imitated in the relations between the officers of the Bengal Army and their jealous compeers of Madras and Bombay. "The Bengal side of the Punkah" became a synonym in Anglo-Indian jargon for "a soft thing." The complaints of the Madras and Bombay Armies were not without foundation, and their wrongs were amply avenged. The affection of the Supreme Government for the Bengal Sipáhi became foolishly fond. Many causes have been alleged for the outbreak of the great Mutiny in 1857; but there was one first and simple cause—the maladministration of the Bengal Army.* For this its English officers were not so much to blame as the policy pursued by the Government of India, and probably first inaugurated by Lord William Bentinck. The jealousy of military despotism, natural to English Liberals, is quite out of place in dealing with an army of mercenaries, aliens, and, above all, Orientals. For years before the great Mutiny the discipline of the Bengal Army had become thoroughly rotten. Sir Charles Napier plainly perceived whither events were tending; and he sought to re-establish discipline; but he was thwarted and snubbed by Lord Dalhousie, who lived to see the ruin wrought by his own egregious folly. The too energetic hero of Meeanee was replaced by a respectable old figure-head; and the Bengal Army was allowed to drift on, into mutiny and ruin—a striking example of the fatal consequences of civilian interference with military discipline.

It is certainly a remarkable fact, that the Army under the immediate eye and charge of the Supreme Government should have dissolved itself by a general mutiny, while the Armies of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies maintained their discipline intact, and their name untarnished.

This is the strongest argument that can be adduced against the amalgamation of the Indian Armies; and it

* May we suggest that the Mutiny could not have taken place, if the European garrison of India had been maintained at its proper strength?—Ed.

naturally is the one chiefly relied upon by the opponents of the measure.

A remarkable instance of the effect of the close connection of the Supreme Government of India with one of the Presidential Armies was seen in the re-organization of the Indian Army after the suppression of the Mutiny. The old Bengal Army had dissolved itself, and a new one had taken its place, composed of hasty levies, and officered at hap-hazard from the Cadres of officers of the old Army. Its rough-and-ready organization, which had sprung out of the needs of the moment, was adopted by the Government of India; and though any man with a knowledge of the first principles of military organization could have pointed out its obvious deficiencies, it was actually forced upon the Madras and Bombay Armies, which had not mutinied and stood in no need of re-organization. The entire system of these two Armies, which had in no way failed to answer its purpose, was completely dislocated; and their whole machinery was thrown out of gear, to the serious detriment of their efficiency, in order that they might imitate, or perhaps that they might present no contrast to, the newly-devised organization of the Bengal Army. The main feature of the new scheme, by which the British officer is only temporarily attached to his native regiment, and obtains his promotion independently of it, though very favourable to the private interests of the officer, is inimical to the true interests of the Army, which can be best served by identifying the interests of the British officer with those of the native soldier.

The institution of the Staff Corps was no doubt a great step towards the amalgamation of the three armies, to which events had long been tending. The great combined operations of the campaigns of the Pindári war had first united the three armies for long periods in the field and in cantonments; and, after that war, the establishment of the British Suzerainty over all Hindustan no longer suffered them to remain isolated from each other as before.

The tendency of military administration and legislation was to remove differences, and, as far as possible, to obliterate distinctions. After the Mutiny the officers of the Bengal, Madras, and Bombay Armies for the first time recognised a common bond of union, as officers of the one Indian Army. Since that time the process of unification has gradually and continuously gone on. The separate Army Regulations for each Presidency Army have been replaced by a volume of Indian Army Regulations. The Pay, Ordnance, and Commissariat Departments of the three Armies have been amalgamated into one. The Commander in Chief in India has claimed for himself the right of interference in the internal affairs of the lesser Armies. The Governments of the Minor Presidencies have generally ceased to interest or trouble themselves with military matters in their own governments, other than the disposal of their regulated amount of patronage and provision for the requirements of the Civil Power. These are now but occasional and trifling, since the military occupation of Civil Stations, the guard of Treasuries and Jails and a host of Police duties, formerly performed by the troops, have been swept away by the administrative reforms that followed upon the suppression of the Mutiny. The altered relations of Provincial commands to the Supreme authority have been brought about, not so much by any fixed or preconceived policy, as by changed conditions and circumstances: such as the union of all India under British Suzerainty; improved communications, railways, and telegraphs; increased facilities for simplifying and methodizing the work of administration by centralization.

Regarding the military aspects of the new arrangement, there can hardly be two views: and the strong objections to its introduction which have been made in high military circles are based on purely political grounds. The anomalous state of things, by which the passing of a subaltern officer of the Bengal Army in the vernaculars by

the Lower Standard was notified to the world in the orders by the Commander in Chief and published in the Gazette of India, while the transfer of the command of a regiment in the Madras and Bombay armies passed unnoticed and unrecorded, is finally put an end to. The Commander in Chief in India will no longer be the Commander in Chief of one of the Presidency armies.

The arguments and reasons which caused the division of the Civil administration of our Indian dominions apply equally to the military administration. The Bengal Army of to-day musters about double the number of men at which custom and convenience have fixed the limit of strength of a Continental Army Corps. This overgrown Army will now be divided into two Army Corps, the Northern—garrisoning the Punjab, and the Eastern—garrisoning Bengal and Assam. The Bombay and Madras Armies will become respectively the Western and Southern Army Corps, with but little change in their territorial distribution. But Burmah, which since our first acquisition of the Tennasserim provinces in 1827 has always been garrisoned from Madras, is for the future to form a separate military command,—probably a Division,—though the strength of the force now garrisoning that country might almost warrant the creation of a fifth Army Corps. The proximity of the Chinese Empire and the probable necessity of protecting our Siamese ally against possible French aggression do not seem to promise any great diminution of our present military force in Burmah.

The Indian Army will, under this new system, furnish the first real illustration of the formation of Army Corps in our British Empire; for the organization of our British troops in the United Kingdom in Army Corps exists only on paper, and it is extremely doubtful whether it will ever receive practical illustration. India will no longer possess three separate armies; but one Army, divided into four Corps.

• These Army Corps will have a dual composition: the

British squadrons, batteries, and battalions forming part of them will be changeable constituents, their connection with the Corps only depending upon their being located within its territorial limits. This arrangement of course corresponds to the unavoidable anomaly by which these troops, while belonging to the British Regular Army, form, temporarily, part of the Indian Army. The Native troops, on the other hand, will belong permanently to their own Army Corps, and will presumably be always, in time of peace, cantoned within the limits of its territory. But such is the force of sentiment, especially in the East, that it is very doubtful whether, under the new arrangement, the old feelings of jealousy and antagonism between the native soldiers of the different Presidency Armies will not disappear altogether; and it is on this presumption that the opponents of the scheme base their principal objection to it. The tendency of natives to conglomerate and form castes according to calling is well known: and the fusion of the many and various castes in the Madras and Bombay Armies into one military corporation is a case in point. The Madrasi Musalman and Hindu Sipáhis have much more sympathy of feeling and interest with each other than with their own co-religionists in the civil ranks of life. In the old Bengal Army, Brahmins, Kshatryas, and Musalmans came to form practically one caste. The "Bhai-bandi" of a common calling and common interests often proves stronger with Orientals than the ties of race or creed.

The diversity of creed and race in our Native Indian Army is our greatest safeguard: but the diversity of the creed and race of the Pathans of Rampore, and the Poorbeas of Oude, did not prevent their uniting against us when they had once served in the ranks of the same regiment. The dangers of a Military Mutiny in India, however improbable such an event may now seem, must always be present to us, after the events of 1857: and we must confess to increasing this risk, by the abnegation of the principle indicated by the maxim "*Divide et Impera*," in

the administration of our Indian Army. Those who have studied the Oriental character will know that the danger is not chimerical : but to be fore-warned is to be fore-armed.

The best security against such a dangerous unanimity lies in the principle of Class Regiments, as they are called in the Bengal Army, meaning regiments in which all the men belong to one race or nationality. In the formation of our Indian native Army, our military forefathers proceeded on the opposite plan, that of mingling all castes and races in "mixed regiments," as the best method of guarding against united action. But under that system the Bengal Army managed to transform itself into a Class Army ; and we have no doubt but that, had equal opportunity and occasion for mutiny been presented to the Madras and Bombay Armies, their heterogeneous composition would have proved no obstacle to their combining to effect their ends. The partial mutinies which have from time to time taken place in those armies, have not been confined to any particular class. To keep the separate nationalities and races apart, in Class regiments, appears to be the best method of continuing their natural rivalries and preventing their amalgamation. *Ceteris paribus*, Class regiments will always, from a military point of view, be more efficient than mixed regiments. The Welsh, Scotch and Irish regiments in the British Army are cases in point. To those who wish to pursue the subject, the Imperial Army of Austria-Hungary, with its Class regiments of Polish Lancers, Hungarian Hussars, and Tyrolese Jägers, affords striking examples of both the advantages and disadvantages of the system of Class regiments.

Less can be said in favour of the Class Company system, which is still in force in the greater number of our Bengal regiments. We think that such troops would be less likely to stand the strain of an arduous campaign and bloody battles than even mixed regiments : and under the stress of a great disaster, a battalion of Class Companies would be very apt to resolve itself into its constituent elements. It

gives rise also to the vicious principle of promoting men, not according to their relative fitness, but according to their caste or creed: a practice which was lately forced on the Madras Army though there existed in that mixed army absolutely no warrant or occasion for its introduction; and its observance caused much heart-burning, discontent, and jealousy among the Native ranks. This instance points to another reason alleged against the amalgamation of the three separate Armies in India.

The country is, as we all know, inhabited by many divers nations and races, differing widely from each other in their religions, habits and manners;—as much as Russians differ from Neapolitans, or Turks from Greeks. A Sikh soldier must wear his hair long: an Afghan must not be asked to shave his beard: eating beef is a sacrilege to one man: wearing a leather chinstrap is an abomination to another. A regulation that is pleasing in the Punjab may be hateful in Madras; and *vice versâ*. There is therefore some little danger that the enforcement of a general uniformity, which is well known to be a fetish of the average military mind, may be productive of local disaffection, and may repeat the lesson of the obnoxious head-dress at Vellore, and the incident of the greased cartridge at Barrackpore.

“So great events from little causes spring.”

Hitherto the influence of the Simla Army administration upon the separate Armies of the Minor Presidencies has been, upon the whole, pernicious; because it has been generally dictated by the acquaintance of those authorities with conditions prevailing only in the North of India, which have no analogy in the Deccan: and we fear that this disability may still continue to operate in the future. For the Commander in Chief in India, from his location with the Supreme Government, will always be more in touch with the needs and wishes of the Army Corps nearest the seat of Government, to the possible prejudice of

those more remote. But this contingency is certainly less probable under the new system than under the old, when the Commander in Chief of the Bengal Army exercised a controlling authority over the other Armies. In future the Army Chief in India will not have his hands fettered by attention to minor details.

With regard to the financial aspects of the new departure we fear that it will not result in a saving to the Indian exchequer. Though some reduction may be made on the establishments of the two Madras and Bombay Army Headquarters, yet these will be more than counter-balanced by the extra establishment of a fourth Army Corps, and by the separation of the Headquarter Staff of the Army from that of the present Bengal Army.

We hope that under its new organization the Indian Army may always preserve the high character which has made it a unique instance among mercenary armies. May it long continue to recall memories of the glories of Buxar, Koregaum and Sitabaldi—glories which it may rival, but can never hope to surpass.

We would beg leave to offer the following remarks on the above most valuable contribution, to which we venture to draw the attention of the Military Authorities in the conviction that, under any new arrangement, full justice will be done, in the distribution of patronage, to the claims of the distinguished officers of the Bombay and Madras Armies. Whilst their loyalty is as exemplary as it is historical, may we also venture to point out that what was calculated inevitably to keep them together was their FAMILY system? The wives and children of the troops of the Madras Presidency were all in Cantonments, when the Mutiny of 1857 broke out, so if these troops had mutinied, they would have risked their all, but they had no desire to mutiny and no reason for it. The Mutiny became possible because the proportion of British to Native troops had been reduced by Lord Dalhousie to a dangerous extent. The whole number in India was 30,000 men, and the native army at that time was over 250,000 men strong. As a matter of fact, the discipline of the different Native Armies was very much on a par, except that there was no flogging in the native Bengal Army, and, it is said, a slackness in its system. Some of the worst Corps in the Bengal army as regards discipline did *not* mutiny.—ED.

IS INDIA SAFE ?*

By SIR LEPEL H. GRIFFIN, K.C.S.I.

It is necessary to briefly note the European situation before discussing Asiatic problems, seeing that an answer to the question of whether India is in danger from Russian aggression cannot be considered a purely Asiatic matter, or one which alone concerns the two great Empires which have now in Asia become conterminous. A war between England and Russia for the empire of Asia and more especially for the supreme prize of India, would not be an affair of a campaign; it would continue until one or both combatants were exhausted; and it is not likely that England would be the first to cry "Enough!" when her persistence and success during the Napoleonic Wars are remembered and when it is considered that in those days she did not possess a quarter of her present wealth and population. It is far more likely that a gigantic struggle by Russia in Asia would unite against her those of her rivals in Europe who can never be secure until her power is reduced, and that such a war is far more likely to terminate in Russia being pushed back to the Dnieper, than in the loss by England of her position in Asia. It would be unwise for politicians in Vienna and Berlin to regard with equanimity a war between Russia and England on what they may please to call an Asiatic question, and it may be permitted for an Englishman to point out that the danger which threatens India from Russia is no more than that which threatens Central and Eastern Europe from the aggression of the same Power. The excitement which a Russian attack on India might cause among the native princes would not be so formidable as that which a hostile

* The translation of the above article appeared, in the form of a letter, in the *Deutsche Revue*. So many mistakes, unfortunately, occur in the translation that I think it advisable to publish the original, omitting the introduction which was specially intended for the German public.

movement of Russia in Western or Southern Europe would cause among the discontented Nationalities, Socialists and Anarchists who are ever threatening modern civilization, while Russian intrigues in Asia are not likely to bear more bitter fruit than those which she is ever prosecuting in the Balkan principalities and on her Western frontiers. The consciousness of a common danger would soon procure England powerful allies who, in their own interests, would join her to repulse an attack, the success of which would compromise the safety of Turkey, Austria and Germany. The struggle between England and Russia would be decided in Europe and not in Afghanistan and India. No doubt the Governments of the countries I have named would be glad to stand aloof were it possible to do so. They would gladly see the strength of Russia exhausted in a prolonged contest with England; but self-preservation will compel them to assist in reducing the power for evil of the only autocratic and irresponsible despotism in Europe, whose system of government is an anachronism in the present day and a standing menace to civilization.

We will now leave European politics and inquire what are the conditions of the problem in Asia. Without counting upon European allies, is England able successfully to repel any attack which might be made by Russia upon her Indian Empire? I would reply that England is in a position to hold her own against any attack; that her power in India has been enormously increased during recent years and that in this generation Russia could not attack her with any hope of success. Within the narrow limits of this article I can do little more than enumerate the chief points to be considered, which are four in number; namely, the sentiments of the mass of the people in British India towards the Government; the feeling of the native princes; the attitude of Afghanistan and the Amir of Kabul, and, lastly, the military and strategic measures of defence which have been lately adopted by the Indian Government.

The province of India which I know most intimately and to the Government of which I was for many years the Secretary, is the Punjab, the most important from a military point of view. If its population fairly represent the people of India, it may be said that they are sincerely loyal to the British Government and have no desire for any change. Although in this province there was a short-lived and famous monarchy, overthrown by the English in 1846, the Sikhs who founded it were but a military sect forming not more than a tenth of the Punjab population. They fought gallantly on the side of the English during the great Mutiny of 1857 and their good will has in no way grown cold. Sikhs are our best native soldiers and they have done excellent service in China, Burma, Afghanistan and Egypt. Those who have only a superficial knowledge of India fancy that the English can never be accepted by the people as the legitimate rulers of the country for the reason that they are foreigners. But India has always been governed by foreigners. The people have no other experience. No possible monarch could be chosen who would not be a foreigner to nine-tenths of the population. For it must be realized that India is but a geographical expression for an assemblage of countries, inhabited by many different races, speaking absolutely different languages; with distinct customs and religions. There is a greater difference in feeling, language and physique between a Sikh from the Punjab and a native of Bengal, than there is between a Swede and a Spaniard. There is far greater natural hostility between the Muhammadans of whom there are 57 millions, and the 215 millions of Hindus and Buddhists than can exist between any European races which all profess the same religious belief. A Muhammadan ruler of India would be far less popular than an English Viceroy; while the proud, monotheistic Muhammadans would never tolerate a government by Hindus whom they despise as idolaters. The strength of England in India is founded on religious toleration. Each person is

free to profess and practise, publicly and unmolested, what his creed enjoins; and no sect, however powerful or numerous, is permitted to interfere with the religious equality of the smallest and most obscure class. Taxation is extremely light, so much so that if a Hindu peasant abstains from intoxicating liquor and does not go to law, he may pass through life without contributing to the Imperial revenue more than a trifling duty on salt. His dress, his food, his tobacco, are all untaxed. He is as free from official interference as an Englishman. He can say and write what he likes; a liberty which is often abused. Person and property are so respected, that a man is far more safe from violence or robbery in an Indian city or the remotest Indian village, than in London or Paris or Berlin. He is educated without payment in Government schools and colleges; he is cured without payment in Government hospitals. The proprietorship in the land has been granted to him by the English, though, under native princes, he was only a tenant at will. Why should the Indian not be content? Why should he desire to turn against his benefactors? He has no feeling of nationality or patriotism; for India has never been a country or a nation in the European sense. The only desire of the people is to live in peace and security, every man enjoying the fruits of his own industry. Self government in their villages and the municipal administration of their towns, the Indians already possess. More than this they do not want; more they have never enjoyed, nor would they accept it if it were offered to them.

What I have said of the people of British India, applies still more strongly to the Native Princes, Hindu and Muhammadan, who govern an area of country of 895,000 square miles, with a population of 56 millions. It is among these that it is assumed that Russia would find her allies. The assumption is a groundless one and any invader trusting to the support of the Princes would find that he had leant upon a broken reed. In the great

Mutiny of 1857 the Rajas had their opportunity. The Indian Empire was shaken to its very foundations, and if the princes had declared against us, the reconquest of India would have been long and difficult. But with few and unimportant exceptions, they stood loyal, even when their mutinous troops deserted them; and many of them fought on our side throughout the campaign. What sympathy have they with Russia? They are quite sufficiently informed to understand that they would be far worse off under Russia than they are at present: that they would enjoy less power and would be compelled to contribute a large share of their revenues to the Imperial Treasury. The Rajas are more contented now than they were at the time of the Mutiny. The English Government has formally abandoned the policy of annexation and has granted to all the princes the right of adoption on failure of male heirs. They are guaranteed, under treaty engagements, all their rights and privileges, and so long as they do not oppress their subjects too flagrantly, they are allowed full independence in the internal administration of their States. They have everything to lose by disloyalty and nothing to gain. Even if some should be so foolish as to turn against us, they would quickly be overwhelmed by the loyal princes among whom their forfeited possessions would be distributed. The hatreds and jealousies between Native States are far more bitter and deep rooted than any which are felt against the English, and the loyal princes might be left quite surely to coerce the ill disposed. It might be imagined that the Rajas viewed the English with dislike as new intruders in India who had taken from them the supremacy which they before enjoyed. This is a mistake. With the exception of the ancient Rajput princes with whom we have never quarrelled and who are our most loyal allies, the Rajas of India never enjoyed supremacy and most of them are more modern than the English themselves. Few of them have a history of more than a hundred or a hundred and fifty years.

Turning to Afghanistan a different problem is suggested. There it is impossible to predict the future with any certainty. The Afghans are a singularly fierce and treacherous race with a strong love of independence. Their obedience is never given to any master when they are strong enough to throw off his yoke. They are even impatient of the control of their tribal chiefs, and are in temper purely democratic, each man thinking himself as good as his fellows. Any foreigner, especially if he be an infidel and not a Muhammadan, is an enemy; and England or Russia would meet with equal opposition in invading the country. But of England they have now little distrust. Our campaigns in Afghanistan left the country much richer than when we entered it. Everything required for the transport and commissariat of the army was paid for, and plundering or violence to the peaceable population was unknown. Twice have we left the country when we might have annexed it, and both the ruler and his people must have acquired confidence in the honesty and friendship of our professions.

The Amir Abdul Rahman is a man of great sagacity and courage, and although his methods of government are ferocious according to European ideas, he understands the only way to keep his turbulent subjects in order.

Towards the close of the Afghan War I was sent on a diplomatic mission to Kabul to make final arrangements for the settlement of the country after the withdrawal of the English armies, and I conducted all the negotiations which ended with the proclamation of the present Amir as ruler of Afghanistan. I was indeed the first English official to meet him and make his acquaintance, and I was much struck by his ability and energy and knowledge of the political affairs not only of Afghanistan but of Europe. He had a very keen idea of his own interests, and was not a man to be led astray by either sentiment or fanaticism. When we selected him as sovereign of Afghanistan, he had just left Russian protection, under which he had lived for many years, and had crossed the Oxus in search of adventure, encouraged thereto by his Russian hosts.

The fact of his having been a Russian pensioner did not in any way prejudice us against him ; indeed, this fact was one of the reasons for our selection, for we believed that any prince who had an intimate knowledge of Russian methods of administration would be the most careful to avoid intriguing with them. His residence at Samarkand and Tashkend must, we thought, have given him an object lesson which would be useful to him as Sovereign of Afghanistan ; a second is before him to-day in Bokhara. Twelve years have elapsed since the country was confided to him, and he has remained uniformly on friendly terms with the English Government and has accepted the position of their subsidized ally, under promise to enter into no engagements with any other Power, and so long as he maintains his promise he is guaranteed against any foreign attack. He is, indeed, a feudatory of the Empress of India ; a large part of his income is paid from the Indian Treasury, and an attack upon him by Russia would be the same as an attack upon any other portion of her Majesty's dominions.

The last point, namely the defensive preparations which have been made by the Indian Government on the North West Frontier, can only be alluded to. The subject would require a separate article. I would, however, observe, that the Indian frontier is infinitely more secure than it was ten years ago. The great entrenched camp at Quetta in Biltchistan, commanding Kandahar and connected by strategic railways with India, is complete and blocks what is probably the only practical route for a large invading force. Roads, railways and telegraphs have been multiplied along the North West Frontier, and the northern border of Kashmir, although I do not believe in the possibility of any serious attack from that direction, has been sufficiently guarded. In India itself we do not care to build fortresses, for the defence of which our army is too small. If we increased it to such an extent as to be able to hold central fortresses in time of war with large bodies of troops, the burden of

taxation upon the country would cause far more discontent than would be compensated for by the additional security. We prefer to have a small army in India which, at the present time, English and Native, with a few regiments from selected Native States, does not exceed 250,000 men. But a war with Russia for the possession of India would be one of which there would be long notice and elaborate preparation, and the Indian Army, European and Native, would be doubled in numbers before any Russian troops arrived within striking distance of India.

The Russian armies on paper look very formidable, but an attack delivered at so great a distance from the base of operations, with one toy line of railway for only a portion of the road and a country with scanty supplies and inhabited by a hostile population between Herat and Kandahar, would not be lightly regarded by any Government when they had to meet the whole power of England, on her own ground and in chosen positions, at the end of their march. To place 100,000 men on the Western borders of India, is beyond the strength of Russia in this generation. No doubt, should cause of quarrel arise between us, she would endeavour to annoy and injure us in India as far as possible, but an invasion could have no hope of success.

The quality of the Indian Native troops is little known or appreciated in Europe. Some of the fighting races, who form the largest proportion of our army, are not inferior to any soldiers in the world, when well and sufficiently led by European officers. The Sikhs and Gurkhas are, I believe, superior to Russian troops of the line. They are much of the same quality as the Turks who held the Russians at bay in the last war, and who would have beaten them single-handed had they not been betrayed by their own generals. As to the Native Indian Irregular Cavalry, although it might be increased by twenty regiments with advantage, it is infinitely superior to the Cossack regiments of Russia.

The conclusion of this brief article is, that during this generation, Russia has nothing to gain and everything to

lose by an attack on India which could not be successful. In another generation, perhaps, invasion would be more easy, but each generation must take care of itself. Our position in India becomes each day stronger with the spread of education, the increase and improvement of communications and the greater wealth and prosperity of the country. Time fights for us, rather than for Russia. It is not likely that the Indian people, when they become rich, educated and civilized, will desire to place themselves under the grinding tyranny of Russia. By that time, too, the Russian Government may have itself changed. The benevolence of some future Czar, or a revolution, born of oppression, may sweep away the present order of things and give to Russia a constitution and to her people free and representative institutions. She would then cease to be to Western Europe what the Goths and Vandals were to Ancient Rome, and would enter the ranks of civilized nations to which, at present, she cannot be said to belong.

THE AFGHAN DILEMMA.

By "HISTORICUS."

It has often been observed that, while the English people keep a watchful and jealous eye on the internal administration of the Kingdom, and exercise no small control over taxation and State expenditure, they allow themselves to be almost entirely excluded from the conduct of their foreign affairs; whereby a few Cabinet Ministers have had it in their power, by embarking on speculative schemes of foreign policy, to involve the nation in serious disputes with other countries and render war inevitable, before the English people were acquainted with the true nature and aim of the policy pursued. In such cases the House of Commons may of course refuse supplies; but by the time Parliament and the people are informed of the full circumstances of the dispute, it is often too late to reverse the action of the Government, and the nation thus finds itself committed to war, without any clear knowledge of its necessity or justice.

This evil assumes greater proportions still, and becomes a danger to the British Constitution, when the Cabinet has the means of raising war supplies without applying for them to Parliament—when, for instance, the Indian treasury may be put into requisition and our Indian fellow-subjects be taxed, for giving effect to schemes of conquest secretly devised by the British Cabinet and entered upon without the consent of Parliament. It was through such means that the nation was twice drawn into disastrous wars with the Afghans; and it is the same unconstitutional device, that is now practised for defraying extravagant preparations for a third invasion of Afghanistan.

The plea for our aggressive action in 1838 and 1878 was that the military occupation of Afghanistan was necessary for the safety of India from a Russian attack. The hollowness of that plea has been exposed by our highest authorities.

The Duke of Wellington, at the time of the first Afghan war, characterized the Russian scare as "a political nightmare"; and in later years, Lord Lawrence, Lord Napier of Magdala, Sir William Mansfield (afterwards Lord Sandhurst) and General (now Lord) Roberts deprecated our occupying advanced posts in Afghanistan for the protection of India, and condemned that policy as being calculated, on the contrary, to weaken our means of defence against an enemy who should advance through that country. Lord Beaconsfield himself, who was responsible for the war of 1878-80, and who sought to justify it on the mystic ground of a "scientific frontier," admitted that so far as the invasion of India in that quarter was concerned, it was the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, that it was hardly practicable. "The base of operations of any possible foe was so remote, the communications were so difficult, the aspect of the country so forbidding, that the Government had long arrived at the opinion that an invasion of the Indian Empire, by passing the mountains which form our North Western frontier, was one which we need not dread." *Speech on Lord Mayor's Day, 1878.*

On the other hand, every circumstance of the late war and of our subsequent expeditions against the border-tribes of Afghanistan, shows that the conquest of that proverbially difficult country, the subjugation of its hitherto indomitable occupants, and the military glory expected to accrue from such deeds, were the real aim and motive of the policy pursued on those occasions; and that the safety of India was a mere plea resorted to for justifying the appropriation of Indian revenue in the prosecution of Imperial schemes of conquest.

Military success invariably evokes popular applause, regardless alike of moral considerations and of the material value of a conquest; and had the late war been successful, the nation would doubtless have overlooked the fact, that no real glory can be gained by a great country when it attacks, from a selfish motive, an unoffending and avowedly weaker nation; and furthermore, that all the revenue we

could expect to raise in Afghánistán would not defray a twentieth part of the cost of holding that barren country. But the late war was not successful; its authors had entirely failed to apprehend the difficulties of the task they had undertaken, and seemed to have expected their enterprise to resolve in a military promenade, a shower of stars and ribbons and some substantial rewards for the favoured few. Events soon dispelled those visions and, after two years of warfare spent chiefly in foraging for supplies and marked by two signal defeats—namely, our hasty retreat into Sherpur before Mahomed Ján's fanatical hordes, and the disastrous battle of Maiwand lost near Kandahar—our armies evacuated Afghánistán, not only without having gained the smallest advantage to compensate for the blood and treasure expended in that war, but under conditions particularly mortifying to our national pride.

The policy which proved so disastrous, is again being pursued on the questionable argument that Russia's persistent advance towards India, calls for a corresponding movement on our part; while the arguments of the above-mentioned authorities, showing that India can be better defended on her own frontier, than by an encounter with the enemy in a difficult and hostile country like Afghánistán, far from our reserves and general resources, remain unanswered and are entirely ignored.

The revival of the "forward policy" may, in a great measure, be ascribed to the hope entertained by its promoters, of obliterating, by military success in a future campaign, the humiliating recollections of the late war. Let us see how far such an expectation is warranted, either by the costly preparations we have made, or by our achievements in recent years.

We have constructed military roads and railways which may facilitate the advance of our troops into Afghánistán; but they would not lessen the difficulties which caused our failure in the late war, seeing that these were met with only after we had penetrated into the interior of the

country, and that they arose from causes which are as powerful now as they were in 1840 and 1880—namely, the configuration and barrenness of the land, the severity of the climate in winter and summer, and the fanaticism of the inhabitants. Our preparations have also consisted of military expeditions and the distribution of money, for enforcing the submission or purchasing the neutrality of the border-tribes during the march of our troops through their mountains. The progress of all these preparations, however, has been most insignificant in comparison with the vast and complicated plan upon which they were designed. Some details of that plan will be found in Hon. G. Curzon's Chapter on the North Western Frontier of India, 1890.

Of the projected railways only one has been made, namely, the Scind-Pishin line which was afterwards extended to near Chaman. This line is now found to be quite unsuitable for military purposes in time of war, seeing that important sections of it are liable, from floods and landslips, to frequent and prolonged interruptions. In March this year the Royal Dublin Fusiliers proceeding on relief to Quetta, were detained at Sibi, in consequence of a series of landslips in the Hurnai section; and Quetta was then, as it had frequently been before, deprived of railway communication with India.*

The construction of the other projected railways has hitherto been effectually opposed by the neighbouring tribesmen; and as to our military roads, some were destroyed by the villagers, as soon as the troops sent to protect our working parties had retired, while the construction of others was interrupted, through our road-makers and their escorts being overpowered by tribal gatherings.

* Parts in the big cutting in the Hurnai line have been absolutely obliterated again and again, and every expedient failed to keep it in shape. Rails have been laid down only to disappear, and by the time one slip had been mastered, another came to destroy the work done. The Engineering Committee have now come to the conclusion that no permanent remedy can be applied which will make the railway secure from landslips. See *Pioneer*, 27 and 28 April, 1893.

Nor have our frontier expeditions been more successful: the earliest marched from Kohát in 1877 with orders "to occupy the country of the Jowákis [a section of the Adam Khel Afridis who had molested our working parties] until they tendered their absolute submission."—*Govt. Proclamation. Foreign Dept., Nov. 5, 1877.* We demanded at first 70,000 Rupees as compensation, 10,000 Rupees as a fine, and the surrender of four of their Chiefs. Our terms were rejected, even after we had abandoned the claim for compensation and reduced the fine to half its original amount. Fighting ensued and, at the end of three months, we retired on receiving a verbal promise that the four Chiefs, whose surrender had been refused, would be sent away from the tribal territory. In short the expedition proved a complete failure, and similar results characterized all our subsequent frontier expeditions.

In 1878 a column under Major Cavagnari made a night attack on the Othmán Khel villages, in retaliation of the maltreatment inflicted on our road-makers; and the following year we sent troops to subjugate the Zamushts and a section of the Orakzai tribe. In 1880, 1881 and 1882 expeditions were sent against the Momands, the Mahsud Waziris and the Kabul Khel Waziris; while a considerable force under General Wilkinson attempted the reduction of the Bozdars. In 1883 an expedition fought its way into the country of the Shiránis on the pretext of surveying the Takht-in-Sulimán mountain. In 1884 and 1885 we invaded the territories of the Chigarzais, Akazais and Parári Syads in the North, and of the Kaker and Musá Khel tribes in Southern Afghánistán. In 1886 and 1887 operations were resumed against the Akazais, the Shiránis and the Bozdars who had remained defiant, and an expedition was sent to reduce the Bunerwals. In June 1888 a column under Major Battye and Captain Urmston marched into the Black Mountain country, when both officers were killed in a skirmish, and our troops had to retire. The unsatisfactory result of this long series of operations induced the Government to employ larger bodies of troops; and in October

1888 an army of 8,000 fighting men under General M'Queen, accompanied by 5,000 baggage mules and the usual complement of grooms, water carriers, ambulance porters and other camp-followers, was despatched for reducing the Black Mountain country. This force encountered very little opposition and, on its return, the General stated in his farewell orders that "the Hasanzais, Akazais and other tribes had tendered their submission, and that roads had been constructed, which would afford ample scope for the advance of our troops." The tribesmen, it was said, had promised that we should in future be free to march through their country, and construct and maintain roads. But when we attempted to avail ourselves of those promises, they were at once repudiated, and the troops and working parties we sent in 1890 had to return. Thereupon a large force was despatched in 1891 for the complete subjugation of the Black Mountain country and the capture of Hasan Ali, the Chief who had led the tribes against our men. This expedition not succeeding in its mission, an offer was made by us to Hasan Ali, that if he surrendered, he should simply be interned with an ample allowance suitable to his rank. Eventually the expedition returned without the person of the Chief; but it was said that "he was sure to come in"; and later that "if he did not come in, his actions were of little consequence, as he had lost all prestige among the mountaineers." *Pioneer*, September, 1892. Nevertheless a third expedition was sent, in 1892, to hunt down and capture the Chief. Failure was again the result, and the further intentions of the Government in the matter have not transpired.

While these unsuccessful operations were taking place in the North, we invaded the Miranzai country where our road-makers had been dispersed; we also sent expeditions to occupy the Gumal Pass and the Zhob country beyond it, in pursuance of a project to construct a railway from our frontier station of Dehra-Ismail-Khan to Pishin, as an alternative line to the defective Scind-Pishin railway.

The first Miranzai expedition left Kohat on the 26th January 1891, arriving the next day at Gwada, the residence of Makhmudin, the Chief who had attacked our working parties. The village had been deserted, and a party was ordered in pursuit of the Chief, but could not start until the 4th of February, as frost-bite and pneumonia had attacked our soldiers, and a convoy of sick had to be escorted back to India. The pursuit after Makhmudin proved fruitless, and on the 10th a column marched through the Zara pass. The Sappers and Miners worked hard at making a road; but snow fell from noon till dark, and the march, though only five miles, occupied from 11.30 a.m. to 5 a.m. the next day, the rear-guard and commissariat stores arriving only at 1.30 p.m. The country was covered with snow, and no opposition being offered by the enemy, the expedition returned on the 1st March, leaving a garrison at Gwada.

On the 4th April our Gwada garrison was overpowered and beat a precipitate retreat, pursued by the tribesmen as far as the low hills near our frontier. Another force, composed of three columns, was organised forthwith and marched on the 17th April, taking the village of Tsalai on the same day. We had then to bivouac, as our men were completely knocked up by the intense heat and the want of water. The next morning we carried the village of Sartop, and were obliged afterwards to halt at a spring to enable our troops to get water; many had been without it for twenty-four hours and were exhausted; the young soldiers of the King's Royal Rifles, fresh to the country, suffered specially from heat and thirst. (*See Sir W. Lockhart's Despatch 8th June, 1891.*) On the 19th April our third column was attacked, but reinforcements came to its relief the next day from Sangar. In the night of the 22nd our post at Chilibagh was fired into, and on the 23rd our convoy was attacked, losing a number of men and mules. In retaliation of these attacks, our troops blew up a number of villages, when some of the Chiefs consented to our

making a road up the Samana mountain. Thereupon the Miranzai Field Force was withdrawn and broken up on the 15th May, the casualties during the four weeks having amounted to 101.

As regards the invasion of the Zhob valley alluded to in a preceding page, an expedition was sent in 1888 to survey the Gumal pass, but its mission being frustrated by the opposition of the Makhind tribe, a considerable force, accompanied by Sir R. Sandeman as Political officer, was despatched the following year through Baluchistán, with orders to occupy the Zhob country as far as the Western extremity of the Gumal pass. This force was arrested in its march by the Kidarzaïs; but our Agent, who subsidised certain Chiefs in the Zhob country, succeeded in 1890 in establishing, with their consent, a British post at Apozai; and afterwards in obtaining promises from the Mahsud Waziris, the Shiránis and the Derwesh Khel of Wána, that they would keep the Gumal pass open, in consideration of certain sums of money being annually paid to them by the British Government.

The subsidised Chiefs appear so far to have maintained a friendly demeanour; but their tribesmen all along manifested their strong objection to our presence, by night-firing into the British Agent's camp, by raiding for fire-arms and by cutting off our soldiers, when they ventured a few hundred yards from their lines. These insults increased and became so intolerable in 1892, that we threatened to send a force for punishing the tribesmen, unless the Amir withdrew an officer whom he had stationed among them, and to whose influence we ascribed their increased hostility. The Amir replied that, in compliance with our wishes, he had ordered his officer to retire, pending the result of the conference we had proposed, and at which he hoped that a clear understanding would be arrived at, regarding the boundary of our Empire. This reply, conciliatory as it looks, was resented nevertheless as evasive, and was responded to by a loud threat, in the

Times of November the 2nd, that the British Government would not be lightly turned from its settled policy, and that, unless the Amir fell in with that policy, Afghanistan as a kingdom would disappear.

Now, to understand the irritation thus manifested at the Amir's reply, it is necessary to remember that the "settled policy" referred to in the *Times*, is our "forward policy" aiming at the military occupation of Afghanistan—a policy which we communicated to Abdur-Rahman substantially in the following terms:—"To preserve the integrity of your dominions, you must co-operate with us in repelling Russian attacks, and assist us meanwhile in bringing under complete and permanent control, the Afghan tribes who dwell along our frontier." In this communication we omitted defining the territories we purposed to subjugate; but our advance to New Chaman and Apozai and our reference to repelling attacks on the Northern confines of the Amir's dominions, made it clear that the best part of Afghanistan was included in our intended sphere of action. Under these circumstances, the Amir's reference to a delimitation of our boundary obviously implied a protest against our encroachments which at once accounts for the menace published in the *Times*.

Of that menace the Amir seems to have taken no direct notice; but in one of the two letters he sent by Mr. Pyne, so far as its contents have transpired, he said, regarding his dealings with the frontier tribes, something to the effect that his conduct in the matter would be ruled by the Sacred Law which commands the respect of both parties. Now, the sacred law in independent Mahomedan communities enjoins the expulsion of the "infidel," except he be a guest or a servant—an article of faith in obedience to which our "forward policy" has met with the most fanatical opposition from the Afghan tribes. The Amir's letter may therefore be construed as a disguised defiance of our threat, an interpretation which does not appear unreasonable, when we consider that, if he were to assent to our policy, his

action would certainly be repudiated by the tribes, and would involve the loss of his power and his throne, and perhaps also of his life.

Meanwhile, our threat to destroy the Kingdom of Afghánistán has drawn the attention of the world to our relations with Abdur-Rahman—a subject which had been much obscured by strategic and political controversies, but which has now assumed a definite form; and the public mind is doubtless exercised to know whether the British Government will act up to its threat, or recede from the dominative position it has taken up. To recede would of course lower its dignity and prestige in the eyes of its Indian subjects and of Asiatic nations in general; while to execute its menace would involve the British nation in a third Afghán war, with no greater justification or better chance of success, than we had in our previous Afghán wars.

In estimating the issue of a third invasion it may be useful to bear in mind that sixteen years of uninterrupted warfare against the border-tribes of Afghánistán, has not enabled us to advance our frontier a single day's march from the line it occupied in 1876; and that all we have to show for the appalling amount of blood and treasure expended during that period, consists of a defective military railway, a number of unfinished and partly-destroyed military roads, and the precarious and contested positions we have taken up at Apozai and New Chaman. It is true that we have assurances of friendship and support from tribesmen whom we enlisted in our service or subsidised on other pleas, and on whom we profess to rely as on an irregular frontier guard of our Indian Empire. (*See Hon. G. Curzon's Chapter on the N.W. Frontier of India, 1890.*) But Sir L. Griffin, than whom no man has perhaps had more opportunities of judging the Afghán character, is far from sharing Mr. Curzon's faith in the affection and trustiness of our Afghán adherents. "The Afghán," says Sir L. Griffin in the *Fortnightly* for January last, "has a very

tenacious memory for injuries, and he never fails to avenge them, should an opportunity occur. The Afghāns are fierce, bloodthirsty, fanatical and *treacherous*." This judgment is strongly confirmed by the annals of the late war; and the many injuries inflicted by us in our frontier expeditions, have no doubt remained deeply impressed in the memory of the frontier tribes, for future settlement.

An element of particular weight in the present conjuncture is the critical financial position in India, where retrenchment and additional taxation are declared to be most urgently needed, and where the situation is further aggravated by the continued decline in the value of silver, the metal in which the Indian revenue is collected. To look, in this state of things, to the Indian treasury for the means of carrying on war, would certainly be the height of imprudence.

On the other hand, to remain in our present situation in Afghānistān and await opportunities for executing the "forward policy," while a hostile population surrounds our isolated garrison at Apozai, and Afghān forces assemble in front of our railway terminus at New Chaman, may be endurable for a short time, but must eventually result in war.

The name of Lord Roberts has been mentioned in a preceding page as that of one of the great authorities who condemned the policy of 1876, involving the establishment of British garrisons in Afghānistān for meeting an eventual Russian advance through that country. An impression prevails in some circles that, whatever opinion General Roberts may have held regarding that policy at the close of the late war, his views on the subject have since been entirely modified. It becomes important, therefore, to ascertain how far such an impression is well founded, and what are his lordship's present views on the subject.

On the eve of his retirement from the command of Her Majesty's forces in India, Lord Roberts spoke in eulogistic terms of the frontier defences in India which have been constructed of late years. Before considering his remarks

on the subject, it may be well to bear in mind that the works officially designated as "frontier defences" in Northern India, belong to two distinct classes—namely, to railways and fortified posts calculated to facilitate the concentration of troops on our frontier; and to military roads and railways constructed beyond our frontier, and adapted only to the conveyance of troops into Afghanistan. The latter, it will be seen from the following quotations, are not, in Lord Roberts's opinion, necessary for the protection of India. "These defences," said his lordship at Bombay on the 7th April last, "contract the front open to an attack in the direction of Afghanistan, secure our frontier arsenals and are the main line of communications with the rear; and, in the event of our being engaged in operations on a large scale across the border, will furnish advanced bases for our field army." . . . "A multiplicity of defences beyond a certain point is a source of danger as well as a sign of weakness and timidity; and I hold that a mobile and well-equipped field army is an infinitely more important factor than the most powerful system of defences."

Nothing in these passages or in the rest of his lordship's speech expresses or implies approval of the policy requiring the settlement of British garrisons in Afghanistan, for meeting an eventual attack from Russia. That policy, therefore, remains emphatically condemned in the terms of General Roberts's despatch of May 1880, in which he said:—"The longer and more difficult the line of communication is, the more numerous and greater the obstacles which Russia would have to overcome; and far from shortening one mile of the road, I would let the web of difficulties extend to the very mouth of the Khyber."

This opinion is confirmed by the last sentences quoted from the speech at Bombay, and it moreover coincides, in a remarkable manner, with Earl Grey's opinion,* "that by creating the means of rapidly moving an overwhelming force to any point of our frontier which may be the object of attack, we might have an assurance of being able speedily

* Letter published in *Times*, March, 1887.

to destroy any hostile force that might be brought against us; and that, if the money which has been spent in needless wars, had, on the contrary, been used in making railways along our frontiers, with two or three fortified posts where a force could be assembled in readiness to attack an enemy as soon as he appeared on our borders, perfect security might have been obtained against any attack that could possibly be made on our dominions, either by Russian troops or by Asiatics assisted and directed by Russians."

Since his return home Lord Roberts has spoken on several public occasions, and his speech at the Mansion House on the 12th June is remarkable for its significance. Referring to the organisation of the Indian Army, he said that the views he had formed during the Afghan campaign had not been materially modified by his more recent experience as Commander-in-Chief; and his opinion on the policy best calculated to secure India against Russian aggression, seems likewise to have remained the same as it was in 1880. He accordingly urged that "the first thing was to have an efficient army, and the next, to develop a system of communication for concentrating forces along our frontier." Of our recent advance into Afghan territory, at New Chaman, Apozai, Kajuri-Kach and Bulandkhel, he refrained from expressing any approval, while his silence on the very subject whence our present differences with Abdur-Rahman have chiefly arisen, seems rather to imply an adverse opinion. Referring to our general policy towards the Afghans, his lordship said:—"The object of the Government of India has been to enter into really cordial relations with the ruler and people of Afghanistan." A similar declaration has been made in various semi-official, *i.e.* irresponsible organs; but coming from an officer who was, three months ago, a member of the Government of India, it cannot fail to cause surprise, when it is remembered that, only in November last, the insulting threat already mentioned was published in the *Times*. Moreover, our frontier expeditions have revealed a policy entirely at

variance with the professed desire of maintaining "really cordial relations with the people of Afghánistán."

The practical element in Lord Roberts's speech appears in its concluding sentences, where the attention of the British public is powerfully drawn to the importance of providing for "the very considerable number of soldiers which would be needed in India, in the event of a serious struggle with a civilised Power." In short, the speech is an urgent appeal to the patriotism of the British Constituencies to bear additional taxation, in order that the ever-increasing military expenditure of the Government of India, which the Indian revenue can no longer defray, may be borne by the British taxpayer.

We have also received the following letter on the above subject, so ably dealt with by "Historicus":

The advocacy for encroachments in Lord Roberts's speech, if any, is so veiled that, if it were pointed out, the answer of Lord Roberts might be that he "advocated the extension of our influence among the tribes, not by the forcible occupation of their territory, but only by measures of conciliation and friendliness." This certainly would show a change of policy from the one recently pursued of shooting down the Hunza-Nagyris and the Chilasís, sowing discord in every direction among the Afghan and other tribes, and constructing by force military roads through their territories.

Nor is it easy to explain our, practically, converting Chitrál into a British dependency, for that country has, in point of fact, always been independent, though its late ruler, Mihtar Aman-ul-Mulk, formally *offered* allegiance to the Amir in 1874, and paid an annual tribute to Badakhshan, which has been admitted by Russia to be a province of Afghánistán. Then as regards our supposed right of forcibly occupying the Amir's territory, no stipulation to that effect exists between us. Lord Roberts says that the Amir has a right to demand such action on our part: but, far from demanding it, he opposes it, and the text of the only written engagement existing between him and our Government merely

relates to the subsidy which we pay him. This will show the vicious arguments by which that engagement is now construed into a right on our part of occupying the Amir's country against his will. An exposure of these tactics would occupy considerable space and might divert public attention from the main question, namely—whether India can best be defended against Russian aggression by our awaiting her attack on our frontier, or by our fighting the enemy amidst the rugged mountains and hostile tribes of Afghanistan.

POLITICAL.

It seems to us to be obvious from Lord Roberts's speech at the Mansion House that he advises that the tribes beyond the Frontier should be put under our protection, even if they do not like it, and that we should recruit among them. They are further to be civilized and enriched, processes which involve considerable interference on our part. He also urges our compelling the Amir to permit the occupation by us of his northern frontier, though we will not interfere with the internal administration of his kingdom; in other words, Lord Roberts is in favour of all that is included under "a forward policy." We quote his *ipsissima verba* on the subject as reported in the *Times* of the 13th June.—ED.

"When Abdur-Rahman was placed upon the throne, an engagement was entered into by her Majesty's Government to protect Afghanistan against unprovoked foreign aggression, provided that the Amir was entirely guided by us in his foreign relations. Under this engagement it is obvious that circumstances might occur which would necessitate our affording his Highness that armed assistance which he would be within his rights in demanding, and in order that such assistance should be prompt and effective it is of the utmost importance that the population of the countries through which and in which we should have to operate should be well-disposed towards us. (Cheers.) A mountainous region inhabited by warlike and independent tribes, numbering, according to the best information we have got, not less than 200,000 fighting men, separates the valley of the Indus from the Afghan tableland, and if these tribes were to oppose our advance into Afghanistan, a large portion of our all-too-small field army would be absorbed in holding them in check, and in guarding our lines of communication. Although these tribes are troublesome and fanatical, they delight in military service, make admirable soldiers, and in many cases have shown a devoted attachment to the British officers with whom they have been associated. The present policy of the Government of India towards these tribes is to extend our influence amongst them without menacing their independence, and, by trying to civilize them and increase their prosperity, to induce them to look upon us as their friends, who will protect their interests and insure their being left in undisturbed possession of the territory they occupy. (Cheers.) As regards Afghanistan, the object of the Government of India of late years has been to enter into really cordial relations with the ruler and people of that country, and to convince Abdur-Rahman that the maintenance of an attitude of reserve and isolation on his part is incompatible with the fulfilment of our engagement with him. It is even more to his advantage than to ours that Afghanistan should be strong and independent, but it cannot be either one or the other without our assistance, an assistance which it is impossible to render without the Amir's co-operation. I much regret that the proposed mission to Abdur-Rahman did not take place, as I hoped to have been able to satisfy his Highness that, in taking such precautions as might be necessary to guard his northern frontier, the Government of India had no intention of interfering in the internal administration of his kingdom." [The italics are ours.]

M. PAUL GAULT

ON

RUSSIAN TURKISTAN.

WE have received the manuscript of this *magnum opus* on Russian Turkistan, the first chapter of which on the author's journey in Khwarezm filled two lengthy and interesting papers in the issues of the *Revue des deux Mondes* of August and September last. The remaining unpublished seven chapters extend over a thousand pages and follow the traveller through the regions of Tashkand, Samarcand, Bokhara and Ferghana and are succeeded by a History of the conquest of the Kirghiz Steppes and of their administration. They are illustrated by numerous photographs and drawings. Their importance consists not only in a piquant recital of travels, but also, and mainly, in the author's account and opinions of what the Russians significantly call their "Colony of Turkistan." The work has an immediate interest to the comparative student of the respective Russian and British systems of administration in Asia and, as M. Gault avoids politics, its publication could be undertaken with equal grace by either of the two Governments as a work of reference whether to the Russian local official or to the Indian Collector or Settlement Officer. It is certainly a conscientious study of the judicial administration, the social and religious life, the agriculture, the commerce and history of the Turkistan "Colony," truly so called, if "by this term a region is described in which the conqueror does not find either the climate or the modes of cultivation and the economic conditions of the mother-country." We will confine ourselves, at present, to translating some of the passages from M. Gault's manuscript and to rendering the general tenor of the author's observations.

One immense steppe, in which sedentary and agricultural populations are installed wherever the soil is, or can be irrigated, surrounded by other steppes traversed by

nomads—such is, as a whole, the aspect of Russian Turkistan. The oases of Tashkand, Zarafshan (Samarkand and Bokhara) Ferghana are the three principal centres of cultivation. The rest is called the "Steppe," whether of the plain or of the mountain, and is the Nomad's haunt. This is due to the climatic conditions of the S.E. portion of the Aralo-Caspian basin. The rare rainfalls, and annual droughts have forced the inhabitants to conduct on to their fields the water of streams, rivers, and springs, and to establish quite a system of irrigation. Some of these great irrigation canals called "*Harik*" are more than 100 versts in length (a verst = 1166·66 yards). Such is the "*Palvan-Alta Harik*" which waters Khiva. With the exception of the Khivan *Hariks*, none of these great canals "is navigable." The irrigation by the Sarts "might be taken as a model of all the errors that it is possible to make in dealing with the supply and distribution of water." However, such as they are, these canals permit the irrigation of the steppe, and a whole population can, thanks to this system, lead a settled life. Before the Russian conquest, a special "administration" had the supervision and maintenance of the canals. The Russians, who were little acquainted with indigenous customs, suppressed it, and evil results soon followed. The natives increased the outfalls of their canals and certain regions were changed into unhealthy and unproductive marshes. "The articles published in Russian journals allow us to hope for an early modification of this disastrous state of things." The efforts of the Russians were above all directed towards the creation of new canals, and according to official valuations the superficial area of the irrigated land was said to have doubled since the conquest.

Passing on to the portion of the manuscript connected with the administration of this vast region, let us ask, What have the Russians done after penetrating into the country occupied by settled populations by the conquest of Tashkand in 1865 and after finishing the

conquest of the Siberian Steppes? "When the Russians conquered Tashkand, everything with them was Siberian, in their manner and system of administration." This Siberian influence has been ruinous to Turkistan. In their ignorance of the newly-conquered country, the Russian functionaries gave to these Oases of Tashkand, to this country of "sedentaries," laws made for the Kirghiz of Siberia; and a Governor of the newly-conquered territories (which formed the Governor-Generalship of Turkistan), General von Kaufmann, had every latitude for enacting such rules as might seem to him useful for the general good of the country. His successors had not this power; and the Siberian Code, slightly modified, remained in force till 1886, when Turkistan received the new Administrative Regulation, which, however, does not modify the general principles of the preceding Code. Russian influence is more and more felt in it, superseding indigenous usages and customs.

Artificially composed Cantons of 1,000 to 2,000 tents or huts, at the head of which is an elected and salaried Chief, forms the "*Volost*." The Chief of this *Volost* has, as his assistants, heads of hundred, called *Aksakal* (white-beard). A certain number of Cantons united under the orders of a Russian official is the "*Ouièsde*;" several "*Ouièsde*" form a province (*Oblaste*), administered by a general. Turkistan has three provinces (Tashkand, Samarkand, and Ferghana); a special Division—that of the Amu Daria—administers the Eastern basin of the lower Amu Daria. Bokhara and Khiva are under the government of Turkistan—of which Tashkand is the capital. The superficial area of the Russian Government of Turkistan (not including the territories of Khiva and Bokhara) is 559,740 square *versts*, with a population of 1,209,018 Nomads and 1,367,192 Sedentaries. We must briefly notice this distinction between Nomads and Sedentaries,—the two divisions which the Code of 1886 makes of the inhabitants of Turkistan.

The Nomads have merely the use of the territory over

which they wander and graze their flocks: the proprietorship belongs to the State. They pay only one tax—of 4 roubles and 60 kopeks per tent (*Kibitka*); but nothing is levied on the flocks. The Sedentaries have the full property of the lands which they cultivate; and they can accordingly make contracts of sale, etc., which, in principle, the Nomads cannot do. The Sedentaries pay a tax assessed in accordance with the aggregate produce of the soil. It is the tithe, which replaces the old Muhammadan taxes. The establishment of the tithe, the manner of its assessment, the rate to be fixed, have been the object of the labours of numerous “final land commissions” which, since 1884, have roved over Turkistan. The Russians are little satisfied with the results of these immense labours, which have also left the natives dissatisfied. These labours were about to be given up; but we have not the space to follow the author in the examination of this grave question. Suffice it to notice that the co-existence in Turkistan of land that can be sold and of land that cannot be sold has led to inextricable complications: it is one of the least happy creations of the Regulations of 1886. It must be recognized that there are two entirely distinct peoples in Turkistan, namely the Sedentaries commonly called Sarts, and the Nomads, principally Kirghiz. The Muhammadan Sedentaries have their *Kázis* and are ruled by the *Sheria't* (religious law), whilst the Kirghiz are guided by *A'dat* (customs), and their judges are the “*Bis*.” Russia, like all other non-Mussulman powers, cannot constitute Mussulman judges. She makes over to the natives, whether Nomad or Sedentary, the election of judges (by the Code of 1886, they are nominated for 3 years in the same election which nominates the Chief of the *Volost*). The results of this measure have been disastrous, especially among the Nomads who, having no written law, are least able to resist any modifications introduced by their conquerors. This lamentable condition, already pointed out in the work of General Grodékow (“*Kirghiz et Kara-*

Khirghiz" is explained and supported by instances collected on the spot by M. Gault. The consequence of such an order of things, says our author, will be the compulsory intervention of Russia in the steppe, and the speedy and fatal Russification of these vast regions. No one, not even the Russians, can now prevent this consummation. The substitution of elected, for hereditary, *Biis*, has not only led to the decay of tribal authority and to the pauperization of the poorer members, but, through the corruption and confusion produced by popular elections, has caused the formation of an artificial class of *Biis*, against whose injustice redress is now constantly sought from the higher Russian tribunals. Let us not leave this subject without saying a few words on the religious endowments (*Vaquf*), which have similarly been alienated from the direct or traditional control of the community. "The creation of new *Vaqufs* is only possible with the sanction of the Governor-General" (which is scarcely ever given). "As for the existing *Vaqufs*, those created on landed property are divided into 2 classes: 1. the uninhabited lands remain in the possession of the persons in whose favour the endowments have been created, or of their heirs, until their line becomes extinct. Here no modification has been made in Mussulman custom. . . . Not so as regards inhabited *Vaqufs*, which, if recognized by the authorities, are transferred to the property of the holders.* This arrangement of Article 255 and according to the Code of 1886 deprives the religious institutions of their property in the soil, which property it makes over to the actual cultivator or owner. In consequence, this land falls under the ordinary law and may be sold or exchanged. On the other hand, the State hands over its rights to that very charitable or religious community, in favour of which the *Vaquf* had been created, and gives up to that community the taxes which it receives from this land," (thus breaking the link between "the pious founder" and the endowment).

* This principle is introduced gradually, as circumstances permit.

We regret that we have not the space in this issue to follow the author in his profound study of Muhammadan society in Central Asia; a few words may, however, be said about the *Ishāns* (or *Pīrs* as they are more commonly known in India). "*Ishān* or *Pīr* is a Persian adept in Theology, who, having bound himself to certain outward observances, has gathered round himself a number of disciples. These *Ishāns* have great influence over the people. The place in which these holy personages exercise their ministry is called *Khāngah*. At first sight, one would think it a mosque, were it not that near it is a dwelling of rammed clay, consisting of some rooms or rather cells, which the *Ishān* visits daily. This Theologian is also a recluse, who has gained the respect of his co-religionists for his learning and piety: as a theologian, he has studied religious sciences during many years; as a recluse, he leads a life of constant fasting, taking food and drink only after sunset; and he never smokes. This severe regimen does not give him a sickly air; on the contrary, I have generally seen them looking the picture of health and joyousness. One of them told me that the change of regimen in not taking any food till night was only felt for the first three or 4 months. . . . The *Ishān* forms a sort of monastic order with his disciples who have not, however, broken off all relation with their families nor changed their manner of living. They assemble for prayer and conference. . . . One cannot become an *Ishān*, by merely aspiring to the distinction. One must have means for the expenses of education which are very high, the master claiming from 1,000 to 2,000 Roubles for his instruction" (a proceeding opposed to all true Oriental practice and tradition). "A teacher of morals versed in religious science—such is, in principle, the *Ishān*; in fact, he enjoys great influence and income from his position. He is consulted as a wizard and as this brings in a good deal, he does not hesitate to practise as such. . . . The *Ishān* wears, as a distinctive sign, a *Khilat*

(robe) generally of yellow cotton: silk stuffs are prohibited to them. Some of them have a great number of disciples of much influence and large fortunes, and are venerated till their death.

"The Nomad Kirghiz who wander over the wide arid steppes are still a patriarchal community, and cannot be confounded with the Sedentary Sunni Mussulmans who live in the Oases. The Kirghiz have accepted the principal forms of the religion of Islām, but without adopting its fasts and ablutions. As constant wanderers, they are unable to erect any edifices for purposes of worship; and their religious acts have, accordingly, an accidental character. Besides, the Mussulman prayers are in Arabic—a language of which they know nothing. . . . The Kirghiz ignores the difference between Sunnis and Shiāhs. No priest teaches him the principles and practice of Islam. . . . Every *Ishān*, therefore, who visits them is received with honour and loaded with presents from those for whom he has prayed." These *Ishāns* visit the various Kirghiz tribes even as far as the Pamirs and beyond, assembling their own disciples for meditation and the solution of religious questions, and they are extremely jealous of other *Ishāns* interfering with their special disciples. On this subject M. Gault gives most interesting details. He also has a very powerful sketch of the relations existing between the Chief and the poorer Kirghiz. They are gradually being reduced from loyal pastoral clansmen to starving field-hands, under the necessity which they have of adopting the religious law of Islām in place of their picturesque customary law and usages as regards marriages, births and funerals. No longer does the chief of a group of families bear the legal responsibility for the misdemeanour of his clansmen, a custom by which the general tone was maintained at a high standard. Indeed, throughout Central Asia our author has found it impossible to hear the historical, ethical and moral songs which were everywhere on the lips of the people before the foreign conquest.

As regards the Sarts, of course, they obey the general Muhammadan law and practice, with very slight modifications, though there are a few marriage and birth ceremonies which have a more ancient origin. An interesting account is given of the studies pursued in indigenous Schools and Colleges, which are now declining under Russian rule. As an indication of the thoroughness of M. Gault's work we may refer to the fact that he even gives the amount of the advances made by Russian local banks to the native Central Asian peasantry during a series of years; as also an account of the silk and other industries, and of the rise and fall of various branches of commerce.

We will finish our rapid sketch of this manuscript by quoting an interesting passage on Russian colonization in Turkistan: "In Siberia Cossacks were settled around the citadels that were constructed; and Vernii, Tokmak, Sémipalatinsk were Cossack Colonies. In Turkistan it was different. As soon as the great oasis of Tashkand was conquered, other ideas prevailed: 'we have conquered an inhabited country,' said these officers accustomed only to Siberian Steppes; 'we cannot here instal Cossack colonies, without infringing on the rights of the people. There are no free lands here as in Siberia.' Thus by an *a priori* argument of the conqueror the whole of Turkistan was deprived of Russian immigration. No Cossacks are wanted; the army administers the conquered country; it is a military territory—nothing more. This idea, that there is no free land in Turkistan for colonists, will long continue; and every attempt at colonization will be opposed by the Government, in spite of Russians arriving in the wake of troops, some as contractors, others as speculators and merchants. Ten years after the conquest, this Russian element was increased by the accession of civil and military functionaries, who, retiring on their pensions, preferred to end their days in that country rather than return to some corner in Russian Europe to live near relatives who had half forgotten them. Up to 1882, it was for-

bidden to Russians to buy any land from natives outside the limits of towns and postal stations. After that date, Russians could only purchase land from natives who could produce a full legal title to their property. Russian merchants and artizans were discouraged. Chiriaz, after receiving a Russian population, was deserted when the battalion which occupied it was sent to Samarkand. Other Russian cities could not grow, as they were surrounded by native towns (Khokand, Khojand, Ouratubéh). The Russians who lived there could not, before 1882, buy even a garden from a native, nor acquire any vested interests which would have kept them in the country. They could not even, like the natives, acquire waste lands by labour. The Slavonic population, unsupported by the Government, could only form a Russian nucleus in those localities in which, the troops being installed, there was some need for the services of outsiders. Nevertheless, colonists arrived across the Siberian steppes to this distant country, stimulated by hopes of acquiring a virgin soil, an uncultivated Eden, which a little work would fertilize. They asked for land; and the Government knew not where to instal them, for fear of encroaching on soil under native use. So they were sent to the district of Aoulié-Ata, which had no Sedentaries, and where the first Russian village was founded in 1873. . . . On the 1st January 1890, there were already 20 such villages, and others have since been created." We conclude with a brief allusion to the indigenous dependencies of Turkistan, — the Khanates of Khiva and of Bokhara. "They are to-day mere unimportant enclosures, surrounded by Russian territory." The Khan of Khiva "would not be able to resist the invitation which the Russian Governor of the Amu Daria Division might make to him of a change of climate. A Russian official, escorted by a few Cossacks, could instal himself in Khiva, and the Khivan power would cease for ever." What M. Gault says of Khiva may be equally said as regards the sentence which he pronounces upon Bokhara.

These two princes have to-day fully realized that their power has definitely declined, and that it is impossible ever even to attempt to struggle against the Russian troops. A few cannon shots would stop the Bokharian population from offering the faintest resistance. As for the Khivans, they could not even dream of an insurrection. These Khans now only await the good pleasure of the Czar to assign to them a place of retreat in some part of the Empire, to which they might retire to end their days in peace. Russia in her conquests in Asia has never confronted a powerful empire or a redoubtable military force. Having established herself in the Steppes of Orembourg in the midst of the Kirghiz who never knew how to defend themselves from the attacks of their neighbours, she had, in her fight with Khiva, rather to conquer the natural obstacles which these immense steppes, so denuded and waterless, offered to her advance. In attacking the Khanate of Khokand, which she finally destroyed in 1876, she found no martial race except in the region of Andijan, which she had twice to conquer. There were only three important revolts, which she speedily mastered. The Khanate of Bokhara was vanquished in 1868, in a single campaign, which ended by the incorporation of Samarkand into Russian territory. Finally, all the various peoples in the governorship of Turkistan, even the Sart-Kiptchaks of the Andijan region, are quiet to-day and have become fully reconciled to Russian rule. We hope in an early issue to be able to publish a translation of the detailed account given by M. Gault of the present state of the Kirghiz under the Russians.

THE FRANCO-SIAM IMPASSE.

BY RESIDENT.

THE course of events on the Mekong river excites apparently little attention in England where the importance of the issues and the possible serious consequences to British interests which may result, do not seem to be realized.

This indifference is no doubt chiefly due to the very slight knowledge which is possessed by the general public of this region, which is represented by a blank space in our maps, and also to want of information regarding the circumstances which have led to the present strained relations between France and Siam.

A slight sketch of the present situation may not therefore be out of place.

The tract of country which is the cause of the present dispute lies between the river Mekong and the range of mountains to the eastward.

The whole of this district has been in the undisputed possession of the Siamese for more than sixty years. A map prepared by M. Francis Garnier during the French expedition of 1866-68 shows this range of mountains as the boundary between Siam and Annam, and in a reissue of this map so late as 1885, the line remains unchanged.

Until quite recently Siam, has exercised but little control over these provinces, but since France assumed a protectorate over Annam the authorities in Bangkok have established special commissioners at different points along the Mekong, and have generally made some show of authority.

The French have been actively engaged for some years in surveying the country, and the result of their work has recently been published in the shape of a detailed map.

The activity which has lately been displayed by Siam in her eastern provinces has given great offence to the

authorities at Saigon, and the French colonial papers for months past have been full of complaints of encroachments by the Siamese, and loud in their demands for the annexation of the whole district on the east bank of the Mekong river.

This cry having been taken up by the Paris papers, public opinion in France has been roused, and, thus fortified, the colonial authorities have started on a career of wanton aggression against a friendly neighbour, by sending troops and occupying various posts along the Mekong river belonging to Siam.

Accounts of these operations have lately appeared in the papers in which the resistance of the semi-wild Laos inhabitants has been made much of, and, meantime, the unfortunate Siamese are threatened with a blockade of their capital, because some of their tributary states have defended themselves against invasion.

Two French gunboats are lying in the Bangkok river and a war scare has arisen to the serious detriment of the trade of the country.

The present position is, therefore, as follows: The French, without putting forward any ground for their claim, insist upon, and are virtually establishing, their frontier on the river Mekong. The Siamese, on the other hand, claim as the frontier the range of mountains to the eastward of the Mekong. In support of their contention, they point to the fact of their long and undisturbed possession of the intervening country, and to the recognition by France herself of their right to it until quite recently. They further challenge France to produce any proofs of her claims and offer to submit the whole question to arbitration, but this proposition has been refused.

A dispute such as this between a great Power and a weak one like Siam can only end in one way, and it is quite certain therefore that if the French Government decide to support their colonial officials in their course of aggression, the Siamese, either peacefully or after some

show of resistance, will have to give in to her powerful neighbour.

If it were certain that France meant to be satisfied with even the river Mekong as her boundary, England could hardly put forward any ground for interference as her interests would not materially be affected by this change in the map; river frontiers are, however, rarely lasting, and there is good reason to believe that France has no intention of stopping there, but that she is contemplating a further move westward to the watershed between the Menam and Mekong rivers, if not the annexation of the whole of Siam.

That this is the belief of the Siamese themselves is shown by the preparations they are making to resist an attack upon Bangkok, and private letters from the capital state that an occupation of the city is considered as more than probable.

The French have no real interests in Siam. As stated by the Hon G. Curzon in an article lately contributed to the *Fortnightly Review*. "Numerically and commercially, they are nowhere and their tongue is unknown." To quote from the same writer, one of the most striking features of Bangkok is "the prominence of English associations and ideas."

The trade of the country is entirely in the hands of the English, Germans, and Chinese, many of the latter being British subjects born in the Straits and Hong Kong, but the English monopolise three-fourths of the whole.

The regular carrying trade between Bangkok and Singapore is done by steamers belonging to Alfred Holt and Co. of Liverpool and British subjects in the Straits, whilst communication with Hong Kong is kept up by a fine line of steamers owned by the Scottish Oriental Co., all of which have been specially built for the trade.

Politically, English influence has always been supreme and the necessity that it should be so is generally recognised. In 1874 when trouble arose between the first and second

kings of Siam it was the Governor of Singapore—Sir Andrew Clarke—who was invited to settle the dispute. On this occasion, when invited by Sir Andrew to be a party to the agreement which was then made and the performance of which was guaranteed by Great Britain, M. Garnier, the French Consul, consented with great readiness, giving as his reason that France had no political interests in Siam.

Considering then the large interests which Great Britain possesses in Siam, it is impossible that we can view with indifference the present aggressive policy of France threatening as it does the independence of the country. Unless the British Government intervenes and that soon, there is every probability that we shall see before very long Siam turned into a French province and our valuable trade destroyed by protective duties.

In this matter the French will go just so far as we allow them, and, if our Government continues inactive, the fate of Siam is sealed.

To show that the interests of Great Britain in Siam are fully understood by the French, I may mention that not long ago the French Minister in Siam stated that the boundary between France and Siam would have to be settled between Paris and London.

To France therefore the present indifference of our Government to what is going on in Siam is astounding and she will not be slow to make use of the free hand thus afforded her to carry out her designs. No less surprising is it to those in this country, who are interested in Siam and who have been watching the recent course of events there, that British Government appears to continue blind to the danger which threatens that country, for no one will for one moment believe that Lord Rosebery would knowingly abandon Siam to the fate which is preparing for her.

If anything is to be done to save the country it must be done at once or France will have taken up a position in Siam from which it will not be easy to oust her.

England's course is a perfectly clear and straightforward

one. We have no desire or intention, either now or at any future time, to annex Siam, but our interests, both political and commercial, require that the independence of the country shall be upheld. Commercially, any tampering with the kingdom by France will mean the certain loss to this country of a valuable and rapidly increasing trade and, politically, since the occupation of the country by France would make our boundaries coterminous, will result in constant friction besides adding largely to the expenses of administering Burmah.

As regards British intervention in Siam, there are great difficulties in the way, more serious than anyone can appreciate who is not aware of the unsettled questions between England and France in other parts of the world. The truth is that the *impasse* has been brought about by our neglect and that our hands are not free from similar acts of high-handedness on the Shan States of the Siam-Burmese Frontier. Indeed, it is to the policy initiated by Lord Dufferin in Kashmir and Burma that we owe both the Russian and the French approaches to our Indian Empire.—ED.

The *Bombay Gazette* thus explains the mystery of our conduct towards Siam and the easy confidence of the French: "Lord Rosebery has notified to the Government of Siam that Great Britain will not interfere in the dispute between France and Siam. . . It can be easily understood that the British Government would abstain from interfering in so remote and dubious a quarrel. But in point of fact an understanding was arrived at between Lord Salisbury and Mr. Waddington some three years ago, by which on the one hand the right of India to occupy the Shan States between Burmah and the North-East frontier of Siam, and claimed by the latter country, was conceded, and on the other the claim of the Empire of Annam, which is a French Protectorate, to control the Laotian country lying between the Annamese Hills parallel to the coast and the Mekong, was recognised by the British Foreign Office. This territory appears never to have been under any regular administration, either Annamese or Siamese. It is the Hinterland of Annam." It is strange that no newspaper in England should have pointed out the above significant facts.—ED.

FRANCE AND SIAM.

BY MUANG-THAI.

SIAM has an estimated area of 280,550 square miles, which is, therefore, more than double that of Great Britain and Ireland; but, until quite recently, its whereabouts were only imperfectly known to a large majority of the English public whose interests in that country surpass those of any other Western Nation. Recent events have however brought Siam very prominently into notice, and, in addition to other questions of the day, we now have a Siamese question which looks very modern, but is not quite so modern as it looks. Take any of the handy little Atlases of which there are now so many, and you will find on the map of Indo-China, or "Further India," as some of them like to call it, the Eastern frontier between Siam and Annam running along a ridge of mountains stretching for some hundreds of miles North East and South West nearly parallel with the coast of the China Sea. This frontier line was not traced by Annamites or by Siamese; but it represents pretty fairly the dividing line which has separated Siam from Annam for at least three quarters of a century, during which period there has been no "Siamese question" as far as Europe is concerned. About a century ago there was a frontier question, and a very serious one, solved only after fierce fighting between Siam and Annam. Since then the Annamites have lived on the Eastern, and the Siamese on the Western, side of the mountain ridge already mentioned, and the frontier created by Nature has been found to be the most practical, for it has kept asunder those whose differences in race and languages and whose conflicting interests have long made them hereditary foes.

This frontier, marked physically by nature and historically by conquest, was finally accepted by both Siamese and Annamites; and it has received the most formal confirma-

tion from France as the Ruler of Cochin China and the Protector of Annam and Cambodia. In 1866, a Commission for surveying and exploring the Eastern Provinces of Indo-China was appointed by the French Government under a distinguished Captain of the French Navy, whose death, while engaged in this work, gave his appointment to Lieutenant Francis Garnier, whose name will always be justly honoured, not in France only, but also in the East, as uniting the intrepidity and gallantry of a French Officer, with a capacity for hard and difficult work far away from country and friends, very rarely found in any man. The reports of the labours of the French Commission are to be found in a quarto book of more than 600 pages, most interestingly and graphically described. The book is entitled "*Voyage et exploration en Indo-Chine effectué par une Commission Française.*" (Paris: Hachette et Cie.) Two maps are appended, one made from the most authentic sources available before the Commissioners began their work,—the other as one of the chief results of the investigations undertaken by the Commission. The second is naturally much the fuller and more complete of the two.

The most important part of these Maps, as affecting the present condition of Indo-China, is the boundary line between Siam and Annam. In both, it is substantially, but not exactly, the same. The Commissioners, at the end of their surveying expedition, drew the frontier line somewhat less favourably to Siam than they found it on the map made before their investigations began. This is the frontier line which the Siamese had always accepted as accurate,—the line drawn by the French Commission; and this is the frontier line across which M. de Lanessan, the French Governor of Indo-China, has been sending Annamite soldiers led by French Officers, without any reason given, and without the shadow of a right advanced on any ground whatever. The Leader of the French Commission made his maps not from observation only, but with the help of some historical knowledge. M. Garnier

lived long enough in the country to get from the most trustworthy sources an account of the origin of the Siamese domination. He tells us that a Laotian Kingdom had gradually been formed during the XIIIth and XIVth centuries, out of an agglomerate of the many Laos tribes which were spread over a large area of Indo-China. At the beginning of the sixteenth century there seems to have been a revolution. The Laotian King was driven from his throne, and his Kingdom fell to pieces, and became the battle-field for the alternative supremacy of Siam on the West or of Annam on the East. Luang Prabang on the Upper, and Bassac on the Lower, Mekong, were the two leading Principalities of the dismembered Kingdom; and both of them, under their respective kinglets, made some attempt to preserve their independence. M. Garnier's words shall give his own account of what happened. "*Les Siamois et les Annamites se hâtèrent de profiter de cette scission, et commencèrent à se disputer la suprématie de la vallée du fleuve, (i.e. Mekong). Vers la seconde moitié du dix-huitième siècle, Siam avait réussi à faire reconnaître sa suzeraineté à tout le Laos, à l'exception du royaume de Bassac qui réussit à rester complètement indépendant. La prise d'Ayuthia par les Birmans en 1767 fit croire aux populations soumises que le moment était favorable pour secouer le joug; mais la révolte, un instant victorieuse, ne tarda pas à être comprimée, et Bassac fut entraîné dans le désastre commun. . . . Depuis cette époque toute velléité d'indépendance semble avoir disparu chez les Laotiens. Répartis en un grand nombre de Provinces dont tous les gouverneurs relèvent directement de Ban Kok, ils paraissent résignés à une domination dont la moindre impatience leur a coûté de si sanglantes et de si cruelles représailles.*"

M. Garnier goes on to describe the difference between the Laos people and those of Cambodia, and predicts for the former that, with the qualities they possess, they will be able to achieve their independence in the future. We

cannot follow the travels of the French Commissioners through Indo-China. They were offered, and freely availed themselves of, assistance from the Siamese Government towards making their expedition both useful for the objects they had in view and as agreeable as the climate and the condition of the country permitted; and passages abound which show that Siamese supremacy was recognized as a fact on the left, quite as much as on the right, bank of the Mekong, both by the Native tribes, and by the French Commissioners. The most significant point of the historical reference to what occurred in the last Century is this, that, while Siam was in the throes of what might easily have been her death-struggle with Burmah, her bitterest foe on her Western frontier, at the moment when her capital, Ayuthia, the ruins of which still stretch far into the jungle on the banks of the Menam 100 miles above Bangkok, was taken and burnt, where colossal Statues of Buddha surrounded by massive walls of ruined and roofless temples gaze coldly and impassively down on the tropical growth that is rapid enough to blot out the very existence of the gigantic City of 150 years back,—when Siam was in the agony of such a struggle as this, there was life enough, and governing power enough in her to prevent the most distant of her Eastern Provinces from throwing off her rule and defying her Government.

The Burmese on the West after ravaging the country had to retire beyond the Salween river; and, on the East, the Annamites were kept back behind the great mountain barrier recognized by the French Commission of 1866 as the *de facto* frontier between Siam and Annam.

This is all we can give here of the geography and history taught us by M. Garnier and the French Commission. Let us remember that the geography was not manufactured, nor was the history invented, at a time of contention between Siam and Annam, to support any territorial annexation, or to back up any scheme for encroachment or conquest. It was the careful work of

patient research and investigation in the country, by an exploring and surveying party organized and sent out by the French Government; and the report which bears M. Garnier's honoured name is full from end to end of evidence that the plain facts of the case were what he tried with such conspicuous success to collect and to give to all those,—his countrymen and others,—who were interested in the future of this wonderful and interesting country. In M. Garnier the presence of those qualities distinguishing him as a scientific explorer, and the absence of those characterizing an unscrupulous politician are equally a subject for admiration and congratulation.

From M. Garnier and his work we pass to that of M. de Lanessan who was a member of the French Chamber of Deputies; and has been known for the great interest he has always taken in French Colonial Policy, and for the book published by him in 1886 entitled "*L'Expansion Coloniale de la France*": this book ranges over the French possessions in Northern, Western, and Eastern Africa, in India and Oceania, in Indo-China, and in America, and contains a large amount of information, and, perhaps, a larger amount still of imagination, dealing with facts and figures as they are, and as they may become, under the fostering care of French Statesmanship abroad, supported by the French Government at home. We leave, with M. Garnier, the atmosphere of science and research, and we descend into that of politics and diplomacy, as soon as we find ourselves in the company of M. de Lanessan.

The great interest of M. de Lanessan's book, over and above the information it contains, lies in the fact that the Author has been selected for the highly responsible position of French Governor of Indo-China. It is this which invests his opinions, and his ambitions with such importance at this moment, when the affairs of Indo-China are in the balance, and the action of French Agents out there is being watched from day to day. We shall not do any wrong to M. de Lanessan if we describe the policy, as set

out in his own book, to be the acquisition by France, for political and commercial purposes, of the whole of Eastern Siam, including the valley of the Mekong and of the chief rivers which run into it, together with the principalities of Luang Prabang in the North and of Bassac in the South, which we have already mentioned, and of the Laotian tribes between them. It is true that, in his less ambitious moments, M. de Lanessan seems to stop short at the River Mekong as a minimum of French advance; but, from a general study of the section of his book devoted to "La France en Indo-Chine," it is evident that he is perfectly ready to cross the Mekong anywhere that may be convenient, and plant the French flag in the heart of Siam, if only he is allowed to do so by the Siamese, and is encouraged by his own countrymen.

It is almost superfluous to say that to a gentleman with the ambitious temperament of M. de Lanessan M. Garnier's geography presents no difficulties, and his history scruples are so slight that a single sentence is sufficient to dispose of them, a sentence which it is well to reproduce verbatim as being thoroughly characteristic of M. de Lanessan's political methods in dealing with Eastern Countries:

"Ainsi qu'on peut le voir plus haut dans l'exposé de la géographie politique du Mékong, les Annamites ont jadis occupé tout le territoire qui s'étend entre les côtes de la Mer de Chine et le Mékong, qui dans cette partie de son cours, se rapproche beaucoup de la mer. *Ils n'ont été refoulés jusque dans la chaîne de montagnes de l'Annam que par la violence, et depuis une cinquantaine d'années seulement; jamais il ne se sont inclinés que devant la force, soient qu'ils aient été chassés des bords du Grand Fleuve (Mekong) par les armées Siamaises, soient qu'ils aient reculé devant les Hordes des Hôis ou autres pillards descendus de la Chine.*" The words in italics show the limits of M. de Lanessan's justice towards Siam, when it comes to the question as to what shall be the frontier of France in Indo-China. He does not recoil for a moment

before his own admission that Siam has conquered this country and held it for half a century. France has a perfect right to instigate the Annamites to invade these provinces, and start again the old territorial feud between Siam and Annam, which, since the wars of the last century, had been dormant. It is quite true that M. de Lanessan goes on to describe those who live to the East of the Mekong River as robber-bands that have to be reduced to order, but the maintenance of law and order is a strange excuse for invasion and encroachment on the territory of a friendly State.

Let us follow M. de Lanessan's ambitions as they affect the more Southern Provinces of Indo-China. In the year 1867 a Treaty was made between France and Siam, by which Siam gave up her rights to the suzerainty of Cambodia, over which France established her control; and, in return, the provinces of Battambang and Angkor were to belong permanently to Siam. This was a bargain most displeasing to M. de Lanessan. He speaks of it as a bit of silly or ignorant diplomacy, inexplicable by the principles of common-sense; but he suggests that there is an easy way out of it. "*Ajoutons, du reste, que le Traité de 1867 doit être considéré comme n'existant plus depuis la signature de notre nouveau traité avec le Roi de Cambodge,*" the Treaty that is of 1884. In other words, a treaty signed by France and Siam may be cancelled by a subsequent Treaty between France and Cambodia, to which Siam was not a Party! M. de Lanessan appears to hold Treaties as cheap as the geography and history of his fellow-countryman M. Garnier.

France now is supposed to claim the Mékong as a "scientific frontier" for her colonial protectorates or possessions in Indo-China; but, as has already been said, M. de Lanessan will not be stopped by the Mekong River whenever he desires to cross it. He speaks of the mountainous and desert region separating the river Se-Moun, a Western tributary of the Mekong, as the "natural limit of the French Indo-Chinese Empire on the Siamese side"; and he adds

these words : " Cette frontière montagneuse doit être considérée par la France comme la limite naturelle de son Empire Indo-Chinois du côté du Siam. *Ayant repris les Provinces du Grand Lac qui dépendaient autre fois du Cambodge, le bassin du Mékong et celui du Sé-Moun, nous devrions nous attacher à respecter, et à protéger au besoin l'indépendance du Siam.* Les deux villes les plus importantes du bassin du Sé-Moun sont celles d'Oubone et de Korât." The town of Korat is much nearer in distance to Bangkok than it is to the Mekong. It is in the very heart of Siam, and has always been known as thoroughly Siamese. Its advantage as a French possession is fully described by M. de Lanessan ; but it is needless to say that no time is wasted by raising the question whether the French have any right whatever to go there and annex the territory and the towns belonging to a friendly neighbour with whom France for many years has been in Treaty relations. The Mekong River was described as the "scientific frontier"; but as M. de Lanessan goes on, he improves upon that, and includes the whole of the basin of the Mekong and its tributaries within the "natural frontier" of the French Indo-Chinese Empire,—the "natural" desire to increase one's own wealth being stronger than any "scientific" theory about respecting the property belonging to others. M. de Lanessan's picture of France in the attitude of "Protector" of the remains of Siam, which she has mutilated and torn limb from limb, is one, the humour of which will be fully appreciated by those most concerned. There is a cool cynicism in the masterly touches of the words,—*" Nous devrions nous attacher à respecter, et à protéger au besoin "*—which is inimitable. But it is only a general study of the whole of M. de Lanessan's work on the French annexation of Indo-China that can give a true idea of his utter disregard of political morality. Pages and pages are devoted to an elaborate description of the wealth, actual and prospective, of large tracts of the country, followed by pages more indicating the best and easiest way for France to get hold of them.

The new roads and canals are to be made not for the purpose of the internal commerce of the country so much as to get that of other neighbouring countries. "Par cette route nous pourrions détourner vers l'Annam central une grande partie du commerce du Mékong moyen et du Siam supérieur qui se porte aujourd'hui vers Korât et de là vers Bangkok." The whole of the resources of Indo-China are to be artificially drained down to the French possessions in the South East away from Siam, away from Burma, so that the French Colonies may get a monopoly of all of them.

The Mekong River and valley are wanted to connect Tonquin with Cochin China. Half way between the two there is a high plateau, healthy and fertile. This will come in usefully. The great lake in Cambodia which teems with fish and is a trade centre for all that District is now partly Siamese and partly Cambodian. M. de Lanessan has a "natural," and apparently also a "scientific," desire for the whole of it, as well as for the Provinces which border the Lake.

The short sketch we have been able to give here of M. de Lanessan's book is enough to show that it is the prophecy as well as the explanation of his present policy in his dealings with Siam. He has never made any formal claim to the territory he is annexing. This would be impossible, for there is not a shred of evidence on which he could found any such claim; and, as we have seen, the admissions he makes in his own book render any such claim futile and absurd. The policy foreshadowed in the book, and now being carried into execution, is encroachment without any claim being made, any reason being given, any explanation being offered. It is an encroachment which has interrupted the pending friendly negotiations between Siam and France. It is perhaps more "scientific" to invade and occupy territory about which the stronger Power is negotiating with the weaker, and to continue the negotiations after this little *entracte* is finished.

But how does this policy commend itself to the tens of thousands of fair-minded peace-loving Frenchmen who wish the names of their Statesmen to be honoured and respected all over the world? Nothing but the absolute ignorance by Frenchmen at home of what is going on in Indo-China makes this policy possible. The more manly and courageous of the French newspapers are already beginning to reveal the true state of the facts; and when the French public are told the truth, we shall see whether those who use the power of France to take by force the territory of weaker nations which they dare not attempt to claim by right, will be honoured by Frenchmen at home and maintained in positions which they turn to such purposes as this.

Great European Powers who have colonial possessions in the East can adopt two courses of policy in dealing with Orientals. They can offer the great advantages which Western organization, experience, capital, and skill combine to produce, both for the Power that sells and the Power that buys these highly valuable commodities; or they can force, at the point of the bayonet, themselves, and those in their pay, and their methods of administration upon a people who are too weak to resist them, but who appreciate the different methods of treatment as keenly as any people in the world.

One thing is certain that the seeds of violent and unjust aggression will never produce the harvest of prosperity and peaceful progress. Surely there has been proof enough, without adding to it, that Easterns do not easily forget what oppression teaches them, that time and opportunity come at last to those who know how to wait, and that there is no race of men who have learnt better how to wait than Orientals.

THE "HOME CHARGES" OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA:

THEIR NATURE AND INCIDENCE,

By W. MARTIN WOOD.

THE term "Home Charges" reminds one of the remote period—recently illustrated in Mr. Bernard Quaritch's reprint from the "First Letter Book of the East India Company"—when almost the only connection between the United Kingdom and India was through the small group of merchants trading to the East Indies, who derived only indirect political support and sanction through their Charters, granted by the Crown mainly for its own profit. The phrase is one that would naturally arise in course of the traders' correspondence, chiefly relating to the disbursements of office expenses, salaries, and the fitting out of their vessels. It was not until 1765 that this head of account clearly began to include a political element, as we may presently explain. But the survival of this old trade term is very convenient, as it now serves to mark off distinctly those payments due in London to, and by the Secretary of State, debited to, or levied from, the current revenues of India—from those other disbursements and receipts which usually balance each other, being the proceeds of or repayments of loans or railway capital; and which, until the results of those transactions assume some definitive shape, relate only to the "Ways and Means" or current cash transactions of the year. These two sets of payments—one temporary, deferred or formal; the other direct, real and inexorable—are both combined on the usual parliamentary paper entitled—"Home Accounts of the Government of India," so that it is not easy at first sight to distinguish between the two groups. This, however, is done for us in the highly useful "Explanatory Memorandum" that has been issued by the Under-Secretary of State during the last few years. Take, for instance, that

for 1892: on page 14 is the following heading—"Home Charges: . . . an Analysis of the net Expenditure on England charged on the Revenue of the year, with the Exchange added." This paper, which could easily be issued within a fortnight after receipt of the Finance Minister's Statement at the end of March, is too often delayed until the very eve of the Indian Minister's exposition, drifted to the fag end of the Session, so that the usefulness of the Memorandum is thereby much lessened. The excuse for that delay is plausible, but insufficient. It is that in the many weeks that elapse between the arrival of the Statement from India and its exposition in the House, many minor revisions of the figures come forward by letter or telegram which it is convenient to embody in the Explanatory Memorandum. But this could easily be provided for by the issue of a half sheet at the latest date giving those minor revisions, which members could easily apply to the Memorandum if they had it in their hands during April. Here it may be well to recall what is the statutory requirement as to the presentation of the Indian accounts to Parliament. It is comprised in Sec. 53 of the Act of 1858 "for the better Government of India"—what in a political and financial sense forms the Anglo-Indian Constitution—and runs thus: "the Secretary of State in Council shall, within the first fourteen days during which Parliament may be sitting next after the First Day of May, lay before both Houses of Parliament an account of the financial year preceding the last completed of the Annual Produce of the Revenues of India, distinguishing the same under their respective heads thereof," etc.: "together with the latest estimate of the same for the last financial year, also the amount of the Debt chargeable on the revenues of India," etc. Here, in passing, we may remark an ambiguity in the expression "the last financial year": it is the *forthcoming* or *current* financial year that is meant, and such estimate is always given, being indeed *the* subject-matter on which it is sought to obtain the judgment of Parliament. As to this statutory

requirement for presentation, within the first fourteen days of May, it is one that has been frequently neglected or evaded by the Statement being *sub silentio* placed on the table "in dummy." Since attention was called to the matter by the late Mr. Bradlaugh two or three years ago the publication of the Account has been in, or near the prescribed period.

Now, to revert to our special subject that of the Home Charges: that list (which is not an "analysis") on page 14 of the 1892 Memorandum gives fifteen chief heads of account, but these we need not set out here. They are under three divisions—the Accounts closed for 1890-1; the Revised Estimate for 1891-2; and the Budget Estimate for 1892-3; thus affording convenient comparison, so far, of past, present, and future. As to "analysis" of these heads of account, the industrious Members of Parliament who desire to do justice to Indian affairs, must go to the detailed figures which will be found with tolerable explicitness in the full collection of the Financial Statements that are always available. Here one can only deal with the large figures. For instance the total charges, expressed in sterling, stand in the Memorandum estimate at £15,749,600; though according to the Finance Minister (parag. 35) the amount has been £16,563,600; but he explains (which we need not go into) that this does not mean any "permanent increase in the Home Charges." This may be so; but as Sir David Barbour proceeds to remark (parag. 93) that the Secretary of State will draw for £18,700,000 during 1893-4 the pressure on India will be all that more for the present. And as the withdrawal from India to obtain that 15½ millions for the year just past was estimated at Rx 23,624,400 (and has been more) the drawings at the estimated rate for the current year must creep up towards thirty millions of Rx. It is the rupee demand on India that indicates the pinching of the shoe, and means so much more produce to be drawn from the impoverished country to keep up what we are pleased to call our Government of India.

Now let us take note of the principal items that go to make up this enormous charge levied on the Indian peoples, the whole of which is expended in this country, going to increase its wages fund, its profits, and its capital. By far the largest of all is that under "Army" and it may be well to set out the subdivisions (we take the Budget Estimates for 1892-3) thus, numbering them for convenience of reference and comment:—

	£	Exchange: Rs.	Equivalent of Sterling payments: Rs.
1. Home Charges of British Forces serving in India }	772,000	386,000	1,158,000
2. Troop Service and Transport	233,600	116,800	350,400
3. Other Charges	18,000	9,000	27,000
4. Military Stores	1,040,600	520,300	1,560,900
5. Special Defence Works ...	229,000	114,500	343,600
6. Furlough, Military	303,000	151,500	454,500
7. Non-Effective Charges ditto.	2,807,100	1,403,600	4,210,700
8. Marine Stores	72,100	36,100	108,200
9. H.M. Ships in Indian Seas...	49,600	22,100	66,400
10. Indian Government Defence Vessels, etc. }	56,000	28,000	84,000
	<hr/> £5,581,000	<hr/> 2,787,900	<hr/> 8,363,700

Thus it will be seen that these Army charges on Indian account—which in 1873-4, Lord Northbrook's time, were only about $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions—absorb much more than one-third of the whole expenditure in England debited to India. In that year 1873-4 the outlay in this country had already been swollen by the costly Amalgamation policy and by the increase of the "Non-effective" item. As to the broad question whether, first, as a matter of political equity, these $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions, being on behalf of the Empire as a whole, should not be largely shared by the Imperial Treasury; and, second, as a matter of financial justice these payments, constituting a direct addition to the income of the United Kingdom, should not be met by some substantial payment from its revenues, this we must leave for the present. It is as to the way in which the large details of these charges are made up that the palpable iniquity of their being

entirely levied from the impoverished people of India most plainly comes out. The task has, fortunately, been partly discharged by the Earl of Northbrook in his valuable speech to his peers on May 15. Though his lordship remarked that he did "not wish to pose as an authority," he is really one of the best possible authorities there can be on the subject. He has followed it closely for twenty years past, both outside and inside, first as Governor-General of India, when he sedulously devoted his efforts to secure true economy in this and all other branches of financial administration; and, secondly, as Chairman of a Standing Committee or Commission appointed by the Treasury to regulate the rates of the effective charges as against the continual encroachments of the War Office. Let us glance at the history of these stealthy encroachments which have swollen effective and non-effective charges alike.

By way of striking contrast we refer to 1822, when the East India Company agreed to pay £60,000 a year under the head of non-effective, and the Minister of the day owned that the Company "behaved exceedingly handsomely in the matter." It was in 1861 (after the Amalgamation be it noted) that the basis of the present gross abuses was laid. The rate of charge was then agreed upon at "£10 for effective men in India" and at £3 10s. per man "for the whole non-effective." Even then the sturdy Secretary of State, Sir Charles Wood, protested, as pertinently quoted by Lord Northbrook, thus—"It would be clearly understood the present temporary arrangement was not to be regarded as an admission that it was one that India could be justly called upon to pay when the benefit to England of the employment of the army in India was taken into consideration." Let this latter clause be reserved for future remark, for it bears on the fact that the depôts of British regiments serving in India which constitute a considerable portion of the English and Irish garrisons are charged on the revenues of India. This

comes under our item 1; and as Lord Northbrook said "every single farthing of the (British soldier's) expenses from the time he recruits until the time he goes out is paid by India"—though, while at the *depôt*, he is only effective so far as English service is concerned. But it is in the non-effective charge (on item 7) that the greatest increase and abuses have arisen. This extra cupidity on the part of the War Office and Treasury began in 1870, when, as his lordship remarked, "a most complicated and extraordinary plan was hit upon under which, year by year, the actual pension India was supposed to be called upon to pay was capitalised and the actual value was paid annually." Since then this imposition has gone on by leaps and bounds, until from a quarter of a million in 1870 the non-effective charge has become nearly three millions, as shown in our item 7. And the plea on which the surcharge has been imposed is worst of all. It seems that Lord Kimberley did timidly protest at a later period, 1881, when its effect began to be severely felt; he said "A part of the increase was incurred owing to measures carried into effect by the English Government for purposes unconnected with India, such as the abolition of the purchase system and compulsory retirement of officers." Here we may remark in passing that many other changes indicating the cost of the British soldier "unconnected with India" have largely increased the cost to that country without either its government or people having had a word to say to those charges—as shown by General Chesney and other speakers in a recent debate. The Earl of Ripon as Governor-General renewed the protest against these growing factitious charges; in a Minute of his quoted by Lord Northbrook, he said—"The argument (against these extra levies by the home departments) as regards the abolition of the purchase system appears to be particularly strong. It certainly appears to me exceedingly unjust that the Indian revenue should be called upon to bear any charge in order to get rid of this peculiarly

English matter." As to "justice," this is only a pious opinion that does not affect the methods of the spending departments at home; their habitual motto is—"make India pay." Though occasionally when a conscientious man, such as the late Earl of Derby, has happened to be at the Treasury some qualms have arisen; and he from his earliest connection with these matters did what he could to check that traditional system of imposition on India. Lord Northbrook, in summing up his own experience in regard to this dismal and unworthy pressure on the weak by the strong, said—"the result was that after fourteen years' work the main contention had not been considered, but was altogether put on one side . . . the main question after twenty years has been utterly and entirely ignored, and the difficulties remain." Therefore his lordship gave up the unavailing struggle, he resigned his place on the Commission and has now delivered his soul in open day.

As to the other items, we may just notice the Naval and Transport charges, amounting to nearly £350,000 per annum. The whole cost of troops proceeding to, and returning from, India is borne from leaving Portsmouth to their return; though the least would be to expect the British Treasury to sustain the cost for their coming home, seeing that the troops are available at every point on their return voyage. Since that injudicious measure, the abolition of the Indian Navy in 1863-6, the Indian revenues have been a resource for the patronage and extraneous expenditure of the Admiralty to the extent of hundreds of thousands. As we are constantly told that our Navy is for the defence of British commerce all over the world, it seems a shabby course to squeeze India's revenues on that behalf when the Colonies are let off so lightly in that respect.

II. The next item which challenges attention is one that is more frequently forced on public notice—as

in the recent pertinent interpellation by Lord Stanley of Alderley regarding the (duplicate) Secretary of State's salary — the India Office, its Establishment, and several charges under its manipulation. The totals, as shown in the Budget Estimates for 1892-3, are £192,600, resulting in a charge on India of Rs 285,900. The chief heads as set out are these (we number them on from the former list) :—

	£	Exchange : Rs.	Equivalent to Rs.
11. Salaries of Establishment ...	136,400	68,200	204,600
12. Auditors' Department ...	6,800	3,400	10,200
13. Stores Department ...	25,900	12,900	38,800
14. Stationery, postage, telegrams and other charges	21,500	10,800	32,300

Before commenting on these current items that arise year by year, it is well to take note of the cost of the India Office building itself. When our foreign friends are shown the grand quadrangle of public offices south of Downing Street and west of Parliament Street, they willingly admit that the pile is imposing and that the outlay on it was worthy of a wealthy nation. But there is an important qualification before this compliment can be freely accepted. The whole cost of the south-west portion of the quadrangle was charged on and paid for by the people of India, whilst for the opposite portion, that on the north-east, consisting of the offices in which the business of our Colonial empire is conducted, not a shilling was contributed by the Colonists, as the construction and maintenance of their head offices was, in their opinion, an Imperial charge. No doubt it is; but our control of India is equally, if not far more of an Imperial character. India is held in the hollow of our hand, its people have no voice here; so we drew on their revenues year by year for the construction of their head-office as we call it, and the money was paid without any murmurings to speak of. About the time that the India Office was finished and the whole pile complete, our Ministry of the period had a mind to give a grand

reception to H.I.M. the Sultan of Turkey; when this quadrangle was covered over, and such a spectacle was presented that made one of our inspired statesmen of the time exclaim, "Why, this is like Belshazzar's Feast!" But, as a foreign cynic remarked, this *mot* might prove ominous, seeing that the £10,000 spent on that reception was all charged on the distant and silent Indian people.*

Now let us look into some of the details of that total current charge for the India Office already shown as £192,600 or 28½ lakhs of rupees in the budget for the year just closed. There is an apparent discrepancy between that figure and those shown in the more complete "Home Accounts of the Government of India" dated as "ordered by Parliament May 12th, 1893," wherein (table 10) the "India Office" and "Salaries," etc., are entered as £194,181 and £151,152 respectively. This difference may be partly explained by two sums under the vague title of "Contingencies," £11,900 and £13,400, being entered in one group and not under the other—the latter sum being debited to the Store Depôt, of which more presently. The most interesting item in the India Office list is the cost of that great luminary the Secretary of State and his satellites, amounting to £25,300, or, say, three and a half lakhs of rupees—as this constellation consists of seventeen, including thirteen members of Council, that comes to nearly £1,400 a piece. But there is to the line "Members of Council at £1,200 each" a weighty foot-note, which, as it may be said to shed lustre on the whole group, must be transcribed here, thus—"Five also receive Indian Civil Service Annuities of £1,000 each; one, an Indian Judicial Pension of £1,500 a year; two, Indian Military

* In the yearly charges there are levied, through and for the British Foreign Office, two items so utterly inequitable that they ought long since to have been wiped off, and should be abolished even in the present Session: these are—"Political charges—Persian Mission" £7,000 = Rx 10,500; and "Diplomatic and Consular Establishment in China"—£12,500 = Rx 18,700. We have no more right to make the people of India pay these exactions year after year, than to expect them to pay our Foreign Office charges in Morocco or Chili.

Pay at 25s. a day and Colonel's Allowance £668 12s. a year each; one, Indian Military Retired Pay at £1 a day; and two, Pay in respect of service in the British Army." Now it must be owned these figures carry quite an Imperial ring with them: and it is comforting to the British citizen to consider that this liberal outlay of other peoples' money forms a substantial addition to the income of this great Metropolis. But other reflections will arise: for instance, though these double-shorted salaries—to say nothing of the lordly £5,000 for the Chief—may not be at an excessive rate considering the experience and talent thus secured for the service of the Empire, might not half the men suffice for the work to be done? It is true that the eight or nine thousand a year (say a lakh of rupees) that could thus be saved is only a trifling sum compared with the huge impositions on India already described under Army Charges; but even this odd lakh serves, on one hand, to suggest many others that await the pruning knife, and, on the other, what a godsend to many a struggling college or starved civil department in India would be a few thousand *pukha* rupees judicially dispensed, instead of the same remitted *kutchha* rupees being squandered on luxuries here. *Ex uno disce omnes.* The fifty-two clerks of sorts under the head of "Correspondence" cost £32,525, even more than the chief galaxy aforesaid; but it may be presumed we have real working men here seeing that the six chief Secretaries at £1,200 a year are included. To them also is assigned a foot-note indicating, in case of three of them, double that income. As to the details of this huge establishment, its special assistants, its supernumeraries, its superannuations, its messengers, housemaids, or charwomen, and its "Contingencies" galore, all that jungle we must leave to be pruned or cleared by some painstaking administrative reformer, as, for instance, Sir Charles Trevelyan once was. Meantime such minor questions will arise as to why £1,000 should be spent on a Consulting Officer for Indian Troop ships, while only £400 (now raised to £800) should be

granted for the valuable service of "Cataloguing the Records of the India Office"; why "six hired writers" should have four guineas a week while "nine lady typists" should be pinched on 14s. to 30s. a week, and, above all, why that glorified Treasury clerk, Sir Algernon West, should be drawing £800 (say 12,000 rupees) from the revenues of India?

But it is the Stores Department, with its establishment of 280 all told—including its Director-General and Senior Clerks costing £6,500 a year—that has long needed, but as yet obstinately defies, the hand of the reformer. The demand against that nest of barnacles which has come from all classes in India for years past is—"Ah, reform it altogether." It is regarded as combining all the faults of expensiveness, circumlocution, delay, and waste. Its cost is entered at £40,300 with £13,400 for "Contingencies" (say nearly eight lakhs of rupees); that last figure includes such items as "Travelling Expenses" £4,500, and £1,000 to the Inland Revenue Office for "Superintending" the supply of stamps for India. It is not so much on the cost of this department that stress is laid; but when it is considered that it has sole control over purchases that amount to a million or two per annum there is no wonder that, from the Indian side, the Stores Department of the India Office is a byword of dislike and suspicion. About ten years ago, when Sir Evelyn Baring was Finance Minister, strong representations were made urging that greater economy and facility would be attained by much more largely contracting for, or otherwise purchasing "Stores" in India where they are to be used. Some little way was made in that direction, but the obstinate resistance of the India Office to that wholesome and business-like reform has been pertinaciously maintained. The Indian Chambers of Commerce and mercantile firms which could supply on the spot iron and other European materials, have remonstrated again and again. Native Indian associations, that are manfully striving to extend the scope of indigenous

production, have pleaded to be heard as against this incubus of the Stores Department, but as yet almost in vain; though all the Indian administrations would gladly support the policy of local purchases if permitted by the Charles Street bureau.

III. It is not practicable, within our limits, to deal in due proportion with the ramifications of this subject which has such vital bearing on the financial and material condition of India: but just a word must be said on that sterling Debt, the annual charge for which stands (1892-3) at £2,416,000 = Rs 3,624,000. It is said that India could not borrow anywhere so cheaply as in England—a truism the bearing of which our official financiers frequently fail to appreciate. But there is a previous question—how was the debt built up, and on which Treasury should its chief incidence equitably fall? That is an essentially historical question the facts of which have been greatly obscured. For those whose duty it is to study it—and no one without that course can understand the present material and monetary *ill-condition* of India—we would refer to a masterly essay by the late Robert Knight (*Journal of the East India Association*, Vol. II., Part 3),* in which are shown the enormous sums drawn from Bengal during the first fifty years of our rule, the vast amounts expended from Indian resources on English wars of conquest against the Dutch and French, and the terribly accumulated pressure thus iniquitously inflicted on India which indeed, though in more specious form, *is still going on*.

IV. As to the broad politico-financial questions that underly this subject of India's Home Charges we can only here sum them up with severe brevity—premising that the pith of the whole matter is comprised in the quotation from Sir George Wingate in the April number of this Review, p. 506. By far the larger part of this sixteen

* See also Vol. V., Part 2, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji on the *Commerce of India*, with the debate thereon, presided over by Sir Bartle Frere. See also "India's Unadjusted Trade Balance," *Political Science Quarterly*, Dec., 1887.

millions and more; all of which is drawn from India, represents the cost of maintaining our control over that country; that control has resulted in millions on millions of pecuniary profit to this United Kingdom, and in political prestige the value of which few, except impartial Continental statesmen and economists, can realize: therefore some substantial share in that cost should be borne by the Treasury of this Kingdom. This is the political equity of the matter. But as to the financial effect on the two countries of this inexorable annual withdrawal from India, this is a question that comes under the head of ordinary fairness and enlightened prudence. India is a poor country—scores of millions of its people can scarcely obtain the bare necessities of existence—England is one of the wealthiest nations on the face of the earth. It is an axiom of economics that revenue drawn from a subject country and spent in the dominant country reduces prices, profits and industrial funds, also prevents growth of capital in the former, and increases all those factors in the latter country, in both cases in more than arithmetical proportion.* England by defraying some appreciable portion of these annual millions of disbursement would greatly check their destructive effect on India, and, by *pro tanto* relieving the intolerable pressure on the dependent country, might secure the perpetuation of that control which is, or should be, a mutual benefit to both. Finally: India is weak, but England is strong; yet we dare not charge our colonies with the cost of the Colonial Office nor with any appreciable share for their naval and military defence, every shilling of which and more also is, in the case of India, paid by the dependent country. Why, then, should we not take counsel, of justice and prudence, alike, in this great imperial matter, and by granting this boon to the peoples of our grand Indian Empire, weld them to us for ever?

* See concluding section of J. S. Mill's chapter on "Distribution of the Precious Metals."

The following telegram appears in the *Times* of June 15th :
 "Indian Opinion on Home Charges." "The feeling on the subject of home charges is gaining strength rapidly, and there seems to be little doubt that all classes of the community will soon join in demanding a *strict and impartial inquiry into—*(1) *the excessive cost of the India Office establishment* (2) *the working of the Store Purchase Department* (3) *the contributions levied on the Indian Treasury, by the War Office, the Admiralty, and the Foreign Office.* It is universally felt that India has been treated very unfairly, and the questions asked in Parliament are watched with keen interest. *Any attempt to stifle or delay inquiry will cause much bitterness and discontent.*"

In connexion with the above subject, "an Anglo-Indian official" comments as follows :

THE HOME CHARGES AND LORD NORTHBROOK.

On the 15th February last, Lord Stanley of Alderley elicited a discussion in the House of Lords on the double salary of Lord Kimberley. Lord Northbrook then considered that the Government and people of India had much to complain of the manner in which the India Office dealt with the Home Charges, and shortly after he gave notice of a motion "to call attention to the Home Charges of the Government of India in relation to the condition of the Finances of India: and to move for papers." This was understood at the time to mean that the India Office would be overhauled and both in official and public opinion in India, this intention was hailed with satisfaction as indicating Lord Northbrook's continued strong interest in the country of which he had been Viceroy. For some reason or other the motion was delayed and delayed, till, to the disappointment of Lord Northbrook's admirers, the subject discussed on the 15th May in the House of Lords, was not the India Office at all, but the supposed struggle of the India Office against the unjust impositions of the War Office and the

Treasury. Although this grievance may be the greatest of all and it was, undoubtedly, tactical to combine with the Secretary of State for India against the common adversary, yet, to judge from the tone of the Indian Press and from the letters that have reached me, it is generally felt that the whole venue of the question, as started by Lord Stanley of Alderley, has been changed by Lord Northbrook and that we are as far from an open investigation into the Home Charges of the India Office, including its relations to the War Office and Treasury, as we were before. To this feeling, the telegram in the *Times* of June 15th, gives utterance and even the Indian official world, judging by the *Pioneer*, does not seem to bear out Lord Northbrook's statement on the 15th May that the facts were *not* so "alarming" as he had supposed from the remarks in the Press or to justify his restricting the discussion to the Military Charges. We certainly think that an explanation is required as to why the *whole* subject of Home Charges was not threshed out in the House of Lords, when such a favourable opportunity presented itself which may not soon again occur. Indeed, the last phase of the subject is that, on the 16th June, Mr. Gladstone, in reply to a question by Mr. D. H. Macfarlane, said that "he could not consent to the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the question of the Home Charges paid out of the revenues of India," though, on the 19th, nothing daunted, Mr. Macfarlane gave notice that "on the introduction of the Indian Budget he would move that in the opinion of the House it was desirable, with a view to an equitable adjustment of military and other charges made in this country and payable out of the revenue of India, that a Committee or Commission should be appointed to consider and report on the subject."

AN ANGLO-INDIAN OFFICIAL.

INDIANS IN ENGLAND AND THE INDIA CIVIL SERVICE.

BY DR. G. W. LEITNER.

IN the recent parliamentary Debate on holding the competitive Examination for the India Civil Service simultaneously in England and in India, it has been assumed, both by the advocates and the opponents of the proposed measure, that it was to the advantage of that service or to that of good government, if natives of India came to this country. The advocates of a proposal, which has stolen a march on Parliament, suggest that candidates in India, who have been successful at "the first" or "competitive" Examination should prepare themselves during 3 years in England for the "final" or special Pass Examination of the successful or "selected" Candidates. The opponents urge that intending Candidates for the *first* Examination, in which most must fail, should already come to England in order to become acquainted with the institutions of this country. Both parties to the discussion, therefore, seem to take it for granted that a residence in this country is almost an unmixed blessing. From this coincidence it may be inferred that they alike represent the English, rather than the native, view of the question—in other words, that both desire the denationalization of Indians and that the question is merely one between Englishmen and anglicized Indians. That the latter must succeed in a struggle on such common ground is certain, for they offer to bring the additional sacrifice of coming to England for three years in order to learn to govern India, whereas the English "selected" Candidate does not prepare himself *in* India, during the probationary period, for his future work in that country. A native by birth or color, if English in everything else, endowed with more memory and more painstaking than his whiter rival, will always, in the judgment of the British public, have, *cæteris paribus*, a better chance and a greater claim to govern his own country than an Englishman.

The question of the rule of India is intimately connected with the constitution of the Civil Service and is, therefore, one of vital importance not only to England but also to the true culture of India. I consider the latter to be the more important consideration. I advisedly use the word "culture" instead of "civilization," as a long residence in India and the active part which I have taken in "native" movements have convinced me that India is being ruined by the aping of English manners and ideas of government. This ruin will be accelerated by the increased importation, under little, if any, supervision, of natives of India into this country.

The "native" rule which Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji M.P. would seem desirous of substituting for that of the present Anglo-Indian officials, is the infinitely more "foreign" rule of denationalized natives who have lost touch with their fellow-countrymen.

That this is not an overcharged statement may be inferred from the comments of the most popular Bengali newspaper upon the results of the Calcutta elections: "Look at the situation! Under the elective system three excommunicated Hindus who have visited England will be returned to the Bengal Council and be recognised as representatives of the country. Whose representatives are they except those of a handful of men? They have no sympathy with natives; nor is it possible that they should have, for in their education, training, manners, and customs they are the refuse of the English." There is, of course, more sympathy between an Englishman of good birth and a high-caste native who respects himself than between a high-caste native and an out-caste fellow-countryman, even if the latter call himself a "native" reformer.

Again, an English gentleman by birth in an official position in India, and no other should occupy one, is infinitely more regardful of the feelings and rights of all classes of natives, than a native of a low class in a position of authority in which he can show his power or spite. It may

be said that some of the cleverest Englishmen in the Civil Service belong to the lower classes, but moving in the generally higher atmosphere of their colleagues makes the vulgar assume a virtue though they have it not, and there is no doubt, that the most revolutionary measures in India which are shaking our rule have been advocated by such Englishmen. But the case is very different when the *whole* of a *native* ruling class is to be composed by men, who, rightly or wrongly, have bidden defiance to what the mass of their community and its natural leaders think respectable or wise and whose success hitherto in any one of the professions, where they have not been complete failures, does not come near the eminence and usefulness in them of those who have never studied in England at all.

There is no native barrister, who is a legal luminary like Mandlik, no statesman like Salar Jang or Madhava Rao or Dinkar Rao, no scholars like Nyayaratna or Rajendralala, all pillars of learning, of their people and of our Government. Indeed, there is not one of the new school who is equal to a thoroughly good Maulvi or Pandit in mental depth and strength, or who can compare with the native physicians or engineers, who have been trained by either the English or the native systems *in* India, whilst all enjoy better health and are less slaves to feverish and weakening ambitions. The immediate result of compelling natives of India to come to England will be to eliminate the governing Class or the Class that has vested interests and sympathies in India. In more senses than one, pious and aristocratic Hindu communities will be handed over to outcastes. This will not affect the Muhammadan youths to the same extent, as they could, if they only chose, maintain their religion in this country, but, on the other hand, they are, with a few admirable exceptions, even less a law unto themselves than Hindus of the better castes. By the force of social and political associations, which I need not discuss here, it is a tendency of all English reforms, including Missionary efforts, to, unintentionally, increase the influence or number of Muhammadans, who, being accustomed to traditions

of rule, would, no doubt, take the lead in the proposed new departure of the Civil Service, were their means equal to their aspirations. They are, however, themselves their worst enemies, and I have often had occasion to mourn over the premature falling-off of promising Muhammadans. That they are only a fifth of the Indian population, is no objection, except from an elector's point of view, considering that minorities must ever rule, and that we ourselves are a minority in India, that is even more "microscopic" than the anglicized natives, who are certain to get into power, in spite of Lord Dufferin's epigrammatic appellation.

The fault is with us. From the day that a native lands in England everything conspires to spoil him. I have seen an Ex-Viceroy and an Ex-Governor visit an Indian Club in this country and ask four young natives who tilted their chairs against a table, instead of rising in Indian, if not English, politeness, what was their opinion on some political subject of the day! I have known the mainstay of that Club, an Englishman of position, maintain that it was wise to "let young men sow their wild oats," as if this should be done at the expense of English or Indian purity. There is not a man or a woman or a Society, brought in contact with a young Indian, that does not think more of pleasing him than of his parents, people and future in India. Instead of placing a Palace at the disposal of an Indian Prince, all the kindness that a Secretary of State can show him, is to invite him to dinner, in other words, to spoil his caste and alienate him from his subjects. One Chief was heard to say "What could I do? out of fear I ate"; another, less scrupulous, is always yearning "to go *home*, in order to be out of the way of niggers"; a third, a worthy, though not high-caste, prince, visits Europe year after year, as if even European ruling sovereigns ever left their countries for any length of time. This cannot continue with impunity. Instead of, at least, learning their language, not to speak of the innumerable lessons of grandeur, devotion and chivalry of Indian History and customs, we confound natives with suggestions

of reforms, to which our prestige, not their suitability, gives weight. Descending still lower, we sometimes, alas, find hospitality dispensed on the common ground of dissipation, which a shining light among Radicals, explained as deserving encouragement "for," he said, "if they learn to despise our civilization, they will strike for their freedom." Even marriages between Englishwomen and Indians, of whatever rank, fill one with misgivings and are not likely to lead to happiness in the new surroundings. It is not English life that will suffer by these alliances; it is the native that will be destroyed, after he has lost his caste or religion, his source of hope and courage in adversity and of goodness in prosperity, for in the death of his national associations he too, by an inevitable law of nature, must perish in successively weakened generations.

In my humble opinion, we do not require "competitive" Examinations at all for India, but the generous and regular promotion of distinguished native public servants, now in the grades of what were called the "uncovenanted" services, to the higher posts of the Civil Service. An *honest* trial should also be given to the Statutory Native Civil Service, in which I have known most distinguished men.* Above all, the Military profession should be open to the scions of native noble families. If Russia can trust entire Muhammadan regiments to Muhammadan generals, we can even more afford to do so, especially after the outburst of loyalty which has, practically, placed the troops of native States at our disposal. The proper course is to divide the number of Civil Service appointments which form the subject of Examinations or of nomination between England and India.† If we are to have competitive Examinations in India instead of tests suitable to the requirements of the various parts of that Continent, let us have them simultaneously in England and in various Indian Centres and not *compel* the successful or "selected" Indian Candidate

* Careful nomination, followed by the strictest "Pass" Examination, in both general and special subjects, is what I venture to suggest.

† See "concluding remarks" on pages 103 to 105.

to spend his probation in England or send the English Candidate to India, which would be far more sensible. If, however, Indian Candidates, who have passed a competitive or other test, are to study in England for their final Examination, then let arrangements be made, both as regards their passage to and from this country and their stay in it, such as shall not lead to their denationalization, or to their loss of caste or of religion. That this *can* be done, in exceptional cases, has been proved and it only depends on the good will of the India Office and of the Indian Authorities to convert the exception into the rule.

The following papers, of which the first was circulated by the Indian Government in 1867 in connexion with the Gilchrist Scholarships, still show what steps may be adopted to meet the so-called spirit of the age, the requirements of good government, and the claims of the native nobility, and gentry and those of existing native officials :

THE DANGERS OF SENDING NATIVE YOUTHS TO EUROPE.*

It is singular that a measure, for which, perhaps more than for any other, Sir John Lawrence's reign will be remembered, should have received so little critical treatment by the Indian Press. The *Hindu Patriot* was, probably, loudest in the expression of satisfaction ; other journals had misgivings, but none, I believe, pointed out that His Excellency's proposal was likely to injure the very cause which, on the eve of leaving for England, he had so generously espoused. I have often advocated the policy of sending Native Officials of rank, ability and proved trustworthiness to England, and I believe that the late proposal regarding the Uncovenanted Leave Rules which allow only three years' leave in India, has been specially designed in order to induce them to visit Europe by the bait of an additional three years' leave. Had Native Officials been sent home at the expense of Government, the result must have been a satisfactory one, as their experience in Europe could, on their return to duty, have at once been utilized by the State, which knew their worth before it sent them on their travels. But to send youths home can, at the best, be only a doubtful *experiment*, and it is because I fear that *it will cause a reaction* against native interests that I now venture to point out some of its dangers.

There seems to be no reason why one portion of Her Majesty's subjects should, more than any other, be educated at the public expense for professions and Government service. It may be said that India has the

* The subject matter of this paper was submitted to Government, through Sir H. S. Maine, D.C.L., by the author, Dr. Leitner.

wealth, if not the enterprise, to send nine of her sons annually to Europe for professional or "official" ambition; it may be threatened that *English* candidates will clamour against a one-sided bestowal of public patronage, and force Government either to retrace its steps or involve itself in greater expense; and it may be finally urged that the *selection* of any candidate is against the present system of *competition*.

It is in vain to hope that these Native youths will, as a rule, prefer professions, with the single exception, in some cases, of the legal one, to Government service. If they qualify themselves to be Engineers or Surgeons, it will be with the view of competing for Government posts in those departments.

There is nothing to prevent Natives *now* from availing themselves of the Medical and Engineering Colleges which India already provides, and there is no reason why some title, equivalent to that of "Barrister," should not be conferred by the Indian Inns of Court that might be founded. It is just because *professions* have yet to be created among the Natives, at any rate, of Upper India that they, without the prospect of Government employ, do not attract many students in this country. Even superior minds have been known to prefer fixed to precarious incomes, and it is scarcely likely that even the few "professional" Native students will prefer, especially under the pressure of their relatives in India, private practice on their return home to the chance of successfully competing for a Government appointment.

It is to be presumed that there will be numerous failures among the Native competitors for public appointments, especially in the Indian Civil Service, to which their attention will, in the majority of cases, be directed. This will be a very probable result, especially if the marking of the Civil Service Commissioners for oriental languages is not raised to, what it should be, 750 marks for Arabic and Sanskrit in the "Competitive Examination." These failures may throw discredit on the generous measure about to be carried out, and will certainly cause disappointment to the unsuccessful candidates, for whom, probably, Government may have to provide appointments in, what is now called, the Uncovenanted Service.

Some of the moral and political effects of the proposal in question cannot be contemplated without apprehension. Familiarity with our vice-stained classes in England will cause contempt for our civilization, which the Native students on their return to India will not be slow to show. The youthful mind is the slave of appearances. The numerous Turkish youths, although belonging to a race as vigorous and honest as any in India, who have been trained in Europe, have, in the majority of cases, returned to their country with only a taste for champagne, kid gloves, and oaths, a use of the small talk of infidelity, and an unmistakable tendency to libertinage.

* In 1867 the Anjuman-i-Panjab addressed the Civil Service Commissioners on the subject of the reduction of the marks given to Arabic and Sanskrit from 500 to 375. Since then I am glad to see that the marks have again been raised to 500, though justice will only be rendered to these subjects when their marking is made precisely identical with that for Latin and Greek.

It would be sanguine to hope more from Indian youths, and I apprehend that even the best of them will be so much spoilt by the petting which they will receive at home, as to fret under subordination and imaginary slights on their return to India.

The great objection, however, to the proposal is, that it will not allay the irritation which has been expressed, in the name of the more intelligent and ambitious Natives, by the British Indian Associations of this country and England. It is always doubtful whether, in the case of alien and conquered races, any half-measure between total exclusion and general admission to higher office is, if practicable, wise or generous. In this case it is certain that the clamour for the total abolition of race distinctions will grow, rather than decrease, at this first instalment of Government concessions. This is perhaps only what should be, and it is probable that all the services must be eventually thrown open to all subjects of Her Majesty.

The concession is not a simple and intelligible, but a complicated and conditional one, and as such will create dissent, confusion, and apprehension in the Native mind. The Natives will say that Government is only liberal when it can denationalize them. Indeed, it is the expectation of some such result that will induce many Europeans to support "the proposal." But the majority of Natives, who are too bigoted to let their sons leave their country, will say—why have a competition *in our case* for a *competitive* examination, or why have a *selection* for a competition? (of course, those chiefs or gentlemen whose sons are not selected will be in a state of discontent). Why alienate Natives, even for a time, from the country in the government of which they are to take a share, and are Englishmen sent to other countries to learn to rule their own? etc., etc.

Finally, after a great deal of bitterness and misconception of the generosity of Government, the course will have to be taken, which might be adopted *now* without the slightest cost to Government, *viz.*, a certain number of appointments will be thrown open for competition *in this country* [India].

The vitality of outside agitation on this subject would then be destroyed, or, should it still continue, would have to narrow itself to a clamour about the *number* of those appointments. To this the Government will always be able to reply effectually, by referring to the necessary standard of qualification, the claims of the different provinces of India, the productions of the candidates and other facts that do not introduce race opposition.

In thus expressing my opinion, I trust I shall not be deemed blind to the many advantages to be derived by a Native from residence in England, or that I am actuated by anything but the sincerest affection for the Natives of this country. It is only because the concession referred to will not achieve all it intends, and will not prevent the eventual course that must soon be adopted, that I have ventured to express my dissent from a measure whose generosity and felicity of conception are worthy of the great Government from which it has emanated.

Should the measure in question be after all carried into effect, I trust that the Native students will not be relegated to country Colleges or

Universities. London, in or near which they should reside, alone of all cities in the world, gives a conception of size, diversity, and immensity, which would not be lost on the Native mind. In London are found the best teachers on all subjects; there are hospitals on a large scale; the great Courts of Law; the National and Indian Museums and Libraries; our Houses of Parliament; the great learned Societies; Engineering Workshops; vast Mercantile and Industrial Establishments, etc., etc.; in fact, all that, *under proper guidance*, can impress the Native student with the grandeur of our civilization. . . .

In Oxford and Cambridge, mainly institutions for instruction in Classics and Mathematics, subjects to acquire which Natives are not sent home presumably, the new students would wander about under the impression, however possibly incorrect, of not being properly taught. Whatever the respect with which we might be inclined to regard these Universities, we cannot deny that, for the purpose in question they are thoroughly unsuited. . . . I think you will agree with me that, after every due praise has been given to these institutions, no town in England can in its complete and manifold advantages compete with London. If the students are placed in charge of a tutor,—who will control their conduct and direct their studies, who will honor them even in their prejudices, and yet instil into them lessons of progress and high-mindedness, who acquainted with Oriental customs and languages and an admirer of what is true and beautiful in Oriental literature, will, through the comparative method, develop an enthusiasm for European civilization and science in his Native pupils, and yet be free from national and religious bias,—I am sure that, the purposes of discipline being thus secured, no field provides such special opportunities for the acquisition of knowledge of every kind as London.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE.

At a numerously attended meeting of the *Anjuman-i-Panjab* held on the 30th August 1876, my paper on the "Civil Service," which had already been submitted to Government, received the general approval. It referred to the difficulties connected with the Scheme of sending native youths to England. On this it was argued with some force that, rather than give umbrage to English candidates, the generous travelling and subsistence allowance to native students should be foregone, although it was to be borne in mind that English candidates were not, like their native colleagues, compelled to go to a distant country in order to pass their Examinations. On the whole, the *Anjuman* considered it more satisfactory to all, to have a number of Civil appointments *competed* for in India and to send the *selected* candidates for their two years' additional preparation to Europe.* All agreed that these native youths should be in charge of a tutor, of special fitness for the task, and who would be directly responsible to the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for India. It was also suggested that a Section might be founded in connexion with the Educational Departments

* Indians in England object to all supervision, but as prospective Civilians and going straight from India to a special Institute in England, they would readily comply with the demands of discipline.

Natural Sciences (any three of the following subjects) :

Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Geology, Electricity, Chemistry, etc.	750*
<i>Mental and Moral Science</i> (including <i>Indian Logic</i>)...	500

No marks to count, unless a candidate has obtained one-fourth at least of the number of maximum marks allotted to the subject or subjects which he may take up.

The advantage of this scheme is that, whilst being essentially fair to English students, it gives a chance to Indian candidates, and that it can be extended with ease to this country, should it be finally decided to throw a number of appointments open for public competition in India. A glance at the following may show the fairness of the scheme :

Mathematics	1,250	} Equal chances for both English and Indian students.
Natural Sciences	750	
Mental and Moral Science	500	
The Science of Language (Comparative Grammar, etc.)	750	
Latin	750	} The "Classics" of an English man.
Greek	750	
Arabic	750	
Sanscrit	750	} The "Classics" of an Indian.

An equally high standard to be insisted upon in both European and Oriental Classics.

French	375	} Modern literary languages for an Englishman.
German	375	
Italian	375	
Hindustani	375	} Modern literary languages for an Indian.
Persian	375	

Here the English candidate has a slight advantage over the Indian by having one more modern language, but this, I fear, cannot be helped.

English Language, Literature, History, and Composition	1,500	} Here the highest inducement is held out, and most wisely, for proficiency in the most useful subject for both the Native and the Englishman.

The Indian student will thus be able to rely on his Sanscrit and Arabic *versus* the Latin and Greek of his English competitor, though, even then, the chances will not be quite in favour of the Indian student, as it is rare that a Hindu knows Arabic, or a Mussulman Sanscrit, whilst an English Classic knows both Latin and Greek, and has thus a maximum of 1,500 marks to the other's 750.

Against the English candidate's French, German, and Italian, the Indian has his Hindustani and Persian; whilst with regard to English and "scientific" subjects generally, both sets of candidates are offered the same chance in examination. The introduction of "the science of language"

* The unaccountable increase of marks for that subject from its former amount of 500 to, I believe, 1,250 marks, is, I consider an exaggerated concession to the recent clamour in favour of an "useful" education, and must encourage cramming in those subjects.

(Comparative Grammar, Philology) is, I consider, a step in the right direction, because it recognises a science which has special interest for "Indo-European" scholars and officials. But the great recommendation of the suggested scheme for the "competitive examination" is that it will induce English candidates to pay greater attention than they have given hitherto to the subject of Oriental languages [both classical and modern], and thus increase the number of those officers, who alone have influence with the masses of his country, because they understand their languages and customs, and have a respect for their literatures.*

The second means, by which I suggest that the Covenanted Civil Service should be entered, is

By regular promotion from lower grades.

I may state here that naturally the great personal interest which is felt in this matter induces native officials to lay greater stress on it than on admission by examination. There are men amongst them who have been 10 to 20 years in the service, and yet see no prospect of promotion. They suggest that:

1. The present rates of pay per mensem in the different grades of Extra Assistant Commissioner be raised as follows:

3rd Grade of Extra Assistant Commissioner from Rs. 250 to 300.

2nd Grade Extra Assistant Commissioner from Rs. 400 to 500.

1st Grade of Extra Assistant Commissioner from Rs. 600 to 700 per mensem with annual further increase.

(The Panjab Government have lately increased these salaries.)

2. That Extra Assistant Commissioners be appointed, either by selection or competitive examination, and that Tahsildars, after certain length of service be promoted to Extra Assistant Commissionerships.

3. That the principle of graduated increase of pay, depending on every year of service, be conceded.

4. That an allowance be made to those who pass certain examinations, and receive "full powers."

The rates of annual increase of salary and the progress of promotion by seniority are suggested in the following list:

Rates of Pay and Promotion by Seniority

<i>Tahsildar</i>	...	1st	year	...	Rs.
					125 per mensem.
"	"	2nd	"	"	135 "
"	"	3rd	"	"	145 "
"	"	4th	"	"	155 "

* A security of one thousand pounds sterling is required in England from the candidates for the Indian Civil Service, as some guarantee for their honesty, when members of that service. Were this principle applied to candidates in India, it might take the form of an equivalent security in land, for the landed interest is what is most solid and respectable in this country, whilst a mere money security might possibly be subscribed for by the members of a caste wishing to push one of their number into a position, in which he would be useful, if not bound, to them.

				Rs.
<i>Tahsildar</i>	...	5th*	year	165 per mensem.
"	...	6th	"	200 "
"	...	7th	"	210 "
"	...	8th	"	220 "
"	...	9th	"	230 "
"	...	10th†	"	240 "
<i>Extra Assist. Comr.</i>	...	11th	or 1st year...	300 "
"	"	12th	or 2nd "	320 "
"	"	13th	or 3rd "	340 "
"	"	14th	or 4th "	360 "
"	"	15th†	or 5th "	380 "
(<i>Second Class</i>)	...	16th	or 6th "	500 "
"	...	17th	or 7th "	530 "
"	...	18th	or 8th "	560 "
"	...	19th	or 9th "	590 "
"	...	20th†	or 10th "	620 "
(<i>First Class</i>)	...	21st	or 11th "	700 "
"	...	22nd	or 12th "	730 "
"	...	23rd	or 13th "	760 "
"	...	24th	or 14th "	790 "
"	...	25th	or 15th "	820 "
<i>Assistant Comr.</i>	...	26th	or 16th "	900 "

I think that there is nothing extravagant in the above proposal, especially if a good class of men, possessing the necessary attainments, is secured for the service. A Tahsildar might thus hope to become an Assistant Commissioner after 25 years' service, and an Extra Assistant Commissioner hope to be similarly promoted after 15 years' service.† Their usefulness, after so many years of tried and approved service and of experience of the people, would—especially if they had passed the necessary linguistic and legal examinations satisfactorily—be, at least, as great to the State, as that of a young civilian of one or two years' standing.§

Reverting to the subject of the "Competitive Indian Civil Service Examination," it seems to be a question well deserving of consideration, whether a certain number of marks should not be allotted to those candidates who, previous to offering themselves for the Indian Civil Service, had satisfactorily passed examinations in Law, Medicine, Engineering, etc., etc., as these attainments, having a scientific basis, together with a practical application, exercise the candidate's mind in caution and precision, and render its possessor doubly valuable as a public servant. The adoption of this suggestion would also have the advantage of enabling a number of candidates, whose previously professional training would, under the present

* It is considered advisable that there should be grades among the Tahsildars as with the Extra Assistant Commissioners. [This has since been conceded.]

† The salary would stop at this amount till there was a vacancy in the superior grade.

‡ More rapid promotion by merit or the favour of a superior would, of course, not be prevented by the above mere seniority scheme.

§ The List of appointments to which a Naib Tahsildar, Tahsildar or Extra Assistant Commissioner can now rise, is omitted in this reprint, as not essential; suffice it to say that the appointments rise through 14 grades from Rs. 30 p.m. to Rs. 800, and that mere length of service in any grade does not entitle to promotion.

system, be thrown away, to come forward. This measure would also strengthen the principle of every educated, and otherwise, fit subject of Her Majesty having a right to compete for public appointments. The age, too, of admission to the competitive examination might, to the great benefit of the State, be raised from 21 to, at least, what it formerly was, 25 years of age. It is undoubted that the first competition civilians were superior men, and it is questioned whether the last few batches are equal to their predecessors. Whatever be the case, the proposition, that it is better to have men as Judicial and Executive Officers than youths, would certainly commend itself to most minds; and it would not be outweighed by the consideration that immaturity and ignorance of the world, rather than self-interest and the official safe-guards of discipline, ensure intelligent subordination such as is required in a public servant. The convenience of the examiners and the ill-founded assumption of the fatality of the Indian climate on a difference of a few years are, of course, as nothing when urged against any measure which tends to ensure a more perfect administration of the country.

With regard to "selected candidates," the present system seems to be a very good one, as far as I have been able to judge, but it seems to me *a sine qua non* condition that their instruction in Indian Law, Literature and History should contain special and exhaustive accounts of the *social and religious habits and prejudices* of the Natives of the different parts of India.

In conclusion, I must apologize for the dogmatic tone into which I have in two or three places been led in the course of the preceding remarks. My experience of the Indian Civil Service Examinations extends from 1858 to 1864, during which time 40 of my pupils succeeded in passing them. I can, therefore, only lay claim to a personal knowledge of the system as it existed during the above period, but I have kept myself, through information obtained from friends and papers, somewhat *au courant* of the effect of the modifications, especially as regards the examinations of "selected" Candidates, that have since been introduced. These modifications do not, as far as I know, affect the principles which I have ventured to discuss in this paper.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

In my humble opinion, the time has arrived when the question of dividing the Imperial Indian Civil Service appointments between natives of All-England and of India must be faced. I would assign half the vacant appointments to Non-Indians and the other half, chiefly in the judicial line, to Indians. To the first half, I would admit all natural-born subjects of Her Majesty, even if they should belong to Colonies that may have an exclusive local Civil Service, for this would be, practically, only equivalent to the Provincial or native uncovenanted Service of India. The second half I would

allot to three categories of natives of India (to include, of course, Europeans born in India) :—one third by nomination, plus a departmental or educational test, to natives of position or of special distinction—one third by the promotion of distinguished native public Servants in the present provincial or so-called "uncovenanted" grades and the last third as follows : one half to Graduates of Indian Universities, who are supposed to be men of good moral character, by such examination as would suit the various localities to which they may be posted, not excluding tests of physical fitness (such as riding) :—to the second half I would admit native pleaders and barristers who have distinguished themselves at their local bar, (*all* native Civilians giving a guarantee in landed property equivalent to the security of £1,000 required from the English "selected" Candidate). Assuming, *e.g.*, the number of vacancies to be thrown open yearly to new admissions to be 60, 30 would go to All-England, except India, and 30 to India. Of these 30, 10 would be allotted by nomination to a revived and improved Statutory Native Nobility Service, 10 to meritorious native Extra-Assistant Commissioners (or to officers holding equivalent posts in the various provinces), 5 to native Graduates and 5 to members of the Native Bar. Personally, I disapprove of so-called literary Competitive Examinations for any position of rule, for they only test one, and that not the highest, capacity of the mind, namely, that of memory and the ability of expressing its obviously undigested results by written or oral answers within a given range. I need not point out that of these answers, those orally made, are a better indication to real knowledge and ability than written ones. At all events, this is the conclusion to which I have come after examining thousands of Candidates, especially in India, and supervising the examinations of many more thousands. Indeed, were our oral tests equal to those in Germany, no mere smatterer could pass and the fear of an inundation of India by what is implied in the term of "Bengali Babus" would have no *raison d'être*.

If the examinations to be held simultaneously in various centres of England and in India are to be the same and by written papers only, their value will be small as tests of

memory and still smaller as tests of special fitness for service in the various provinces of India. They will, further, be affected by the trickery, confusion, personations, postal delays and substitutions, etc.: to which examinations by papers only are liable. Of course, these remarks would also apply, to a certain extent, to examinations held simultaneously in various parts of England. It is merely the inconvenience of dispensing an honest, careful and responsible patronage that has driven us into "competitive" examinations for the public service.

"Pass" examinations, not to speak of professional tests, however strict, are on a different footing and may be made a much higher test of knowledge and of intellectual attainments than any competitive scramble. For instance, a trained physician, lawyer, engineer, etc., knows a great deal more and that more thoroughly, than an ordinary Competition-wallah. I submit that I may be permitted to speak with some authority on the subject, as so many of my pupils have occupied distinguished positions on the Lists, not to mention their subsequent eminence in the Service. Still, with every deference to that Service, I hold that the first qualification for rule is good birth and governing associations *plus a special* training for the post to be occupied. Merit, too, may be equal, or even superior, to heredity, if it proves itself in the struggle of life. To give place and power in India to British youths merely because they have passed a competitive examination in certain literary subjects, is an anomaly of foreign conquest. I have pointed out in another paper how Military men and members of the Diplomatic and other services, that receive far less pay than the present Indian Civil Service, may be secured for India. They are recruited more from our ruling, than our money-seeking, classes, and, therefore, offer a better material than a scratch-crowd at a competitive examination, for the government of India. The future Civilian will have to serve for honour rather than pay. If India is to be kept for, the British Crown and for the best demands of modern, as well as of her ancient, culture, it must be on the basis of her indigenous sacred associations and by the combined government of specially trained English and native gentlemen.

THE CAPABILITIES OF EASTERN IBEA.

BY FRANCIS PARRY, F.R.G.S.

THE annals of our colonial enterprise show that sentiment and the pursuit of an ideal have greatly aided in creating an enthusiasm which has carried us away from home-scenes and brought us into contact with distant places and people. Imagination delights in building up fair structures, at times ignoring the practical view, which is the stout frame-work on which they should rest, if they are to become permanent as the base of new social conditions. But when the first vivacious hopeful spirit has been checked, there has succeeded a period of hesitation; after which has come the more practical stage. It is in this last that, slowly though surely, the true colonising instinct produces a plodding and earnest determination to develop the untouched natural resources of the more or less savage countries into which we had entered.

Even in our day, with the long roll of the nation's colonial history before us, and with a world-wide experience to refer to, idealism, an unfit guide, persists in leading the way. Gordon dreamt of our undisputed sway and a speedy change to a civilised condition, in the second generation after he had assumed the government of the Soudan; Emin Pasha's countrymen thought to acquire his central province; and some of this idealistic temperament seems to have animated the administrators of our territory in East Africa, though with them the enthusiastic period is past, hesitation is apparent, and before long the dull monotony of a methodical system of development must be adopted.

As in colonizing Africa we are on equal terms with and compete against another nation, a comparison of the respective modes of initiation may be useful; for each party in his interested sphere drifted into the acquisition of magnificent possessions with unprecedented rapidity and under the most exceptional circumstances.

The enthusiasm of Dr. Carl Peters, though that of a novice, led Germany into the, to her, new policy of establishing colonies. He took up the treaty drafted by us and accepted by the Sultan of Zanzibar, which Lord Derby as Secretary of State for Foreign affairs had declined to endorse. Fired by his zeal a band of men were brought together, ignorant of colonial life but inoculated with his imaginative spirit, and stirred by his bright sketches of the future prospects of settlers. The foundation of colonial enterprise was laid. Thus his countrymen, careful students and exhaustive thinkers, were carried out of their usual vein of thought, the analysis of substantial facts, to follow the ideal. Nevertheless their plans were fairly well laid. The adventurers encountered a series of disasters mainly resulting from want of consideration for native usages; but being now relieved of the burden of administering the affairs of the interested sphere, they are on the high road to affluence; because from the outset special attention had been given to reproductive works, and capital has been available for the reclamation of land and the establishment of plantations,—no dependence being placed upon the native proprietors. Nor did they hope to convert the growers of useful products to new methods, or expect them to plant extensively for supplying foreign markets with which they were unacquainted.

Here they showed an excellent judgment; for the experienced foreigner in every country (China and Japan excepted) knows how slow the natives are to understand the requirements of trade with countries differing from their own, or its expansive nature; and, how, in introducing among people but a little above the condition of savages, alien methods, implements, and instruction, strict supervision is requisite to ensure success.

The Imperial British East Africa Company's territory was acquired shortly after Germany had obtained a hold upon the coast, and they took possession of a district rich in possibilities, placed under the control of a council that

had been disappointed in their desire to hold the country to the south, placed in friendly proximity to Zanzibar. Yet they resolved, partly for their own advantage partly in a patriotic spirit tinged with philanthropy, to take up the government of the Mombasa district with its "hinterland." Thus they would command the main route from the coast to the valuable though distant lands of Uganda and Unyoro, the Equatorial province, and the head of the Nile.

These benevolent sentiments of the council were not evanescent. They gave early attention to social matters, and dealt with questions which most men would have postponed. The best record of a young administration is theirs, in that the manumission of slaves by the Slave Emancipation Decree was one of their first acts.

Of this it may be said that the experiment has given us knowledge without any disastrous consequences; still it is by no means satisfactory to learn that the freed negro, in his own country, cannot be relied upon as an agricultural labourer. An effort, therefore, is being made to procure Indian and Persian immigration for the low lands, the region of cotton, rubber, oil-seeds, and sugar. This will be followed, in due time, by an influx of Europeans, with a higher culture and a more robust character and physique, to occupy the highlands, as coffee-planters. These will form a centre of life and energy, peopled with an industrious community directed by intelligent seekers of good fortune from England and other countries. That the direction and development of these our new possessions will call for the introduction of a strong European social force, was recognised by the late Sir Bartle Frere, who said—"Throughout the greater part of Equatorial Africa the work of civilisation has to be done almost as completely *ab initio* as when mankind were first dispersed after the confusion of tongues; bonds of union have to be sought, and communities knitted together; life and property have yet to be made secure; letters and all but the rudimentary arts are still to be learnt."

This being the state of affairs it is remarkable that little endeavour has been made to attract, that potent factor in the world's progress, the capitalist. In no marked degree have the capabilities of the country been set forth, neither has much information been given in the public journals, inviting settlers to occupy the healthier part of Eastern Ibea. We possess no data of any practical value as to the extent, quality or cost of the magnificent uncultivated tracts that may become mines of wealth to their occupiers; for the country promises even better results than Ceylon.

The Germans have already procured five hundred coolies from Sumatra and Singapore; and capital is not wanting to extend the plantation projects in their hill country. The need of bringing in good plantation hands dispels the fair illusion of the slave emancipator. But practically, necessity having caused the introduction of those who bring knowledge and intelligence in their train, the work of instructing the negro in an improved method of cultivation has begun, which compensates for the expense of bringing in new labour.

Administrators and military men, who formed a majority in the English council at the outset, have, as a rule, an unfortunate inclination to disparage commercial effort, although their very existence is a consequence of its growth and they are members of services framed to protect the interests and guard the wealth which furnish the emoluments they receive.

The absence of a broad and enterprising spirit has been detrimental to the company. They would be king-makers rather than commercial men, leaving more substantial foundation work to take care of itself. The first care should have been to attract the English capitalist by a subject lesson of money laid out returning a fair return. This has not been done. Upon this neglect they are stranded, having unproductive outgoings which exhaust the treasury, while they hope in vain to create traders out of savage races, who, in the highest stage of their development, are without commercial instincts.

Information given by them in London to persons turning their attention to East Africa as an outlet for our teeming population, is not of a practical character. Inquiries as to its resources are answered in a frank, unembellished manner not calculated to inspire the applicant with any desire to prosecute the matter. One is merely told that "In tradal matters almost nothing has been done; and our knowledge of what the country will produce has hardly reached the phase of experiment."

The present dilemma is no doubt the result of having put the wrong element to the front when taking possession of the district. An extensive survey with the formation of military posts to an interior which must be a self-supporting and separate government from that of the coast though it may be allied with it; the making of a military road which takes a bee-line across the territory without diverging towards fertile lands or visiting the important Kenia country; and the improvement of a port;—these are the main works that have been done, while planting in the rich lowlands has been neglected.

The regulations connected with the town and port of Mombasa have been carefully arranged. Piers, jetties, beacons, mooring buoys, and lights show an endeavour to make the place attractive and to facilitate the entrance of all sorts of sailing craft. Their convenient lading and unlading are specially provided for. The making of a port of call easy of access is not, however, in itself an inducement to ship-owners to send vessels there, unless quantities of produce await shipment to foreign countries.

Behind this well ordered town is a huge tract of fertile country, of great capabilities which are not being utilised. Here money might have been advantageously laid out. The fifty miles of railway, had they been directed towards Makongeni, would have struck a rich district. As it is, they lead to nowhere in particular; and Mombasa, with its one or two respectable buildings, resembles a place boomed in the United States or on the Mexican frontier, which did

not catch the popular idea, made one convulsive effort for existence, and expired, there being no reasonable foundation for its origin.

This lack of *raison d'être* hardly exists in the Mombasa case; for if nothing more important gives it an interest in our eyes, is it not through this port that we reach Uganda, seven hundred miles distant?

By no means abandon Uganda; but see to it also that a practical and sustained effort to improve the route is made, by altering, if needs be, the line now indicated on the map. Seek to prepare a way of better communication with the Kikuyin district and the mountainous region of Kenia, where Europeans can find a climate like their own,—temperate, and healthy. There is no imperative necessity that this line of railway should take the shortest route to Uganda. Some interest has been aroused for the establishment of European settlements in Central Africa, by a work entitled "Freeland," written in Vienna by Dr. Hertzka, which has passed through six editions and has been translated into English. It is the social scheme of Mr. Bellamy's book "Looking Backward," wrought out and theoretically applied to our day, the author having chosen as the supposed site of a new inland town the slopes of Kenia. The narrative form being essential to his mode of promulgating the new theory, a district was chosen of a romantic character with scenery diversified by wood, water, a rolling plain, and adjacent mountains. It was a happy inspiration that led to the choice of this region for the probable scene of European activity, as it is, no doubt, destined to be a centre of importance in connection with the progress of civilisation in those regions:—perhaps a sanatorium, a military station, and the seat of the government.

Deploring the meagreness of information on the resources of the country a mode of making it more attractive is devised, by proving it to be analogous in its rich lands to countries that have acquired wealth and general prosperity during the century.

When a paper was read by Captain Lugard on November 3, 1892, before the Royal Geographical Society, a map was distributed which gave the boundaries of the Imperial British East African possession. They were there, for the first time, designated as *IBEa*,—a name composed of the initials of the words forming the title of the company, who by this means perpetuate the fact of their having been its earliest administrators.

Ibea has no gold-fields; that is, placer mining in dry river-beds does not exist, and there is but one gold-bearing quartz reef known, said to be on the right bank of the Nile below Lado. Yet the Gosha district, or the Somali country watered by the Juba river, may prove to be productive; for antiquarians have endeavoured to show that thence went some of the precious metal into the land of the Pharaohs.

Things as good as gold, the country will send forth; and had the major portion of the £190,000,000 subscribed by us to limited liability companies during the year 1890 been employed, instead of mining and other speculative schemes, in the development of East Africa, more especially in connexion with plantations, capital, skilled labour, and good management combined with the well understood benefits of a virgin soil would have demonstrated that wealth existed in the country, if patient effort were exerted to obtaining it.

The Germans, when entering upon the administration of their district, began simultaneously with the exercise of official duties to attend to the cultivation of the land, on an extensive scale. At the date of the massacres of 1889 they had produce prepared for exportation. Probably it will not be until these people, hitherto called by us "no colonists," have demonstrated what can be profitably done by the sale of African plantation produce at remunerative prices in their markets, that we shall comprehend the full value of the arable and forest lands around us, in eastern Ibea, and that they afford a wide field for the safe employment of capital.

The neighbouring country under their control yields tobacco, suitable for exportation, which has been classified, valued, and sold as of a quality equal to the best brought from Sumatra, that is, not native grown or cured, but of the planter's growth,—picked, dried and packed under special supervision. It is grown in the vicinity of Mombasa; and is frequently alluded to by the expert, Mr. Fitzgerald, in his reports to the company, on the lands put under cultivation by the Swahilis. To improve its quality superior seed has been here and there distributed, with advice as to the best mode of rearing the plant. But who that has any experience of the ways of the uneducated Africans can anticipate that they will bring, to the seat of trade, a well prepared article, in such a quantity and quality as will enable the merchant to vie with the experience and skill of the planters of Sumatra, Cuba, and Vera Cruz? Mercantile affairs are the life of a new colony and require an administration possessed of trained ability, large capital, and a spirit of enterprise bold enough to enter upon the production of the principal staple commodities on a grand scale. Thus an emporium of commerce may be sustained by the creation of a stream of full supply; while an attempt to gather in a mixed, variable product from many small sources only results in an endless amount of inspection, and, in the main, is not worth the doing.

We must not despise the day of small things; greater may follow. Nevertheless, to be informed by telegram, after two years' cultivation of the ground-nut, that "a remarkable progress has been made and 104 bags are ready for shipment," does not impress one with an idea of effort; and it is clear that capital and skilled labour are wanting; the right use of both is intelligently brought into operation by the Germans who since capital increased at Berlin have done great things.

Our company, as a trading corporation, has not given due attention to some other things that could be produced in quantity, the various aids to their successful cultivation

being at hand. One of these staples, cotton, is indigenous ; but better sorts exist, and the Germans have introduced the superior seed of the Texas and Sea Island descriptions, with the satisfactory result of having had a good report of the quality of their first crop, of which specimens had been sent to Europe. Already several hundred bales have been shipped from Zanzibar, a promise of a supply which may, in a measure, as time rolls on, make the Elberfeld manufacturers independent of other countries for the raw material they need. The choice of seed is of paramount importance, the long fibre sort of the state of Louisiana taking the highest place, and as the low lands of the New Orleans district bear a great resemblance to the fifty miles' stretch into the interior coast-lands of Ibea, there is excellent reason to suppose that this region, described in several places as "remarkably rich with an almost total absence of stones in the soil," should be suitable for the extensive cultivation of the finest cotton, for which there may be a market in many places.

The natives have little intention or inclination to do more work than will provide for their immediate wants. The necessity for introducing an organized system under European management is therefore apparent. Even the Arab proprietors of "shambas" cannot be relied on as producers, as they grow mainly for home consumption, and will not contribute much to swell the volume of the foreign trade, and they are feeling the change wrought by the giving of freedom to the slaves. These hindrances notwithstanding, the cotton crop may become important in a district so favourable to its growth ; and it is to be hoped that as thousands of bales of it cumber the wharves of New Orleans, so Mombasa may one day rival her in that respect.

But these favourable prospects of future cotton plantations are surpassed in brilliancy by the promise given in the steady advance of another sort of cultivation, not as yet, however, by ourselves, but in connection with which the

English once accumulated wealth. Always supposing our capacity to be at least on a par with that of the Teutons, what they have already accomplished to the southward may be taken as an earnest of what our countrymen could do in this new country.

Since the blight destroyed the Ceylon coffee plantations all hope of a restoration of the trade in the article from the island has been abandoned; and so far as we are concerned almost nothing has been done to open up fresh sources of supply. Consequently, England has been driven out of her important and lucrative position as a grower; and having created no similar enterprise, we are obtaining from a foreign country what is needed to fill the gap in our warehouses; and gold is leaving us in payment for these imports.

While we have been inert, our neighbours on the Zanzibar coast have been active in utilizing the means at their command by taking up forest lands, and bringing in field hands accustomed to plantation work, as Europeans require it to be done. And there is every reason to expect that a marketable article will have been brought forward within the space of two years from the present time, which will be profitably sold and for which the demand will increase in Europe.

The German coffee plantations consist of half a million of thriving young plants, situated on the rising ground of the district of Magila, near the mountains of Usambara. They are under the management of a planter trained in Ceylon, who is enthusiastic as to the future as he considers the soil to be excellent and quite equal to any he has had experience of elsewhere. Therefore, extensions have been arranged for; and as the likelihood of success is undoubted, further enterprise is to run parallel with this. A contract has been made for the construction of a railway to the hills, so that the first crop will be carried to the port of Tanga by the best possible transport. The delay attending the progress of plantations to maturity may deter those who are

in haste to be rich from becoming interested in them. When once fairly established, however, they are kept in order with a moderate annual expenditure, and continue productive during thirty years.

Most of the coffee now received in England and North America is grown and shipped from a country that has much in common with Ibea. A comparison with it may draw attention, by the similarity, to the possible like capabilities of the virgin soil of the new forest highlands above the fifty mile cotton district, alluded to as the coast land.

The northern part of South America is exceedingly fertile; and in addition to the growth of cereals and other necessities of the population, the exported produce is large. Englishmen are apt to forget the existence in S. America of large communities, industrious, commercial, and ambitious. They have amassed wealth and are no longer young colonies. In common with our own colonial possessions, they compete with us for a share in the commerce of the world and the carrying trade inseparable from it. These matters are now and then thrust upon our notice, as when on the failure of coffee from Ceylon, our need was met by the increased export from Rio de Janeiro and its vicinity.

Brazil has plantations of coffee of unsurpassed extent; and their yield is so abundant that it gives to the civilized world two-thirds of its whole supply. This should be interesting to us, considering the geographical position and physical conditions of the country, in connection with its powers of production. Through it the line of the equator runs, which followed across the sea, through western and central Africa bisects Ibea. Thus we find ourselves in the same latitude, with physical conditions somewhat alike. At any rate it abounds in slopes and highlands which are said to be extremely fertile, with the much prized forest where the soil is invariably impregnated with rich fertilizing material. The marauding Arabs care for none of these things. Yet we blindly adopt their so-called caravan-routes

—which are really slave-routes, and not trade-routes—leading directly to a shipping resort and the slave ships. We fail to see that they were useful only to the detestable traffickers in human beings who had nothing to do with ordinary commerce. To hold to these routes will be a grave error; for, in all probability, exploration off the beaten path will disclose fertile districts away from it with a considerable population settled on productive lands, capable, under improved tillage, of being made even more productive. Should this be so, why not abandon the old route from Mombasa to the interior as soon as may be? Why not take an alternative route touching populous districts and reaching lands suitable for our planters?

We ought to be able to compete with the Brazilians; and we can do so if we provide transport. Their trade, though hampered by the abolition of slavery, had no drawback, as state-aided immigration brought labourers from Germany, Italy, Portugal and Spain, to the number of 188,000 in the year 1891, for work on the coffee growing estates. On reference to the statistics of coffee, which as a possible future product of East Africa, is more particularly interesting to us:—the yield, owing to an extension of the plantations brought about by the encouraging increase of the foreign demand after the failure of the Ceylon crop, was more than doubled between the seasons 1887-1888 and 1891-1892: this is about the period during which the new plantations would reach maturity. This demonstrates the certainty attending this cultivation in the hands of experienced proprietors.

The Santo Paulo railway, which carries the major part of this crop, has, for some years past, paid 14 per cent. to the shareholders.

The movement of this commercial staple affords employment to thousands of men, as may be understood from its bulk in packages,—consisting during the last season of the large total of 8,000,000 bags. When we consider the labour required to gather, house, sort and pick the berry, the rates

paid for railway carriage ; the amount of tonnage freight it gives to steamers ; and the commissions gained by merchants, bankers and brokers, its importance is not over-rated.

The producers in Brazil have made handsome fortunes of late years, their profit averaging at least thirty per cent. upon the outlay. At a moderate estimate, the value of the quantity enumerated is given as £26,000,000, although some state that the last crop brought £35,000,000 into Brazil.

The reports of the Imperial British East African Co. note the existence of india rubber on their coast lands, and state that it resembles the kinds in Brazil, and that the climate and the soil should favour its production on an extended scale. This information should have been accompanied by more data useful to those who might plant, for as yet everything collected has been taken from the forest jungles. But the important article of coffee is not brought prominently forward in the reports, probably, because the inspection of land has been confined to the coast district and has not been carried out beyond fifty miles from Mombasa. That is just about where undulating land begins, leading to the higher slopes and forest tracts. Coffee is indigenous in this part of the world, though little used by the natives. Stanley noticed that they chewed the raw berry ; and Captain Dundas, R.N., states that when on an exploring expedition up the river Juba, he observed that it was eaten, fried in *ghee*.

The risk attending the employment of capital in the introduction of coffee-planting into Eastern Ibea is reduced to a minimum. Forest lands containing the essential fertilisers are there ; the climate is suitable ; the zone is identical with the productive land of Brazil. Labourers are not wanting, of varied temperament ; men like those of the Watoro on the north bank of the Sabaki river are said to be capable field hands ;—these and the Wakambi and Giriamas are peaceful and agricultural people.

With regard to the utilisation of forest lands, the Ceylon planter will have none other, and those of the region under consideration present excellent features. The report already quoted says: "Singwaia to Arbagowndi.—The road strikes inland through forest-soil, very rich, heavy, black loam. In about half an hour the forest ceases, and we come upon an extensive area of open very flat country; the path, greatly overgrown, now passes through what was originally forest and is now a succession of extensive 'shambas' and the richest and most fertile country imaginable. Soil exceedingly rich and, where no cultivation exists, the country is overgrown with a high rich grass fully six to seven feet high."

In the month of September, 1891, Captain Dundas partly explored the lower lands of the Kenia mountain slopes; and he describes the Wathaka country as "a beautiful, fertile, highland district, a land of numerous villages, fine pastures, and well-tended plantations."

The Mbé tribe, not far distant, "possess cattle, sheep, and goats." Food was cheap and abundant, the country being almost entirely given over to cultivation, for which it is better adapted than for cattle-grazing. To the south was the great mountain range of Mumoni (with the darkly-wooded river flowing along its base,—the rolling fertile country of Mbé), which intersected the country with numerous beautifully clear streams, coursing down the valleys between the slopes. The Kikuyn country is equally attractive. According to the same explorer, it is "a densely populated district, the villages lying on the slopes of the hills, which were a mass of luxuriant crops, beautiful trees, and sparkling streams flowing southward."*

From this account of more than one highland district it is abundantly evident that there is within four hundred miles of Mombasa a region of unusual fertility, at an altitude suitable for the cultivation of coffee, and attractive

* In many respects it resembles Magila, the seat of the German plantation colony where we have placed the Universities Mission station.

because of its healthiness and abundant water-supply. It cannot be utilised by our countrymen until means of transport are provided; and it will not be connected with the advancing civilisation of Africa for a lengthy period unless the line of the proposed railway is taken further north. Such a route would avoid the Msai people of predatory habits holding to "a divine right to all cattle," which does not promise that they will readily adopt industrial pursuits or become useful as consumers of our imported goods. These assuredly will more likely be taken in the thriving villages of Kikuyn.

Everything so far tends to indicate a good result for labour bestowed on the fertile lands situated on the north bank of the Sabaki river. Consequently the question arises,—“Has the line of the proposed railway been taken along the south bank because it is the most direct route to the interior?” Hardly another reason of any worth can be urged for adopting this old slave route.

An alternative route, on the north bank, would pass through a richer country, lead up to the desirable highlands of Kenia, and be further removed from the turbulent and predatory Masai tribe. Although a less direct road to Uganda, it would meet every military requirement. The detour northwards might strike even the trade route from the interior to the head of the Tana river. As the country is opened out, it will probably be discovered that the land beyond the distance of three hundred miles from the coast will not be taken up by planters and settlers to any considerable extent, because too far from a port. The Kikuyn district will be the one preferred as it is equal in fertility to places further inland, is advantageous as a depôt for supplies from England, and has an excellent position, in being able to despatch produce to the coast at a moiety of the expense falling on the producers in Uganda.

That Uganda, except aided by a good Nile transport, could compete with Eastern Ibea in the profitable export of bulky commercial staples, seems impossible. The distance

from the coast and the mountain barrier place the former country at a disadvantage, even though a railway be constructed to it from Mombasa. Ivory alone would find its way to the port. An import trade then is all that is foreseen for the lake district; and this might exist even if the railway were taken no further than the pass of the mountains; for there the bales being divided into carriers' packages, the descent with the cotton fabrics to the westward lower lands would be effected without difficulty. A frontier station or terminus at this point would be of strategic importance; and native troops, not of the neighbouring tribes, and under European command, might occupy cantonments there. Moreover, this curtailment of the railroad scheme would lessen its expense; and should therefore recommend itself to her Majesty's Government.

Confidence in the future of Eastern Ibea ought to be increased by the fact that as an agricultural country its almost unsurpassed natural resources are still untouched, at a time when progress is the order of the day. Having all the capabilities of Brazil, it will develop rapidly; but the first impulse will have birth with the establishment of the railroad, with branching highways to help it, and the introduction of carriage other than that of burdens borne on the head.

The flourishing condition of the Brazilian coffee planters has been the result of twenty years' work. Our new territory may be a lucrative field for mercantile enterprise, based not on what the people will consume, but on what the country will produce; for, as the negroes' wants are for the most part supplied at home at the present time, education and civilisation can operate but slowly in creating a taste for the manufactures of other countries.*

* Facts taken from the history of tea-planting in British India illustrate the progress attending cultivation managed by our own people. Until the year 1868, the enterprise was held in check by a deficiency of suitable transport; and we received thence 8,000,000 lbs. When railway extension and river steamer communication aided, the trade augmented: the receipts into this country for the year ending 31st Dec. 1891, were 110,000,000 lb., representing 110,000 tons of cargo brought in English vessels.

In the plantation ground, the people of Ibea will find suitable employment. As in Ceylon the exports to Great Britain not the imports were the source of wealth, so it would seem that the same conditions will, in the Imperial British East Africa Company's career, afford them an abundantly good trading result if only the incubus of a too weighty administration be placed on other shoulders.

In voting supplies for the development of Ibea Parliament would occupy no singular position. One of the peaceful artifices of the age, adopted by foreign governments, is to spend public money for wresting both our internal and external commerce from us.

The name of "the old country," once employed in a filial sense, is becoming one of derision in its application to England, as descriptive of an inactivity which leads to even further evils; for as the affairs of a country never actually halt, we are either progressing, or retrogressing. At any rate, our position is that our commercial supremacy is assailed by an encroachment maintained by funds provided from the public treasuries of France, Germany, Brazil, the United States, and the British Colonies, which support steamers by subsidies, manufactures by export bounties, planters by state-aided immigration, colonies by paying the charges of administration, landowners by guaranteeing railways and canals.

These build upon lines which we cannot afford to neglect. The proof of the excellence of their methods is that they are ahead of us, and that we are likely to be beaten in the race for prosperity.

THE POSITION OF CANADA.

By J. CASTELL HOPKINS.

THE evolution of a new nationality is usually a slow, if not painful process. But in the case of Canada, external events and internal movements have created within the quarter of a century since the union of its Provinces what is to-day practically a British nation. The Constitution of Great Britain, composed as it is, of a great mass of historic precedent and unwritten laws, has been the product of centuries of strife and struggle. That of the United States is the result of over a hundred years of experiment, stern experience, and even Civil War. The Australian Colonies, after fifty years of a more or less formative process, are now gradually approximating towards national unity and a common constitution. The Dominion has, on the other hand, been exceptionally fortunate; and, benefiting by the example of the great country with which it is connected politically and by that of the powerful Republic upon its southern frontier, has endeavoured to combine—and to a certain extent it has succeeded—the wisdom of both, in the development of a new nation in North America and the addition of another great State to the ever-widening circle of the British Empire.

Of course, this growth has not been altogether an easy one. The Colonies of which Canada is now composed, with some later exceptions, were born amid scenes of warfare and nursed in conditions of doubt and danger. All through their history as struggling Provinces they were subjected to the threats and bluster of the United States; and had it not been for British connexion, absorption in the Republic would long since have taken place. But if Great Britain preserved the independence of the youthful Colonies; if she enabled them to develop internal liberty and constitutional government; if she fostered in many

ways their internal welfare ; she also made serious mistakes which in some cases have sown the seeds of present and future trouble. It was natural that the reaction following upon the loss of the thirteen Colonies, should have caused a change in the National method of governing Dependencies ; but it was lamentable that so many British statesmen and writers, up to within a decade of the present day, should have united in deprecating Colonial union ; in minimising the importance of Colonies to the mother-country ; and in urging separation and Colonial independence as the future, natural, and inevitable course. In the case of Canada, as we know, some theorists like Mr. Bright and Prof. Goldwin Smith, went so far as to urge its union with a foreign, and sometimes hostile power—the United States.

Now, when this particular school of thought has almost died out in Great Britain, it is found to have developed in the more progressive Colonies, and to be the main obstacle in the way of a closer and more beneficial union. Expressions of carelessness as to the maintenance of Canadian connection with the Empire, uttered over a prolonged series of years, produced naturally a considerable degree of actual indifference as to Canadian treaty rights and land-ownership, in North America. Hence the blunders of diplomacy which lost to British America the State of Maine and sacrificed its interests upon several other occasions. Hence, also the evolution of a party in Canada, and in other portions of the Empire, which claims that, as Britain appears not to have greatly cared for Colonial interests in the past, it is not necessary for the great Colonies to especially guard British interests in the present. Thus the Manchester School in England, though itself almost dead, leaves a direct heir and successor in the external States of the Empire. It is much to the credit of the British Conservative party that this Anti-Colonial sentiment was largely confined to the Liberal ranks ; and it emphatically marks the strange irony of fate that to-day, when Liberal and

Imperialist leaders like Lord Rosebery, Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Playfair, Mr. Bryce or Lord Brassey, turn to Canada, they find that the Liberal leaders there have adopted, in part at least, the principles advocated by the British party not very many years ago;—in fact are now wearing their cast-off garments.

But with all the carelessness or ignorance which the mother-country may have exhibited, during the past century, in matters affecting the distant, and then comparatively insignificant Colonies, it is none the less evident, that the Dominion of Canada owes its present existence and maintenance as a rising and vigorous national entity, to the prestige and protection of Great Britain. Especially was this the case in those early days when the United States could have crushed the Provinces like so many egg-shells; but they did not think the matter worth a war with the Empire, after the experience of encountering British troops and Canadian volunteers in 1812. And in the present day British Connexion is becoming equally important, when American jealousy of Canadian development in trade and commerce, in railway and water communication, would place an independent Canada in very considerable danger of being either ignominiously "snuffed out" or of being compelled to assume the rôle of the Greeks at Thermopylæ, or that of the gallant Poles under Kosciusko. The attempt to maintain our independence might in the long run be successful; for Canadians possess many of the best qualities of their British ancestry, and the French-Canadians have all the daring and brilliancy of their fore-fathers; but the sacrifice would be tremendous. It will never have to be risked, if the people are true to British Union and to the best interests of their new nationality.

To an Englishman this phrase, "Canadian nationality," may seem an odd one, unless used in the sense of separation from Great Britain. It represents something distinct, of course; and yet there is nothing in it antagonistic to the idea of British nationality. Scotchmen or Irishmen or Eng-

lishmen may consider themselves of different nationalities, and each is proud of his country's history and his ancestral home. Yet all are British in allegiance, and in unity of aspiration and power, or at least they should be. So it is with Canadians, who, as a people, are loyal to Imperial unity and yet are anxious to build up a Canadian nation upon this Continent. Undoubtedly the phrase is sometimes used in a disloyal and separated sense; but it is equally certain that if steps are taken in time, to guide this Canadian sentiment in the true direction, the result will not be the disintegration of the Empire, but its closer Union; not a separate nationality, but a distinct British-Canadian nation, standing shoulder to shoulder in the world's future history together with a British Australia, a British South Africa and a United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. To achieve this great end, however, British citizenship must become full, free, and equal, to subjects abroad as well as at home—Imperial Federation must become in some way a fact; and though it may not be immediately practicable in any complete form, that noble ideal should be the recognised future towards which all parts of the Empire should strive, steadily and persistently. And toward this end, all the Constitutions and commercial arrangements of Great and Greater Britain should be gradually and carefully moulded.

But to return to Canada in particular. Dowered by the mother-country with an immense heritage, and joined subsequently by all that great country between the Lakes and the Pacific Ocean, the Dominion started in 1867, with a complete Federal system, founded, as far as possible, upon the best principles of the British and American Constitutions. Its territory is larger than that of the United States and constitutes one-third that of the whole British Empire. It possesses the greatest extent of coast-line, the most important coal-measures, the most varied distribution of valuable minerals, the greatest extent of lake and river navigation, the widest extent of coniferous forest, the most

extensive and valuable salt and fresh water fisheries, the largest and most fertile tracts of arable and pastoral lands, and the greatest wheat-areas, of any country upon the face of the globe. These statements may appear exaggerated; but they truthfully depict, and only partially, the real resources and riches of the Dominion, undeveloped though they yet be. Following the evolution of the Eastern Provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island into a Confederated State, came the gradual absorption of the great North-West, from Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean, and the formation of a strong, and, in spite of occasional Provincial jealousies and disagreements, a united people and country.

Partly as a result of political or national necessities; partly as a product of economic requirements, there followed the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the creation of the National Policy of Protection. It was concerning the former possibility that William H. Seward, the well-known Secretary of State under President Lincoln, wrote in words which to-day ring with a truly prophetic sound:

"Having its Atlantic seaport at Halifax, and its Pacific depot near Vancouver Island, British America would inevitably draw to it the commerce of Europe, Asia, and the United States. Thus from a mere Colonial dependency it would assume a controlling rank in the world. To her, other nations would be tributary; and in vain would the United States, attempt to be her rival; for we could never dispute with her the possession of the Asiatic commerce, nor the power which that commerce bestows."

To-day, the Canadian Pacific Company has connected the most distant Provinces of Canada by an iron band, and possesses a system of 5,400 miles of railway; it has opened up the magnificent North-West from which last year came a surplus of 20,000,000 bushels of the finest wheat in the world; it has ploughed through the yawning chasms and mighty ranges of the Rocky Mountains; and by means of steamship lines brought the furthest East into connexion with the Canadian and American West; incidentally providing Great Britain with a war-chain round the world and an alternative route to Asia. So great an undertaking, however, required capital; and the condition of the country's

finances prior to 1879, when the new Protectionist and Conservative Ministry of Sir John Macdonald inaugurated a different state of affairs, was certainly not flourishing enough to warrant any heavy national outlay. For some years, in fact, there had been a considerable deficit between ordinary income and expenditure. But after the "N. P.," as it was popularly called, had come into effect, and the higher duties, coupled with returning prosperity amongst the people, had produced a yearly increasing revenue, the Government was enabled to take up the project in earnest; and in 1880, a Company or Syndicate was organised and granted 25,000,000 acres of land together with a \$25,000,000 subsidy; in addition to this about 700 miles of railway costing over \$30,000,000 were transferred to the Syndicate. Other advances were made from time to time, but in most cases were temporary loans which have since been paid as they matured and sometimes even earlier. The road as a whole is estimated to have cost \$287,000,000, though only about \$90,000,000 of this sum has been contributed by the Canadian people, or added to the national indebtedness. This result was undoubtedly largely aided by the national credit having been pledged to the success of the great and difficult undertaking, thus enabling the Company to procure capital upon easier terms, and with facilities which could only be given by a powerful and friendly Government. And the work was well and speedily performed. Within a few years, and at least six years before the time promised to the Dominion Government, the Company had built the greatest railway in the world and conquered some of the most difficult engineering problems ever put by nature in the way of human enterprise.

As a consequence of the closer relations created between the Provinces by the Continental Highway; through the careful protection afforded to native industries; and the development of internal trade by the checking of unfair and ruinous American competition in the Canadian home market, the progress of the country has been most marked. Production of every kind has been promoted; the people

of the most distant Provinces have been united in the bonds of trade and travel, politics and intercourse; the different portions of the Dominion have been made interdependent, instead of being left to lean upon neighbouring parts of the United States for commerce and interchange; external trade has developed enormously and prices have steadily maintained to the consumer a lower level than in the neighbouring Republic. In view therefore of these facts, it may not be uninteresting to add a brief sketch of Canadian fiscal history to the ever-active discussion of tariffs and tariff questions. Canadians have experienced the preferential trade and cramped conditions of the old Colonial regime which fell, upon the abolition of the Corn-Laws, in 1846. They know how valuable that preference in the British market was in itself, but how restricted its benefits proved through the Navigation laws and the peculiarly narrow ideas which then prevailed concerning the Colonies and Colonial requirements or resources. But they also felt the ill-effects of the sudden abrogation of such long-continued fiscal arrangements; and the severe depression and hard times following upon the development of Sir Robert Peel's policy, caused, in 1849, the flickering Annexation agitation of which so much has been said from time to time, and of which so little is really known.

Since that period three distinct lines of fiscal action have been tried by the people of British North America,—Limited Reciprocity with the United States, a Revenue Tariff, and moderate Protective duties. From 1855 to 1866 the Reciprocity agreement was in force; and, as a result of the rise in agricultural prices following upon the Crimean War and maintained by the American Civil War, the arrangement is claimed by the present advocates of unlimited Reciprocity, or complete free-trade with the United States, to have been productive of great prosperity and of considerable expansion in trade. The claim is undoubtedly true as to the condition of affairs during that particular period, but the cause lay not so much in the mere admission of farm products upon

a mutually free basis—manufactures were not included—as in the external events referred to. After the abrogation of the Treaty by the Americans owing to the violent Anti-British feeling aroused during the war, the Confederation of the Provinces was formed; partly as a consequence of the financial distress and commercial depression caused by the sudden and unfriendly action of the United States; partly as a visible and effective reply to the then widespread belief in the Republic that it would coerce the disunited and presumably helpless Provinces into annexation; and generally, as a protective measure, and decided step in the path of progress and nationality. The Government constituted in 1867 to carry on the affairs of the new Dominion—with Sir John Macdonald at its head—did not propose or contemplate absolute protection. But it was found that the average duty of 15 per cent., first imposed by the Hon. A. T. (now Sir Alexander) Galt, when Finance Minister of the United Provinces of Ontario and Quebec in 1859, was really a sufficient protection as matters then stood, and was productive of a reasonable degree of progress, prosperity and national revenue.

But by 1873, when the Liberals under Mr. Mackenzie came into office upon a local issue, external circumstances had entirely changed, and in the previous year, the Conservative Finance-Minister had fore-shadowed the necessity of having higher duties. It was then that the industries of the United States had commenced to recover from the paralysis into which they had been thrown by the Civil War, and, benefiting by a protective tariff three times higher than the duties levied in Canada, they were soon enabled to supply their own local market and to turn their attention to capturing that of the Dominion which lay so invitingly open to external competition. Increased production in the neighbouring Republic resulted therefore in what was termed "slaughtering goods" in Canada; and the industries of the Dominion were thus destroyed one by one through the unfair competition of larger manufacturing

concerns, greater centres of population and a far greater command of capital. Nor was the Canadian consumer benefited by obtaining cheaper goods. As soon as a certain line of manufacture—stoves for instance—had been compelled to give way to the cheaper American product, and this had become a practical monopoly, the prices were raised to the same level which had meantime prevailed in the States. Sir R. J. Cartwright, Finance Minister under Mr. Mackenzie, made a feeble attempt to grapple with the problem by a uniform increase in the duties, of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., without however any protective result being visible, even incidentally. After that effort (1874) the tariff was let severely alone, so far as any endeavour to check American competition was concerned. And this in spite of the most disastrous depression and pronounced popular discontent.

It was, therefore, not a matter for surprise, that Sir John Macdonald should have swept the country, in 1878, upon a platform of moderate protection and, in the year following, succeeded in establishing the system known in the pages of contemporary history and in current politics, as the National Policy. Since then, and through the turmoil of three general Elections it has been steadily maintained in principle, with occasional deviations in detail. The average of the duties as imposed upon all imports from external sources is about 30 per cent. *ad valorem*, or only thirteen per cent. higher than that in force during the Revenue tariff period of 1867-1879. Yet the ensuing development has been marvellous. The soup-kitchens provided for starving labourers without work, have disappeared from the cities of Canada; the endless voices of distress and the wail of the working-man unable to obtain employment are no longer heard in the land; factories began at once to rise all over the country and to establish themselves in a manner they have since been able to maintain; Manitoba and the North-West Territories commenced a wonderful career of progress; confidence was restored; American competition checked; and the credit of the country raised in the money markets

of the world, whilst a redundant revenue, with surpluses in place of deficits, became assured. To-day, the depression existing amongst British and American farmers has only touched the fringe of Canadian prosperity. It has had a limited effect, of course, and the lower prices for wheat, and one or two other products, have caused a feeling of discontent amongst a section of the farming community; but like the Canadian depression, the area of discontent is very small as was thoroughly proved by the result of recent bye-elections. Where it does exist, the sentiment is mainly confined to adherents of the party of pessimism—the Liberal Opposition—which has been so long out of office that some of its leaders have become unduly and unpatriotically despondent.

A few illustrations of the general progress made by the Dominion, as embodied in the following table, will be interesting, and at the same time will reveal some of the reasons upon which the Conservative party in Canada base their support of the present protective policy:

	1878.	1892.
Miles of Railway	6,143	15,000
Tons of Shipping employed	23,102,551	43,802,384
Letters and Post-Cards	50,840,000	123,665,000
Dominion Note Circulation	\$9,420,127	\$17,214,953
Deposits in banks	\$88,995,127	\$211,881,822
Money-Orders issued	\$7,130,000	\$42,825,701
Bank Note Circulation	\$20,215,020	\$33,788,578
Fire Insurance	\$400,819,000	\$759,502,000
Life Insurance	\$84,151,000	\$261,475,000
Exports of Cattle	\$1,152,000	\$7,748,000
" Cheese	\$3,997,000	\$11,652,000
Total Export of Farm products	\$32,028,000	\$50,706,000
Export of Home Manufactures	\$17,780,000	\$26,843,000
Consumption of tea (lbs.)	11,019,000	22,593,000
" Coffee (lbs.)	1,881,000	46,322,000
" Sugar (lbs.) (about)	100,000,000	345,000,000
Import of raw Cotton (lbs.)	8,011,000	46,000,000
Consumption of coal (tons)	1,665,000	5,885,000
Total trade	\$172,405,000	\$241,000,000

These figures clearly demonstrate a steady growth of popular comfort, a large increase in every branch of

national trade and industry, a marked addition to individual consumption of articles such as tea, coffee, and sugar, which the protection tariff has enabled the Government to make free to all. This development is all the more striking as the population has only increased half a million during the last ten years—1881 to 1891—whilst during the same period the capital invested in manufactures has risen from \$165,000,000 to \$353,000,000. It must be evident therefore after the most superficial examination of these statistics, to all who possess the most elementary knowledge of Canada and its past progress, or present prospects, that the Dominion now takes by right the most prominent place amongst the rising, united, and youthful communities of the world. Hope has hitherto been the motto of the vast majority of its people; faith in their country the inspiring motive to action. It goes without saying, however, that there are men who cannot see, or else wilfully fail to comprehend this development. Unfortunately there have been, through all these years, party leaders who were willing to preach persistent pessimism, to grossly magnify obstacles, to minimize progress, and, wherever possible, to hamper efforts. Confederation was carried in spite of some of these men; the Canadian Pacific Railway was constructed in the teeth of most strenuous and continued opposition from others; the National Policy has been most unscrupulously attacked and the country vilified; while British connexion and Canadian independence of the United States are maintained to-day in face of the persistent action, hostile or insidious, of men who call themselves Canadians and British subjects.

Of this discontented and pessimistic section, Mr. Erastus Wiman, a New York millionaire, supposed to have been born in Canada, is the American leader, Mr. Goldwin Smith the literary exponent, and Sir Richard Cartwright the political head. In the columns of the *New York Sun*, a rabid Anti-British paper which delights in wholesale misrepresentation and abuse of Great Britain, Prof. Goldwin

Smith recently stated, under his own signature, that the Liberal party in Canada is an American party, and the Conservative a British one. True as it may be regarding the latter, this allegation of the now active advocate of Annexation, is untrue so far as it concerns the rank and file of the Liberal party in Canada. They are being educated in that direction by leaders like Cartwright, Laurier, Mercier or Edgar; but the seed has not yet sprouted sufficiently to permit of anyone in position taking off the mask and declaring publicly for annexation or even immediate independence. To teach steadily, year in and year out, that Canada's natural market is in the United States; that geographically and commercially the country is completely dependent upon its neighbour; that the Dominion cannot prosper without American good-will—which she has never yet had; that closer trade relations are necessary even at the expense of discrimination in tariffs against the Mother-Country or of separation from the Empire if they cannot be otherwise obtained; and that the present independent fiscal and national development of Canada, apart from the United States, is suicidal to the interests of our people—such an educational campaign must have its effect in time, and especially when it includes a steady misrepresentation of British sentiment, a specimen of which may be found in the constant quotation of the utterances of English Statesmen who have been dead for years, and whose views are now as obsolete as the rites of the Druids.

Of the three men described as leaders in this American campaign, Mr. Goldwin Smith is easily first. He is first in the vindictiveness with which he pursues the Loyalist and British leaders in Canada, as at one time he pursued Lord Beaconsfield; first in the influence which he obtains in Britain and the United States by a steady succession of magazine articles, newspaper letters, published lectures, and widely circulated pamphlets; first in the ability with which he distorts history, twists political action, and mis-

represents the position and prospects of the Dominion; first also in the unique position of posing at the heart of the Empire as an Imperial Unionist, and working in Canada as President of the Continental Union Club of Toronto, and the avowed advocate of the immediate Separation of Canada from Britain in order that it may enter the American Union. It is necessary to speak plainly in this connexion. While Mr. Goldwin Smith may command a facile and brilliant pen, and be admired for his abilities, it must be remembered that he is now actively engineering a movement which, if successful, would disrupt the British Empire, and if unsuccessful, as it must be, may easily result in bloodshed and Civil War. In Canada he has little real influence; no respectable following, and literally no popularity. But in the United States he is spoken of and written about as a great, representative Canadian; and in England certain circles still regard him as the staunch opponent of Imperial disintegration and the advocate of Imperial unity, because of his stand upon the Home Rule Question. It is as difficult to understand his complex and curious character as it is to comprehend the contradictory opinions which he presents. For instance, a few years ago, Professor Smith wrote in the *Bystander*, a well-known publication of his, as follows :

"A national conflict every four years for the Presidency and the enormous patronage that is now annexed to it, must bring everything that is bad in the nation to the top, and will end in the domination of scoundrels. The moral atmosphere is darkened with calumny, bribery and corruption, and all their fatal effects upon national character. How can the political character of any nation withstand for ever the virus of evil passion and corruption which these vast faction fights infuse?"

Yet the author of these and many similar words is striving with all his power to merge the British institutions, law and order of Canada, into a country which he thus describes, and which, within a very few months, has seen the Homestead riots, the Idaho State Militia called out to suppress a miners' rebellion, the terrible spectacle of the people of Texas turning out in thousands to help burn and torture a

negro to death, and the State of Kansas in a condition of Civil War over the claims of rival legislatures. But enough of Mr. Goldwin Smith. Canadians have certainly heard too much of him and his most injurious and disgraceful views, though Englishmen have hardly yet learned to appreciate the harm which his beautiful literary style has enabled him to inflict upon this loyal but distant portion of the Empire. Hence this somewhat lengthy reference to Disraeli's "Oxford Professor." But the policy of the Liberal party cannot be fully comprehended without some acquaintance with the sentiments and personality of its other leaders. Of Sir Richard Cartwright it is unnecessary to say much. Ambitious, but unpopular; an able speaker, but sarcastic to a degree which makes more enemies than the best of policies could make friends; a one-time Conservative, but alleged to have changed his politics because Sir John Macdonald would not give him the Finance Ministership in 1871; bearing an Imperial title, but advocating, since 1887, a clear-cut American and anti-British policy—he is a curious combination of rare ability and of qualities which would prevent any man from being a successful politician, to say nothing of attaining the higher position of statesman. Mr. Wiman is a clever man who has succeeded in making Americans think that in some way or another he will be able to effect a Commercial Union of Canada with the United States as a preliminary to Political Union.

Such are the men now controlling the policy of the Liberal party in Canada. The Hon. Wilfrid Laurier, the nominal leader, is a man widely esteemed for his personal qualities and grace of manner and speech, but one who is entirely under the control of the stronger minds of his party. When Count Mercier, a man of strong will and much vigour of character, managed the affairs of Quebec Province as its Premier, his machinery in local elections was used to assist Mr. Laurier in Dominion contests; his supporters were Mr. Laurier's; and his opinions as a rule

were the same as those of his National Leader. So when the crash came and the grossest corruption was proved against the *Mercier Ministry*, it was very difficult to say where the line was to be drawn between the two leaders, although everyone was prepared to admit the personal purity of Mr. Laurier. So, in 1887, the Dominion Leader was averse to accepting or touching the policy of American free-trade, Commercial Union, Unrestricted Reciprocity, or whatever it might be called, which Mr. Wiman was busily propagating. But Sir Richard Cartwright thought he saw in the proposal a chance of success for their party; and not many weeks after Mr. Laurier had been speaking at Somerset, Quebec, in favour of the closer trade connexion of Canada and the Empire, Sir Richard boldly proclaimed at Ingersoll, Ontario, the very antitheses of this idea,—closer trade relations with the States and at Great Britain's expense, if need be. Soon afterwards the party was apparently forced into adopting a policy which has only resulted in yearly increasing disaster to it and to the hopes of its leaders.

It is true that some headway was made at first. People hardly understood that the new policy meant discrimination against British goods in favour of American, a uniform Customs tariff with the United States, and a probable pooling of the revenues of Canada and the States, together with a Dominion tariff controlled practically at Washington instead of Ottawa. And the pressure—more apparent than real—of the McKinley bill which came into force in October, 1890, also had an effect for the time being upon the farmer. So that in the elections which were brought on early in 1891, the chances were favourable to the Liberals, who had been working hard during the past four years; while the Conservatives had been resting more or less upon their oars, and thinking of their past victories under the Grand Old Man of Canada, Sir John Macdonald. And his personality was really the rock upon which the hopes of disloyalty and the labours of Americanized agitators were

finally broken. The Premier was ill, too feeble by far to manage a General Election, but he saw with the eye of an experienced Commander that to delay action much longer would be dangerous, if not fatal. At a moment, therefore, when three of the Liberal leaders were in the United States, before the McKinley bill had created the discontent which the Opposition hoped would follow upon the shutting of Canadian eggs, horses and barley out of the American market, before the Opposition was fully organised,—the House of Commons was dissolved, and the battle commenced. Sir John Macdonald, against his physician's express warning that it would wear out his already enfeebled frame, threw himself into the conflict as of old, and soon created that confidence in his followers which can only be compared to the enthusiasm which men like Richard Cœur de Lion or Henry of Navarre raised in the hearts of their countrymen when leading them to battle. He issued the famous manifesto which will last for all time in the memories of Canadians, declaring that the struggle was one for national autonomy; and that as for him "a British subject he was born, a British subject he would die." The election was won, and the Premier returned to Ottawa, after having made numberless speeches to enthusiastic audiences—on one day speaking five times. But he returned to die. In the bright days of June the old statesman passed away amid scenes of heartfelt sorrow, which are rare indeed in this practical age. For nearly fifty years he had been a Canadian leader, and for at least half that time Canada's greatest and most popular man.

But his policy still lives. Bye-elections which followed doubled the Conservative majority; and to-day Sir John Thompson leads a large and united party. Differences may exist upon details. One member may not like the duty upon coal-oil, another thinks the duty upon binder-twine might be dispensed with; but upon the broad general principle and policy of Canada for Canadians as against the talk of American union and Continental policies; of Canada

within the British Empire; of Canada for home products and manufactures so far as may be found beneficial; of Canada as a great British State; the Conservative party and the majority of the people are united, and will, I believe, remain so. To ensure that the maintenance of British connexion may remain an all-important consideration in the heart of the Canadian voter, it is necessary for the Mother-Country to aid, in every way possible, those who have taken up Sir John Macdonald's work—without having his unequalled personality and magnetism. If that is done, time will slowly but surely evolve that closer commercial, defensive and national union which should be included in the phrase, "Imperial Federation," as applied to the great self-governing States of the Empire, and which should be the one aim of British citizens all over the world.

Toronto, Canada.

Since this was set up, the Liberal Leader has formulated his policy as one of (1) Reform of the Customs Tariff in the direction of Free Trade rather than of Protection, (2) Reform of Land Grants in favour of settlers as against speculators, (3) Loyalty to England, but (4) with a staunch support for Canadian interests whenever they chance to clash with those of Great Britain, (5) Reciprocity with the United States, (6) Repeal of the Franchise Act.—ED.

THE HISTORY OF TCHAMPA

(THE CYAMBA OF MARCO POLO, NOW ANNAM OR COCHIN CHINA).

BY COMMANDANT E. AYMONTIER.*

I.

INTRODUCTION.

THE ancient kingdom of "Cyamba, which Messire Marco Polo visited about 1280 A.D.," is known to us through three series of accounts, clear in details if not very great in bulk :—

I. The ancient Chinese Annals and Historians, cited in the "Notes Historiques sur la nation Annamite" of the learned French Missionary, Father Legrand de la Liraye, who died at Saigon about 1874, give us a very clear idea of the relations between China and the kingdom of Cyamba, between the IVth and Xth Centuries, A.D.

II. From the Xth Century, when the Giao Tchi attained their liberty, the "Histoire de l'Annam" of Mr. Petrus Truong Vinh Ky, a Cochinchinese scholar, helps us, through Annamite annals, to a knowledge of the progressive encroachment on Cyamba by her turbulent neighbours. French writers on this historical subject have done little but copy these two authors, who alone were lucky enough to reach inedited (original) sources of information. Among the works at secondhand, several are not without merit; and we may mention with praise: "*L'Histoire de l'Annam*," by the Abbé Launay,—"*L'Annam et le Cambodge*" by the Abbé Bouillevaux—"*Le Ciampa*" by the same; and Francis Garnier's "*Relation de l'Exploration du Mekong*." Though the last wrote too early in the day to unravel the entangled threads of ancient Indo-Chinese Histories, yet he has borrowed from Chinese authors some very useful information.

III. A third source of information has been recently opened to us, by the inscriptions discovered during my scientific mission to Indo-China. These bilingual documents give us details regarding the religion, civilization and political organization of a kingdom which has itself disappeared.

Of these inscriptions, those in Sanskrit have been analyzed by M. Bergaigne in the January 1888 issue of the *Journal de la Société Asiatique de Paris*; while in its issue of January 1891, I have tried to handle those in Tchame or vernacular tongue. These studies and explorations explain and I hope justify my attempt to add another stone to the historical edifice of French Cochinchina. I think that drawing now on the three sources which I have indicated, we have sufficient

* A paper read on September 9th, 1891, before the Statutory Ninth International Congress of Orientalists in London, to which Commandant E. Aymontier, Principal of the Colonial School at Paris, was the Delegate of the French Government.

materials to trace with certainty Marco Polo's historical sketch of Cyamba. The grand lines of that sketch are not likely to be weakened by future discoveries in Chinese literature, or in the inscriptions still remaining unnoticed in Central and Northern Annam.

We know now that the natives gave to their country the name of Tchampa (Campa) the derivation and appearance of which are assuredly Indian; and from this name come the various renderings given by European authors—Ciampa, Cyamba, Tsciampa, Tchampa, Tjampa, etc. To this day the last descendants of the ancient inhabitants of Tchampa call themselves Tchames (Cam).

Ancient Chinese historians call this country Lin-Y = "The wild forests." The Annamites pronounced these two ideographs *Lam-Ap*, which are said to be but two transcriptions of one and the same expression. Later on, the Annamites, (Chinese in their civilization and writing, but in continual touch with Tchampa), transcribed this name very closely by the characters *Chiem Ba*. With our present knowledge, it would be a gross mistake to say that Tchampa was derived from *Chiem Ba*: the reverse is the case. The Annamites shortened the name of the capital to Chiem Thanh, and spoke of the country and its people as Chiem, Shiem, Xiem, Siem. This has led Father Legrand de la Liraye into a mistake. Deceived by an apparent similarity in the names, the learned missionary, in his "*Notes Historiques*," has sometimes mistaken the Tchames for the Siamese. The latter were distant from Tchampa, and were long subject to Cambodia; and their historical achievements are of comparatively recent date.

The Southern Chinese also called Tchampa, *Tcheng Tching*, or *Co-Tcheng Tching*, which the Europeans have changed into Cochin China; and by this name they have long called Tchampa. In our days the name of Cochin China tends to extend itself to the south-west, and to be applied to the country situated on the delta of the Mekong in ancient Cambodia; while Tchampa itself, a narrow and difficult strip of country, enclosed between the mountains and the sea, and curved like an S extending over 10 degrees of latitude between French Cochin China on the South, and Tonkin on the North, tends more and more to take the name of Annam, properly so called.

A short digression on Annam and on the Annamites will not here be out of place.

Before the Christian era, when Tchampa embraced the whole coast from Saigon to the present province of Canton, the name of Annam was unknown. Then, in Southern China, or in the North of present Tonquin, in the mountainous regions separating the river of Canton from the waters of the Red River, there probably dwelt tribes which from time immemorial were under Chinese influence. This was the country, these the men called *Giao Tchi*: "The bifurcated toes" according to some, or as I think, "The separated plants," "the diverging slopes." The people of *Giao Tchi*, conquered in the IInd Century B.C. by the Chinese, accepted the language, writing and civilization of the Celestial Empire. The conquerors gave, later on, to the land they held the name of *Annam*, "the peaceful south." This race has since then been called the people of *Annam*, or "An-

namites." The Annamites, therefore, as far as we can trace their past, are not known by any Ethnic name. They have preserved the memory of names given by the Chinese, which they have appropriated. Its Southern neighbours,—the men of that Tchampa which they were afterwards to conquer little by little, gave them, as far as I know, two names: the popular name of *Joek* (pronounced *Djocuk*) and the literary name of *Yuan* or *Yuon* (pronounced *Yoo-ōne*) which was gradually popularized, and became even more common than *Djocuk*. Both names survive in the language of the present Tchames, and are applied to the Annamites. The more generally used word *Yuon* has, however, passed also into the language of the neighbouring people, especially of the Cambodians. *Yuon*, therefore, is the name given to the Annamites throughout Indo-China, except in Annam itself.

Whence did this name come?

According to the Sanskrit inscriptions of Tchampa, it is the Sanskrit *Yavana*, the name used by the Indians for the Greeks, or "Ionians." Let me quote two passages from Victor Duruy's *Histoire des Grecs* (Vol. I., p. 57): "Since the XIth Century B.C. the Hebrews knew the name of the children of *Javan* (Ionians) who inhabit the coasts and islands of the Great Sea; and this name is found also in the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Pharaohs of the XVIII Dynasty." And further on (p. 64, note): "By a strange chance, this ancient name of Ionians of which the Athenians were ashamed when Aristophanes called them by it in derision, is actually that by which the Turks call the Greeks of the independent kingdom, *Yunan*: their name for the Greek Ralias, or subjects, is *Roumis*. The Arabs have never called them anything except *Yunan*."

This word *Yuan*, of which the origin is so remote, and the relationship so distant, requires perhaps some further observations. It bears a singular resemblance to the Chinese *Yuan*, *Juan*, or *Jouan*, which the Annamites pronounce *Nguyen*—more strictly *Nguien*. Now *Nguyen* is a very common family name among the Annamites, who might be called, *par excellence*, the tribe of "Nguyen," as the Israelites have been called the children of Juda or of Levi. "Nguyen" is the name of the present Annamite dynasty; and the Abbé Launay tells us that the late King, Tu Duc, was called by the Chinese Jouan Fou Tchen.

The ancestors of the present Yuons occupied, as I said, the country of Giao Tchi, on the Southern frontier of China. Conquered in the IInd century B.C. and gradually assimilated, they advanced southward, led by Chinese Governors, absorbing or driving back the other races, and little by little colonizing Tonquin. So, about the middle of the IVth Century, the Celestial Empire unexpectedly found itself in contact with the Tchames, who, according to Father Legrand de la Liraye, "had occupied formerly almost all the coast from Cape St. James, up to Canton, on which too they have left the beautiful towers which we now see."

Whether politically united into one government, or forming a confederation, it is now certain that at this remote epoch Tchampa was entirely penetrated with Brahmanism. This is placed beyond all doubt by the Sanskrit inscription in the village of Vo Can, near Nha Trang, in the

province of Khanh Hoa—one of the most anciently known, dating at least from the IIIrd Century,—though no divine name is now legible on it. It treats of a pious endowment by a prince called Mararaja. Indian civilization had, therefore, a very ancient hold on the oriental coast of Indo-China. Not more so, however, than we had already reason to believe; for, as Barth and Bergaigne have remarked, in the middle of the II Century A.D., Ptolemy gives Indian geographical names all over these coasts.

On this small field, then, two very different civilizations met in a bloody encounter, which struggle continued, with occasional truces, a merciless strife for 1,100 years, (IV to XV Century of our era). On the one side the Tchames defended their hearths and homes; on the other, the Chinese followed up their first decisive blows down to the Xth Century. From this last date, the Annamites, freed from the Chinese yoke but become quite Chinese themselves, and now established firmly in Tonquin determined to entirely dismember Tchampa, which had already been much weakened. Once they had conquered it, they assimilated or pitilessly hunted down the last remains of the Tchames; and this continued till the recent French conquest of the country.

The history of Tchampa, therefore, may be divided into three clearly distinct but unequal periods;—the struggles with the Chinese, IVth to Xth Centuries;—the struggles with the Annamites, Xth to XVth Centuries;—and its gradual extinction, XVth to XIXth Centuries.

II.

THE STRUGGLES WITH CHINA—IVTH TO XTH CENTURIES.

AFTER Tan had conquered the Empire, he recalled the troops from the country of the Giao Tchi. Then an officer, the Tich-Su of Giao, called Dao Hoang, addressed to him the following petition:—

"Very far, beyond Giao, many thousands of *li* (Li=600 metres=656½ yds.) lies Lam Ap, the chief of which, Pham Hung, is always engaged in plundering and calls himself a King. This people is continually making incursions into our territory, and, when united together with Pho Nam (Cambodia) constitutes a vast multitude. When attacked, they retire and hide themselves in inaccessible places. In the time of the Ngô (the dynasty preceding Tan), these people of Lam Ap made their submission, but only the better to plunder the inhabitants and to slay their chiefs. Sent among them to hold them in restraint, I have spent there over 10 years. They always remained concealed and unseen, in their caves and hiding places. I had with me 8,000 men, the greater part of whom have perished of privations and sickness. I have only some 2,400 odd left. Now that the four seas enjoy perfect peace, it is necessary to think of sending reinforcements; but as I am an official of a past government, what I say is of no importance."

The Emperor Tan followed this advice, says Father Legrand de la Liraye; for, since the year 318, the affairs of the Government of Giao were in a most miserable state. The wildest anarchy reigned on the southern

frontiers of the Empire, and the incursions of the Lam Ap had become daily more troublesome, according to the Chinese officials. In 353, a prince of the imperial house of Tan, called Nguyễn Phu, then Governor of Giao, carried the war into Lam Ap, and seized over 50 cities or forts. We may conclude that this first invasion was made in the valley of the Red River, with the result of conquering definitely for the Chinese and Annamites, the coast of Tonquin, such as it had been formed by the alluvia of that epoch.

A Chinese note informs us that Lam Ap belonged to the province of Nhat Nam (Canton), bounded on the east by the sea, on the west by Trao Khue, extending in the south to Tchan Lap (Cambodia), and joining on to Annam, through Hoan Chu or Xu Nghê. In the south, this country was called Tha-bê, in the north O-ly.

In 399, Pham Ho Dat, King of Lam Ap, invading the coasts of Tonquin and Canton, was driven back by Do Vien, the Chinese Governor of Giao. In 413, renewing his incursions on the coast of Canton, Pham Ho Dat was again driven back, pursued, captured and beheaded, by Huê Do, the son and successor of Do Vien. Two years later, a new king of Lam Ap, to revenge his predecessor, invaded Tonquin and plundered the coast, but was driven off by the people themselves. At length in 420, say the Chinese historians, Huê Do made a great slaughter of the people of Lam Ap, killing more than half of them. These *Robber-races* then tendered their submission, which Huê Do accepted on condition of their restoring all that they had plundered. It took 10 years to recover from this defeat.

In 431, Pham Dzuong Mai, king of Lam Ap, again attacked, with recovered strength, the coasts of Tonquin and Canton. He too was driven back. The next year, he sent an embassy to the Court of the Tông (then the imperial dynasty) asking for the appointment of Prefect of Giao. (This attempt tends to confirm the supposition that the kings of Lam Ap had rights to claim over Tonquin, the coasts of which had belonged to their ancestors.) The emperor on account of the distance refused him that office. Four years later, the Court of Tông ordered Hoa Chi, governor of Giao, to chastise Lam Ap, because Pham Dzuong Mai still continued his *Robberies*, though he had done homage by sending ambassadors and presents. A boastful Chinese "Literate," called Y, gives the details of this expedition and of the important part which he himself played in it. Going in the suite of Hoa Chi to fight Lam Ap, he had command of the vanguard, with the title of Marshal. The king of Lam Ap, frightened at the invasion of his country by this army, sent an embassy offering to restore the value of all that he had taken from the government of Nhat Nam, namely 10,000 pounds (livres) of pure gold and 100,000 pounds of silver. The Emperor ordered Hoa Chi to accept the offer, if Dzuong Mai was really sincere; so Hoa Chi who was encamped at Chau Ngo sent an officer called Trung Co to the king—but he never returned. Resolved then to give no quarter, Hoa Chi immediately besieged the fortress of Khu Lat, commanded by Phu Long, the principal leader of Lam Ap. In vain did the king send Pham Con Sha Dat to the relief of his general. Our learned Y attacked him on his march and destroyed his troops. In the 5th month, Hoa Chi

entered the besieged fort, beheaded Phu Long, and improved his victory by carrying his army up to the border of the Elephants. Dzuoeng Mai then raised all the available forces of his kingdom to resist the enemy. He took care to conceal his elephants from view. Our learned Y said on this occasion: "I have heard that in foreign countries there are lions—an animal which all the others respect and fear. Let us put his image before the elephants." In fact it was thus that the elephants were frightened and put to flight, the army of the king of Lam Ap was cut to pieces, and he himself barely succeeded in escaping with his family. The booty captured was immense. Thus to the maritime incursions of Lam Ap the Chinese Governors replied by more efficacious invasions by land. We know these wars and their causes only by the account given by the conquerors, who have therefore full play in denouncing the Punic faith of their adversaries.

There are two Sanskrit inscriptions engraved on a rock at the foot of a hill in the province of Phu Yen, dating from about this Vth century. King Bhadravarman who takes the titles of Dharma Maharaja Sri Bhadravarman already bears a royal name ending in *Varman* like the names of the kings of Cambodia and of the islands of the Sound. This is precisely the period when such names occur frequently also in the South of India. This king invokes Siva by the name of Bhadresvara. Siva, therefore, has been worshipped in Tchampa from very ancient times, under names borrowed from those of the kings who either raised temples to him, or in some other way helped to increase the glory of his worship.

During the VIth century, the south of China was a prey to disturbances; and her historians have nothing to say of Lam Ap. In 605, however, Luong Phuong, a redoubted general serving under the dynasty of Tuy, after taking military possession of Nhat Nam (Canton) and Nam Viet (Tonquin), tried to subdue Lam Ap. Its immense wealth had excited to the utmost the cupidity of the people about the Tuys; for the country was held to be exceedingly rich in precious metals. To the former titles of Loun Phuong, the Emperor added those of Commander in Chief of the roads of Hoan Chu (the present Xu Nghê), and of Kinh Luoc, or Imperial Visitor, of Lam Ap.

Luong Phuong, assembling a force of more than 10,000 men and many horse, marched by land on Viet Thuong—then the generic name of all Tonquin—while a relative of his, Truong Tu, went by sea to Bac Canh, on the shore of Nhat Nam or the gulf of Tonquin. Phan Tchi, king of Lam Ap, met him with many elephants. At first, he gained some success; but Luong Phuong had ditches dug and covered with twigs; and in the ensuing battle he simulated a precipitate flight. The elephants on coming to the ditches became alarmed, and retreating caused the utmost disorder in the army of Phan Tchi, which was completely routed, with immense slaughter. Luong Phuong pursued its remains as far as the bronze column of Ma Vien. In eight days he reached the capital, which Phan Tchi abandoned, leaving to his conqueror eighteen statues of massive gold representing his eighteen predecessors. In commemoration of his victory Luong Phuong cut an inscription on stone, and then returned to China. He died, however, on the way, and his army was decimated by diseases, the soldiers having suffered much from swelling of the feet during the long, rapid and fatiguing marches.

The site of this battle must have been in the west of Tonquin, that is to say in the north of the present province of Thanh Hoa, whence in eight days the army could reach the first historical capital of Tchampa—now called Shri Banocuy by the modern Tchames. According to the calculation of a Chinese author cited by Francis Garnier, this capital lay about the 17th degree of latitude, near Dong Hocuy the present chief town of Quang Binh. The very name Dong Hocuy perhaps means "the field of the Tchames," as the Annamites give to their hereditary enemies the epithet of Hoi, "Hocuy" = barbarians.

These grave events in 605 seem to mark the beginning of a long period of desperate struggles for the possession of northern Tchampa—the present provinces of Thanh Hoa and Nghe An. After centuries of bloody wars, their final acquisition, first by the Chinese, then by the Annamites will afterwards sound the knell of Tchampa.

The annals relate that about 618 Hoa Lich, Commander in Chief of Giao under the Tuys, had acquired the greatest influence and reputation during his tours among the peoples of the south. All the kingdoms of Lam Ap enthusiastically sent him such presents of precious stones, rhinoceros horns, gold and valuables of all kinds that he became as rich as any king.

In 723, an Annamite rebel, Mai Thuc Loan, known as Hac De = "the black Emperor," directed one of the many attempts of Giao to revolt against the Chinese. It was suppressed, though the annals tell us that the Tchames (Lam Ap) and the Cambodians (Chon Lap) had helped the insurgents.

In this VIIIth century, the name of "*An Nam*" comes into general use, instead of those formerly used—Giao, Viet Thuong, Nam Viet, etc. In 756, the Emperor, Ninh Hoang De (Ning Hoang Ti) established in Tonquin a great military command officially called An Nam. A strange event now took place, in 767—an invasion of Tonquin from the coasts of southern China by hordes of Malays and Javanese, which the Chinese thus describe: "In the year Dinh Vi (767) the men of Côn Nôn and Chava invaded the Cháu (prefectures) and attacked the citadels of the country." General Truong Ba Nghi was sent against them; and uniting with the governor of Vo Dinh, he defeated them completely at Cháu Dzien, and then built the present capital of Tonquin and called it La Thanh." The annals add the following note in explanation: Chava of the mountains was Cháu Lang, commonly called Dôt La. Its limits by land were Chon Lap (Cambodia) on the east; in the West it touched the east of India (which I think means the Malay Peninsula). Bo Lac counted 299 tribes. The king of Little Côn Nôn was called Mong Ta Liet; and the king of Great Côn Nôn, Tu Loi Bac. There was another kingdom of Ha Lac called Chava (Java) afterwards Chavaquoc, far off in the southern sea. From this kingdom to go to the sea by the East it took one month;—by the south, three days,—by the north four; and by the North West fifteen by boat up to Say Pha Dinh. Giao Chi attacked this kingdom with 30,000 troops and subdued it, says the note; but this statement must be taken with a large pinch of salt.

Resuming after a silence of two or three centuries, the Sanskrit inscriptions of Tchampa confirm these remote and strange maritime expeditions. After mentioning his predecessor, king Prathivindravarman "who ruled

over all Tchampa and reigned for a long time," Satiavarman "the son of his sister who had a short reign," states that, in 774, "very dark and thin men coming from another country in ships" robbed the Linga and destroyed the temple of the goddess Po Nagar (Bhagavati) at Nha Trang. Pursuing them, Satiavarman says he gained a complete naval victory over them. In 784, he rebuilt the temple and the Siva, and cut the inscription which gives these details. The Linga thus carried off is said to have been erected by the mythical king Vicitra Sagara, hundreds of thousands of years before.

These maritime expeditions of the Javanese, thus mentioned since 667, were renewed during a long period; for another inscription of king Indravarman, younger brother and successor of Satyavarman, states that, in 787, the armies of Java, "arriving in ships," burnt the temple of Siva at Panduranga (in Southern Tchampa). Twelve years later, the king, in 799, rebuilt and endowed the temple, and cut his inscription celebrating his own glory, "who carried the war to the four cardinal points,"*

Reverses soon followed these successes—however real they were. The Chinese annals relate that the kings of Tchampa, taking advantage of the confusion prevailing in the Empire, retook Hoan Châu or Xu Nghê (now the provinces of Thanh Hoa and Nghệ An,—these continually disputed provinces). In 808, Truong Chau, Chinese Governor-General in the south, marched against the hostile king, and caused 30,000 men of the two prefectures of Hoan and Ai to be beheaded. He destroyed the fortresses of these two districts; captured alive 59 princes of the royal family; and brought back to the north an immense booty, noticeable among which was a vast number of coats of mail made of plates of ivory. According to this very text it is evident that the population of the invaded or disputed territory was still Tchame; the annals add: "This king of Hoan Châu reigned over all the ancient kingdom of Phan Chi, king of Lam Ap, who was conquered by Luong Phuong (203 years previously in the year 605). This territory was called Xiêm Bat Lan,—the residence of King Xiêm Ba; Xiêm Thanh, the kingdom of Tei and the land of Bi Thê.

This name of Xiêm Ba, or Chiem Ba, which now begins to take the place of the older designation of Lam Ap, shows, I think, that Tchampa had become better known to its northern neighbours. The invasion of 808 seems not to have left any lasting result. The Chinese quitted the country or were driven out. According to the inscriptions, there reigned in 817 over Tchampa a king called Harivarman, who took the titles of "King of kings," and "Supreme Lord of the city of Tchampa." He had gained some victories over the Chinese. "His arm was a sun, which burnt the people of China black as the night." Reserving to himself most probably the north of the kingdom, he handed over the government of Panduranga or the most southerly provinces of Tchampa, to his son

* We should note that in these inscriptions the king worships Siva and Vishnu, united in one form, as Sankara-Narayana, whose worship was also widely spread in the neighbouring kingdom of Cambodia, in the Vth, VIth, and VIIth centuries, before the foundation of Angkor. From Vyadhapura, then the capital of Cambodia, I have brought a beautiful and curious statue of this god Harihar, which was shown at the Universal Exposition of 1889, and is now in the Musée Guimet at Paris.

Vikrantavarman, placing him under the guardianship of a general called Panroe, who made a great successful incursion into Cambodia.

Vikrantavarman, son of Harivarman by the sister of Satyavarman, was reigning both in 829 and in 854. To this reign is traceable a Buddhist inscription, which, however, marks that the donor was only a private individual. Of vernacular inscriptions up to this date, there are only a few, and even these but fragmentary, worn out and almost illegible; while the Sanskrit inscriptions are very beautiful and well preserved. These are in prose; but from this IXth century to the Xth, these documents are partly in prose and partly in verse.

During the reign of Vikrantavarman, about the year 836, the Chinese annals say that Vuong Thuc, Governor-General of Annam, acquired so great an ascendancy that all its tribes, as also Xiem (Tchampa) and Chan Lap (Cambodia) submitted to pay homage every year. About 860, the indigenous tribes of west Tonquin rose against the Chinese, urged on, it would seem, by Tchampa. The rebels seized the capital of Tonquin, and slew the Chinese prefect. "Many a time (say these annals) Lam Ap has tried to rebel and to gather around her the inhabitants of the sea and of the mountains; but it has never had sufficient forces."

The inscriptions mention, in the Xth Century King Haravarman and his son and successor Indravarman, who, in 918, erected a golden statue to the goddess Bhagavati in the temple of Po Nagar. Later on, "the avaricious Cambodians took away this statue, but they died in consequence"; and in 965 king Jaya Indravarman put in its stead a stone statue of the goddess—in all probability the very one which exists to this day in the Temple of Po Nagar, in Khanh Hoa.

Tchampa, at this time most probably absorbed in its quarrels with its southern neighbour, Cambodia, quietly allowed an event to take place in the North, which it perhaps then considered favourable to itself, but which nevertheless produced the most fatal consequences. After its repeated partial insurrections had been suppressed during twelve centuries, Annam at last freed herself from the Chinese yoke, by a general rising in 931. The Chinese were driven out. Several chiefs ruled in rapid succession over the Annamites, whom Tchampa allowed to remain in peace. In 968, king Dinh founded the first Annamite dynasty. This young nation, though freed from the Chinese yoke, but completely assimilated to China, will yet receive from that country, in spite of all the wars which it will have to endure, a constant supply of emigrants and of moral forces. With its northward extension stopped by the vast mass of the Celestial Empire, it will constantly extend itself southwards, and will eat into Tchampa little by little, both by the incessant emigration of its subjects, and by the violent attacks of its armies.

I think that at this period (the Xth Century) Tchampa comprised all the present state of Annam, little perhaps excepted, from Baria to Nghé An or to Thanh Hoa. I differ in this from the opinion of the bulk of writers on the subject, who credit the Annamites with possessing not only Tonquin but also the coast as far as Huế. The inscriptions of northern Annam probably have in store some surprises on this point.

The above very important paper will be continued in our next issue.—Ed.

WHERE WAS MOUNT SINAI?

BY PROF. A. H. SAYCE.

I HAVE returned to Cairo to find the world of tourists departed or departing, some for Europe, some for Palestine, others for the Sinaitic Peninsula. The last seem usually to be pilgrims in the old-fashioned sense of the word. When I ask them why they want to spend time and money in travelling day after day upon the back of a bone-breaking camel through a land of monotonous rocks and arid *wadis*, the answer I get is that they are bent on seeing the desert wherein the Israelites wandered for forty years and the mountain whereon the law was given to Moses. Mount Sinai is the goal and end of their journey.

Mount Sinai, however, is not so easy to find as the tourist thinks. There is doubtless little difficulty in being conducted to the modern Mount Sinai, the Mount Sinai of monks, of dragomen and of popular books, but the real Mount Sinai of the Old Testament is harder to discover. As it is, even the tourist knows that in the Sinaitic Peninsula itself more than one imposing peak claims the honour of being that whereon the Mosaic Law was promulgated, and each of the advocates of the rival sites believes that his own arguments are unanswerable. The modern European traveller usually adopts the theory which makes Mount Serbal the scene of the promulgation of the Law, perhaps on the strength of his Guide-book, but the natives of the Peninsula themselves have no doubt that the scene occurred on the Jebel Mûsa.

If the exact position of the mountain itself is thus a matter of dispute we need not be surprised that the identification of the other sites sanctified by the wanderings of the Israelites should be still more a subject of controversy. There is hardly one of them which is settled. Indeed the only approach to unanimity which exists is in regard to the geographical position of the wilderness of Paran. It is

identified with the Wadi el-Firân, one of the most fertile spots in the Peninsula, where the city of Pharan stood in the days of the Roman Empire, and the neighbouring cliffs became the home of numberless Christian anchorites. Unfortunately however the ruins of Pharan show that it had no existence before the Græco-Roman period: in fact it is first mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy in the 2nd century A.D.; when Diodôros described the Oasis two centuries previously, it was not as yet in existence. The name of the Wadi el-Firân means simply "the Valley of Rats," while between a Wadi and a desert there is a considerable difference. Moreover the Pentateuch distinctly tells us that Paran was in the region of Mount Seir, on the north-eastern and not on the south-western side of the Sinaitic Peninsula (Deut. i. 1).

The term "Sinaitic Peninsula," however, cannot be traced back to any very distant date. When Josephus wrote, there is no indication that Sinai was as yet supposed to be a mountain of the Peninsula. Like St. Paul (Gal. iv. 25), Josephus merely describes it as in Arabia, and to a writer of the first century Arabia would denote Arabia Petræa rather than a Peninsula which in the age of the Ptolemies was still a province of Egypt.* The Peninsula subsequently became subject to the Nabathæan Kings of Petra, and after the abolition of their sovereignty by Trajan in 105 A.D., it was annexed to the Roman Empire. But it remained a barren possession until the fourth century when a passion for leading a solitary life seized upon the Christians of Syria and Egypt. Hundreds of them wandered into the desert and there took up their abode in cells and mountain-caves. The privations of such a life were heightened by fear of the "Saracens" or Bedouin who in spite of the Roman garrisons occasionally massacred the hermits. The Peninsula, however, was not an unsuitable place for those who wished to escape from the business

* As late as the time of Epiphanius "Arabia" is still defined as "the Edom of Scripture" (Epiph. *Op.* Dindorf III. p. 483).

and pleasures of the world. It was near at hand to the countries from which the anchorites mostly came, it was protected by Roman soldiery, and unlike the deserts on either side of the Nile afforded sufficient food and drink to satisfy an anchorite's wants. Wherever water was to be found monastic establishments sprang up, and at the time of the Mohammedan conquest the Peninsula was peopled by Christian monks. The hermits had before their eyes the great examples of Moses and Elijah who like themselves had fled into the wilderness out of the world, and it was necessarily not long before they had persuaded themselves that the wilderness into which the Hebrew prophets had fled was the very one in which they were themselves living. Soon, therefore, as was inevitable, the places consecrated by the presence and miracles of Moses were re-discovered, including of course Mount Sinai, "the Mount of God." As early as A.D. 361 St. Julian founded a church on "Sinai," and another was subsequently built by Justinian.

Thus it was that the "Sinaitic Peninsula" was found. Its discoverers were the hermits and canobites of the fourth century, and its sacred places were identified with as much ease as the sacred places of Palestine. Old Testament names were attached without much difficulty to the localities in which the monks lived or to which the pilgrims could most easily come.

The tradition which grew up in the closing days of the Roman Empire has ever since maintained its ground. Christians and Mohammedans alike have accepted it, and even the nomad Bedouin see the footprints of Moses throughout the Peninsula. The desert of Shur, called Tyra by Pliny, which bounds the Peninsula on the north, has become the Jebel et-Tih, "the mountain of the Wandering," and the name of Mûsa or Moses meets the traveller at every turn.

Few have been bold enough to question the accuracy of the tradition. Dr. Beke indeed proposed to transfer

Mount Sinai to the Jebel en-Nûr, at the northern end of the Gulf of 'Aqâbah, but as he also maintained that the mountain of the Law was a volcano and that the Mizraim or Egypt of Scripture lay on the eastern side of the Red Sea, his views did not meet with much acceptance. Even the Doctor himself was shaken when a visit to the Jebel en-Nûr had convinced him that it was no volcano.

Another doubter has been Mr. Baker Greene. He would identify Mount Sinai with Mount Hor which forms part of the range of Mount Seir. Mr. Baker Greene is a writer of very different calibre from Dr. Beke, and the arguments with which he attacks the traditional belief are exceedingly difficult to meet. I shall have to repeat a good many of them in what I have myself to say.

For I also am one of the heretics who regard the pilgrim to the Sinaitic Peninsula as wasting his enthusiasm over imaginary sites. The Old Testament and the Egyptian monuments alike seem to me to forbid our placing Mount Sinai in the so-called Sinaitic Peninsula or believing that the Israelites could ever have wandered for forty years in that pastureless and uninviting region.

Let us first see what the Old Testament has to say upon the subject. The question of the geographical position of Mount Sinai is intimately bound up with that of the position of the Yâm Sûph or "Sea of Weeds," called the Red Sea in the Authorized Version. But the identification is not older than the time of the Septuagint, when the "Red Sea" denoted the sea which washed all the coasts of Arabia, except perhaps those in the Persian Gulf, and when the Septuagint translators were naturally anxious to find as many Biblical sites as possible in the near neighbourhood of Egypt.

Where the Yâm Sûph of Hebrew geography actually was we are told explicitly in more than one passage of the Old Testament. In 1 Kings ix. 26 it is stated to be "in the land of Edom," the cities of Ezion-geber and Eloth being built upon its shore. It was, therefore, the modern

Gulf of 'Aqâbah. In Numb. xxxiii. 8-10, we are told that after the children of Israel had escaped from Egypt by passing through "the sea"—not the "Yâm Sûph," be it observed—they "went three days' journey in the wilderness of Etham" as far as Marah; thence they removed to the oasis of Elim and then "encamped by the Yâm Sûph," after which they found themselves in the wilderness of Sin. The wilderness of Sin, so named from the Babylonian Moon-god, Sin, was as we learn from Exod. xvi. 1, the wilderness which lay "between Elim and Sinai."

A journey of four or five days from the frontier of Egypt would have brought the Israelitish caravan to the Gulf of 'Aqâbah. It would have followed the same route as that which is taken by the modern Egyptian pilgrim to Mecca who does not avail himself of the steamboat facilities afforded by Messrs. Cook and Son. It is of course possible that the caravan may have travelled more slowly than the modern pilgrim, and as we are not informed how many days were consumed on the journey between Marah and Elim the estimate of four or five days may be too little. What is certain, however, is that the three days' journey through the wilderness after leaving the Egyptian frontier excludes the Gulf of Suez. It would have been too near the starting-point of the Israelites. Moreover the canal which carried the waters of the Nile into the Gulf in the age of the Nineteenth Egyptian Dynasty would have prevented its being said of the triumphant fugitives that for three days they "found no water."

Mr. Baker Greene is doubtless right in identifying Elim with Eloth or Elath. The two names are in fact one and the same, the only difference between them being that in the one the feminine plural is used and in the other the masculine plural. If Elim is not Elath we shall look in vain for it either in ancient or in modern geography. No such name appears elsewhere.

There is a third passage in the Old Testament from

which we may infer that the Yâm Sûph of Scripture is the Gulf of 'Aqâbah of to-day. At the beginning of the Book of Deuteronomy it is said: "These be the words which Moses spake unto all Israel beyond the Jordan in the wilderness, in the plain over against Sûph, between Paran, and Tophel, and Laban, and Hazeroth, and Dizahab." The place is still further defined five verses later as "beyond the Jordan, in Moab," or as it is described in Numb. xxxvi. 13, "In the plains of Moab by the Jordan of Jericho."

There seems no reason to question the general opinion that the Sûph mentioned in the foregoing passage either gave its name to the Yâm Sûph or took its name from the latter. If so, we shall have another proof that the Yâm Sûph was the Gulf of 'Aqâbah, that being the only sea (apart of course from the Dead Sea) which was anywhere near "the plains of Moab."

The geography of the Exodus in other respects agrees with the position thus assigned by the Hebrew writers themselves to the Yâm Sûph and consequently to the desert of Sin and the mountain of Sinai which were in the vicinity of that sea. Mount Sinai, "the Mountain of God," could not have been far from the frontiers of Midian. It was while Moses was keeping the flocks of Jethro the priest of Midian that he came, on "the backside of the desert," to "the mountain of God, even to Horeb" (Exod. iii. 1). In accordance with this we find Jethro visiting his son-in-law when the Israelites were "encamped at the mount of God" (Exod. xviii. 5). It was immediately after the smiting of the rock in Horeb and the overthrow of the Amalekites at Rephidim.

The district inhabited by the Amalekites is well-known. They were an Edomite tribe of Bedouin (Gen. xxxvi. 12), and inhabited the desert on the southern border of Judah which stretched from Havilah in the east to Shur, the "Wall" of Egypt (1 Sam. xv. 7), in the west. It was here in the neighbourhood of Kadesh-barnea that they

had been found by Chedor-laomer and his allies (Gen. xiv. 7), and it was here that Balaam beheld them in prophetic vision (Numb. xxiv. 18-21). In the days of the Judges they had made their way northward as far as Mount Ephraim (Judg. iii. 13, v. 14, xii. 15) in alliance with the Ammonites. But of Amalekites in the Sinaitic Peninsula, much more in the south-western part of it, the Hebrew records know nothing. Indeed the words with which Moses dedicated the altar he raised in memory of the Amalekite defeat expressly declare that the Amalekites with whom the Israelites had just been contending were identical with those against whom the people of the Lord were to carry on war "from generation to generation" (Exod. xvii. 16). They must therefore have been the tribe which skirted the southern frontier of Judah and which Saul was finally called upon to exterminate.

There is one more indication in the Pentateuch of the situation of Sinai. When the promulgation of the Law was at last ended the Israelites departed from the wilderness of Sinai and immediately entered that of Paran (Numb. x. 12). Now we know where the desert of Paran was. It was on the southern borders of Canaan, and the great sanctuary of Kadesh-barnea lay within it (Numb. xiii. 3, 17, 22, 26). If not actually included in Edomite territory it adjoined the mountains of Seir (Deut. xxxiii. 2).

Sinai thus lay between the Yâm Sûph and Paran, at no great distance from either. It must consequently have been either part of the range of Seir, or else not far to the west of it. Two of the oldest fragments of Hebrew literature imply that the first alternative was the fact.

In the song of Deborah and Barak we read (Judg. v. 4, 5): "Lord, when thou wentest out of Seir, when thou marchedst out of the field of Edom, the earth trembled, and the heavens dropped, the clouds also dropped water. The mountains melted from before the Lord, even that Sinai from before the Lord God of Israel." The parallelism of Hebrew poetry here requires that Seir and Sinai should

be synonymous terms. Equally explicit is the Blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxiii. 2): "The Lord came from Sinai, and rose up from Seir unto them; he shined forth from mount Paran, and he came with ten thousands of saints." Sinai, Seir, and mount Paran in this passage are used almost indiscriminately of the same locality. The spot whence the Lord "rose up" must be the same as that from which "he came."

The geographical position, therefore, to which the Old Testament would assign Sinai and Horeb does not admit of doubt. Sinai stood on the borders of Edom, if not actually within the limits of the Edomite kingdom, and the Yâm Sûph from which the Israelites approached it was in the days of Moses as in those of Solomon the Gulf of 'Aqâbah. Of a Sinai in the so-called Sinaitic Peninsula the Hebrew Scriptures know nothing.

Their testimony is in strict agreement with that of the Egyptian monuments. As far back as the age of the Third Egyptian dynasty the western portion of the Peninsula had been conquered by the Pharaohs. Egyptian workmen quarried the mountains for copper, malachite and other stones, Egyptian soldiers garrisoned the country, and Egyptian priests ministered in the temples which the Pharaohs erected there. The inscriptions and other monuments which still remain at Maghârah and Sarbût el-Khâdem show how long and complete was the Egyptian occupation. At Maghârah is a column bearing the name of Ramses II., the Pharaoh of the Oppression, of the 19th dynasty; at Sarbût el-Khâdem are the cartouches of Ramses IV. of the 20th dynasty. The annals of Ramses III. the immediate predecessor of Ramses IV. inform us how plentiful was the treasure which in his reign still flowed in to the Egyptian monarch from the mines of the Peninsula. After Ramses IV. the names of no more Pharaohs are met with; but it would seem that Mafkat, the "Malachite" region as it was called by the Egyptians, still continued to be a province of Egypt. At all events in texts of the age of

the Ptolemies it is reckoned as belonging to the Arabian nome, and we learn that malachite mines were still worked for the Egyptian kings in the neighbourhood of a place called Hat-Qa, "the high house."

At the period of the Exodus, accordingly, the western half of the Peninsula not only formed part of Egyptian territory, it was also more strongly garrisoned by Egyptian troops than the valley of the Nile itself. The convicts and prisoners who worked in the mines required to be guarded, while it was necessary to protect the Egyptian settlements from the incursions of the Bedouin. For fugitives from Egypt, therefore, to have entered the Peninsula would have been an act of insanity. A people who were not allowed to travel along "the way of the land of the Philistines" lest they might "see war" (Exod. xiii. 17) were not likely to venture into an Egyptian province guarded by trained veterans.

The account of the flight of Moses after his murder of the Egyptian implies how carefully the Peninsula would have been avoided by one who had escaped from Egypt. When Moses "fled from the face of Pharaoh," it was not to the so-called Sinaitic Peninsula that he made his way, but to the land of Midian. That was the nearest locality in which he could find himself in safety. And the Sinai, accordingly, which he visited while keeping the flock of his father-in-law was a Sinai which adjoined Midian, not the Sinai of modern pilgrims and tourists.

It may seem cruel to disturb the convictions of the numerous travellers who have patiently supported the fatigues of a journey among the monotonous and inhospitable rocks of the so-called Sinaitic Peninsula under the belief that they were treading in the steps of the children of Israel, and I fear that the Cairo dragoman who finds that the belief puts money in his pocket will not thank me for my scepticism. But in spite of the tradition of the last sixteen centuries, that belief is, as I have endeavoured to show, contrary to the combined evidence of the Old

Testament and the Egyptian monuments. Where the mountain-peak of Sinai actually was we do not know; perhaps we never shall; but of one thing we may be certain, and that is that it was not in the Peninsula which is now called Sinaitic. We have to look for it on the borders of Midian and Edom among the ranges of Mount Seir, and in the neighbourhood of the ancient sanctuary of Kadesh-barnea whose site at 'Ain Qadis has been re-discovered in our own day (cfer. Deut. i. 2). It was here that the Israelites received the Mosaic law after their journey along the modern Mecca pilgrims' route, "the way of the wilderness of the Yâm Sûph." Those who would follow in their path should explore Midian and Edom, rather than the Wadis of the old Egyptian territory of Mafkat.

THE KELÁM-I-PÎR AND ESOTERIC MUHAMMADANISM.

BY DR. G. W. LEITNER.

It is not my wish to satisfy idle curiosity by describing the contents of a book, concealed for nine hundred years, the greater portion of which accident has placed in my hands after years of unsuccessful search in inhospitable regions. The fragmentary information regarding it and the practices of its followers which I had collected, were contributed to publications, like this Review, of specialists for specialists or for genuine Students of Oriental learning. Nothing could be more distressing to me than the formation of a band of "esoteric Muhammadans," unacquainted with Arabic, which is the only key to the knowledge of Islám. The mastery of the original language of his holy Scripture is, still more emphatically, the *sine quâ non* condition of a teacher, be he Christian, Muhammadan, or other "possessor of a sacred book." Nor should anyone discuss another's faith without knowing its religious texts in the original as well as its present practice.

The term "esoteric" has been so misused in connection with Buddhism, the least mystic of religions, by persons unacquainted with Sanscrit, Pali and modern Buddhism, that it has become unsafe to adopt it as describing the "inner" meaning of any faith. Were Buddha alive, he would regret having made the path of salvation so easy by abolishing the various stages of Brahminical preparation, through a studious, practical and useful life, for the final retirement, meditation, and Nirvana. Yet there are mysterious practices in the Tantric worship of "the Wisdom of the Knowable," which Buddha alone brought to the masses that were to be emancipated from the Brahminical yoke. Even transparent Judaism has its Kabala, and the religion that brought God to Man has mysteries of grace and godliness, the real meaning of which is only known to the true Christian of one's own sect or school. Thus open, easy and simple

Muhammadanism has its two triumphant orthodoxies of Sunnis and Imamia Shiahs and 72 militant, or outwardly conforming, heterodoxies. Indeed, as long as words can be fought over, and even facts do not impress all alike, so long will the more or less proficient professors of a creed reach various degrees of "esoteric" knowledge.

It is the unknown merit of the religious system of the so-called Assassins of the Crusades to have discussed, dismissed and yet absorbed a number of faiths and philosophies. It adapted itself to various stages of knowledge among its proselytes from various creeds, whilst the circumstances of its birth, history and surroundings gave it a Muhammadan basis. *Non omnia scimus omnes* may be said by the most "initiated" Druse, Ismailian or "Mulāi," the latter being the name by which I will, in future, designate all the ramifications of this remarkable system of Philosophy, Religion and Practical politics.

This system elaborates the principle that all truths, except ONE, are relative. It treats each man as it finds him, leading him through stages, complete in themselves, to the final secret. We, too, in a way admit that strong meat and drink are not the proper food for babes. We speak of professional training and of the professional spirit, of *esprit de corps*, terms which all have an "esoteric" sense, and imply preparation; indeed, every experience of life is an "initiation" which he, who has not undergone it, cannot "realize;" we, too, have medical and other works which the ordinary reader does not buy and which are, so far, "esoteric" to him, but we have not laid down in practice that he, who does not know, shall not teach or rule. This has been systematized, with a keen sense of proportion, by the Founders of the Ismailian sect. Fighting for its existence against rival Muhammadan bodies and in the conflicts of Christianity, Judaism, Magianism and various Philosophies, its emissaries applied the Pauline conduct of being "all things to all men" in order to gain converts.

After the establishment of mutual confidence, a Christian might be confronted with puzzling questions regarding the

Trinity, the Atonement, the Holy Communion, etc.—the Jew be called to explain an Universal God, yet exclusively beneficent to His people, or might be cross-examined on the miracles of Moses; a Zoroastrian, to whom much sympathy should be expressed, would be sounded as to his Magian belief; an idolater, if ignorant, could be easily shown the error of his ways and, if not, his pantheism might be checked by the evidences of materialistic or monotheistic doctrine; the orthodox Sunni would be required to explain the apparent inconsistencies of statements in the Korān, and the various sects of Shiahs would be confounded by doubts being thrown on this or that link of the hereditary succession of the apostleship of Muhammad; sceptics, philosophers, word-splitters, both orthodox and heterodox, would be followed into their last retrenchments by contradictory arguments, materialistic, idealistic, exegetical, as the case might be. With every creed, to use an Indian simile, the peeling of the onion was repeated, in which, after one leaf after the other of the onion is taken off in search of the onion, no onion is found and nothing is left. The enquirer would thus be ready for the reception of such new doctrine as might be taught him by the "Mulāi" preacher, or *Dāi*, who then revealed himself one step beyond the mental and moral capacity of his intended convert, whilst sharing with the latter a basis of common belief. Now this required ability of no mean order, as also of great variety, so as to be adapted to all conditions of men to whom the *Dāi* might address himself. Sex, age, profession, hereditary and acquired qualities, antecedents and attainments, all were taken into consideration. At the same time, in an age of violence, the missionaries of the new faith had to keep their work a profound secret and to insist on a covenant, identical with, or similar to, the one of

* I use the word "Mulāi" to include not only the virtuous Druses with their self-denying "initiated" or "*U'qāl*" leaders, but also the Ismailians generally, whether religious or not, (as in impious Hunza) and of whatever degree of conformity or scepticism. As a rule, an ordinary Mulāi will outwardly practise Sunni rites and hold Shiah doctrines.

the Druses, which I published in the last number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*. Even when confronted by Hinduism, the new creed could represent that Âli, the son-in-law of the prophet Muhammad, was the 10th incarnation of Vishnu, which is expected, as was the Paraclete and as are the Messiah and the "Mehdi" (many of those who adopted that title being secret followers of the Ismailian creed).^{*} I have pointed out in my last article how the very name of 'Ali, his chivalrous character, his eloquence, his sad death and the martyrdom of his sons lent themselves to his more than apotheosis in minds already prepared by Magian doctrine and the spirit of opposition to the successful Sunni oppressor. I think that I can quote extracts, in support of this statement from the "Kelâm-i-pir" or the "*Logos of the Ancient*," showing how the contributor to it (for I take

* In discussion, whenever expedient, with a Brahmin, or even Buddhist, the belief in a modified metempsychosis would form a bond of sympathy (see last A. Q. R.), whilst the survival "of the most adapted," rather than that of "the best,"—without, however, the loss of any individual or type,—would be connected with the notion of a certain fixed number of souls in evolution from "the beginning" and ever recurrent in living form. "The beginning," however, would be a mere term applying to this or that revealed condition, for behind what may be called "the terrestrial gods," behind Allah in whatever form, Deity or Deities, there was THE BEING that existed without a beginning and whose first manifestation was the "Word" with its Replica as the type of the apostle and his fellow that ever succeeded itself throughout the generations of this world. If the visible Deity, preferring to show itself in human, rather than any other, form, is incorporated in the lineal descendant of the 7th Imâm, it is, apparently, because humanity requires such an unbroken link in order to convert into certainty its hope of the deliverer, the Messiah, the Mahdi, the second [advent of] Jesus, who will similarly be the Deity in the shape of a man, reconciling the various expectations of all religions in one manifestation. That few, if any, Mulâis, or even the most "initiated" Druses, should know every variety of their belief, is natural, not only in consequence of varying degrees of mental ability and of corresponding "initiation," but also because of varied historical or national surroundings, circumstances which underlie the guiding principle of all Mulâi belief and practice. I venture to indicate, *as purely my personal impression*, that this principle, which need not be further explained in this place, is the real secret of that faith. In my humble opinion, the *disjecta membra*, so to speak, of that faith form, if reconstituted, an embodiment of the religious thought of the World that seeks to reconcile all differences in one Philosophy and in one Policy.

the "Kelâm-i-pîr" to be a collective name like "Homer"), the eminent mathematician, historian and poet, Shah Nâsir Khosrû, who was born in the year 355 A.H. = 969 A.D. was led, after a long life of purity and piety, of abstemiousness and study, to examine and reject one religion after the other and, finally, adopt the one with which we are now concerned and of which His Highness, Agha Sultan Muhammad Shah is the present hereditary spiritual head. His authority extends from the Lebanon to the Hindukush and wherever else there may be Ismailians, who either openly profess obedience to him, as do the Khojahs in Bombay; or who are his secret followers in various parts of the Muhammadan world in Asia and Africa.* The present

* In the interior of Arabia, Mr. W. B. Harris has come across a curious sect that may be connected with a section of the Kerâmîs or Keramâtîs, sects that gave much trouble in Syria in the 10th century, or, more probably, with an extreme and, probably, disavowed heterodox sub-sect of the Ismailians. It may be interesting to quote the correspondence that has taken place between us on the subject:

Tangier, April 5, 1893.

"During my journey through the Yemen last year I came across a sect of people calling themselves *Makarama*, of whom I was able to learn little, on account of their own reticence and the apparent want of interest of their Moslem neighbours. However, one of their number gave me a couple of lines of Arabic poetry, which translated, run:

"God is unknown—by day or by night.

Why trouble about him, there is no heaven and no hell."

All that I could find out about them in addition to this is that they hold an annual nightly feast with closed doors and lights in the windows, in which they are said to practise incest; and that they annually practise the form of driving a scapegoat into the mountains. The latter is clearly Judaic and the former custom savours of the Katmathians, but this seems improbable as the people are not Moslems. They are visited, it is said, by certain Indians who prize the charms written by these Yemenis. Beyond this I was able to discover nothing.

I have no valuable books of reference as to religions here, but if I remember aright there were Phœnician rites resembling this. Could it have anything to do with the Sabæans? I should be so grateful to you if you could let me know, when you have time, what you think about it. I can find no reference to them in any work on the Yemen. The name of the sect is, I suppose, of Persian origin.

WALTER B. HARRIS.

[REPLY.]

Vichy, April 14, 1893.

I, too, am not here within the reach of books of reference. I will, however, try to suggest what occurs to me on the spur of the moment in the hope

young, but enlightened, Chief is, as his father and grandfather, likely to exert his influence for good.

that it may possibly be of some slight use in your enquiries. It is very important, first of all, to learn how "Makarama" is spelt by the Yemen people in the Arabic character, and especially whether the "k" is a "kef" or a "qaf" ق. Then the lines you quote should be sent to me in the original Arabic dialect and character (not the Maghrebi form, of course) and transliterated in Roman characters* as you heard them, for a good deal depends, *inter alia*, on the Arabic equivalents, used by "the Makarama" of "God," "heaven," and "hell." . . . The sentiment of the translation is the *Muldī* of Hunza, about whom I have written in the last *Asiatic Quarterly Review*. . . .

How do you know that the people are *not* Moslems? That their orthodox Muhammadan neighbours do not admit them to be such, is not conclusive, for I have heard rigid Sunnis even exclude Shīahs from that appellation. If you could remember the *exact* question which you put on that subject to your Mukarama friends and their precise reply, it might help to a conclusion.

Driving a scapegoat into the mountains is a common practice among the Afghans, who call themselves "Beni Israel" (not to be confounded with the *Jews* properly so called—their "Musāīs" or "Yahūdis"). The other rites you speak of *scarcely alleged* against the Karmathians and the Yazidis *are* accused of them. Have you thought of the Yazidis? The accusation of incestuous gatherings is, as you know, constantly brought by "the orthodox" against sectarians and I would not, in your place, give up the conjecture of a Karmathian origin of the "Makarama," before you have gone further into the matter. Please, therefore, to remember *all you can* about your friends and, if I can, I shall aid your enquiry to the best of my ability. I think you are right about the Phœnician rites and the Sabeian conjecture.

I do not think that "Makarama" is of Persian origin. Is it possibly "*Mukarama*" or "*Makarrima*"? If so, this would be an appropriate title for a specially "blessed" or enlightened sect. Why do you call them a "*sect*"? Are they also ethnographically distinct from their neighbours and what are their occupations? Could you get me a copy of one of their *charms*? Their being visited by certain Indians would rather show their Ismailian connexion than that they are not a heretical Muhammadan sect. Indeed, among the Ismailian sects mentioned by Makrizi as having spread in Yemen, among other countries, are "the *Kerāmīs*, *Karmdtīs*, *Khārijīs*, etc.," "all of whom studied philosophy and chose what suited them." I really think these are your "Makarāma."

G. W. LEITNER.

* I think "romanizing" the Oriental characters a great mistake, except "to make assurance doubly sure." The *Arabic* spelling would at once limit conjectures and lead to a solution.

The following is a short biographical sketch of this lineal descendant of the prophet Ali. His genealogy is incontestable and will, I hope, be included in my next paper.*

"H. H. Agha Sultan Muhammad Shah was born at Karachi on Nov. 2nd, 1877. It was soon seen that it would be necessary to give him a good education, and his father, H. H. the late Agha Ali Shah, early grounded him in the history of Persia and the writings of its great poets. But this education was certainly not sufficient in the present day, and Lady Ali Shah, after the death of her husband, very wisely carried out his wishes by placing his son under an English tutor, so that, whilst Persian was by no means neglected, a course of English reading was begun. Four years ago he stumbled over the spelling of monosyllables. The progress made now is really surprising; with natural talents he has found it easy to acquire a thorough English accent and converses freely with Englishmen. The histories of Persia, India and England, the series of the Rulers of India and the Queen's Prime Ministers, McCarthy's 'History of our Own Times' and the lives of eminent men that stock his library, mark a predilection for History and Biography. The subjects of conversation during a morning's ride are often the politics of the day or the turning points in the lives of illustrious men. But with this reading his other studies are not neglected. Algebra, Geometry, Arithmetic, elementary Astronomy, Chemistry and Mechanics, with English authors like Shakespeare, Macaulay, and Scott, form a part of his scholastic course.

"Unlike his father and grandfather, the Aga Sahib has little love for hunting, though he is seen regularly on the race-course and is well known in India as a patron of the turf. In the peculiarity of his position it will be difficult for him to

* We trust to be able to publish in our next issue the history of his family since 622 A.D. as also his photograph and those of his father and grandfather, the latter of whom rendered great services to our Government in Sind and Kandahar.—Ed.

travel for some years, but his eyes are directed to Europe and he looks forward to the pleasure of witnessing at some future time an important debate in the House of Commons. From the fact that every mail brings English periodicals to his door, it will be seen that he closely follows everything that relates to English politics.

"With the work amongst the Khojahs and his other followers devolving upon him at so early an age his studies are, of course, liable to be interrupted, and it is hardly possible for him to devote himself to his books—Oriental and English—as much as he would wish to do. He is not yet married, nor does he seem inclined to marry early. A few years, however, must see him the father of a family, and there is little doubt that his children will be educated with all the advantages of the best ancient and modern education so as to make them worthy of their illustrious descent."

How far His Highness will be himself initiated into more than the practice and rites, public and private, of so much of his form of the Ismailian Faith as is necessary for the maintenance of his position and responsibilities towards his followers, depends on his attainments, mental vigour, and character. With greater theoretical power than even the Pope, who is not hereditary, his influence is personal and representative by the *consensus fidelium*. Nearly all of them are in the first, or second, degree, even their Pirs being generally in the 3rd or 4th, with a general leaning to a mystic divine A'li, not merely the historical A'li, whom their followers see incarnated in his present living descendant. Few, if any, of the leaders are in higher degrees, for they might be out of touch with the practical exigencies of their position in different countries and circumstances. Perhaps, among the Druses, there may be one professor in the highest stage of the "initiated"—the Ninth—but even then he would take his choice of Philosophies and find a microcosm of theory and practice in each. The result on mind and character would be ennobling, and he would die,

if, indeed, an "initiated" can die, carrying away with him the secret of his faith, which he alone has been found worthy to discover. What that secret is, no amount of divulging will impart to any one who is not fit to receive it, though the infinite variety of its manifestations adapt it to every form of thought or life. That even Masonic passwords may, for practical purposes and in spite of published books, be kept a secret, though possibly an open one, experience has shown, but the man does not yet exist who can, or will, apply the system, of which I have endeavoured to give a hint, to the Universal Federation of Religious Autonomies, which, in my humble opinion, the Ismailian doctrine was intended to found, little as its present followers may know of this use of the genuine ring of Truth, of which every religion, according to Lessing's *Nathan der Weise*, claims to have the exclusive possession.

THE HILL STATIONS OF INDIA FOR RETIRED ANGLO-INDIANS.

BY R. A. STERNDALE.

THE domestic financial difficulties brought about by the depreciation of the rupee has led many a *pater familias* to consider whether it would not have been better for him to have settled in one of the hill stations of India; and much has been written lately on the subject of Australia and New Zealand for retired Anglo-Indians, as an alternative to settling in England. Being asked to state my views on the question of the Indian stations, I will begin by enumerating those of which I have had personal experience—Murree, Dalhousie, Mussoorie and Simla in the North, Darjeeling in the East, the Nilgherries and the Shevaroyes in the South: I leave out minor places of 2,000 feet and under. These must be considered in regard to health and climatic conditions, cheapness in comparison with living in England, and social advantages.

After the first novelty of a return home and the renewal of long interrupted family and social ties has worn off, the retired Anglo-Indian begins to find serious drawbacks to life in the old country. If he be a fortunate man, the recipient of a good pension supplemented by the ample savings allowed by the receipt of a heavy salary during the latter half of his Indian career, he may make his life in England very enjoyable, weather permitting; but I am going to leave out of the question my lucky friend of the covenanted Civil Service, with his £1,000 a year pension, in addition to what he has been able to lay by. How does it fare with the Military man, and those members of the other Civil Service whose pensions of 5,000 Rs. a year are not paid in sterling? In most cases the savings of these men are inconsiderable, and may be left out of the calculation. They have had to keep up the same social position,

and to live in the same style as the others, but without equal emoluments; and they may be fortunate if they leave the country free from debt—the depreciation of the rupee has told more heavily on them than on the others who have lost out of their abundance; and it is they who have anxiously to face the question “Where shall we live after retirement?” That is, live with some few of the comforts to which they have been accustomed during the greater part of their lives.

The first impulse, generally acted upon, is to come home to England. This is natural enough. Home ties are strong; early associations have dwelt in their bosoms during long years of exile, and have been hugged and cherished as precious memories—the meet, the covert and the trout stream, the loch and the moor have haunted the dreams of some; the gaieties of London life, or the sylvan beauties of the country in the pleasant summer time, have dwelt in the thoughts of others; and the one thing which cheers the hearts of the homesick toilers of the East is the home-coming at the end of their service. Yet what is the reality of that home-coming? The man who kept a well-appointed house with twenty servants and a carriage for his wife, whose table was always open to a welcome guest, has now to come down to a small suburban villa,—that most detestable of abodes to my mind, neither town nor country; or to a cheap house in a Kensington district; or else he must bury himself miles away from everywhere in the country, where with one servant or at the outside two, and the most rigid economy as regards food, he can make his small pension suffice for the needs of himself and his family.

The Anglo-Indian of the present day comes home with the knowledge that there is still a good lot of grit in him; and with that capacity for work and the varied experience of his past life, he feels sure he will get something to do to eke out his means, and prevent himself from feeling that he is laid on the shelf, a broken vessel only to wait patiently

for the final crack of doom. The sooner he gets rid of this vain hope and braces himself to face the inevitable, the better. Not five per cent. of the men who come home can get work in England. If they have been fortunate enough to get a handle to their names or even a modest C.I.E. they might get a Directorship or two on concerns more or less shaky, but nothing that would satisfy such ambitions as they have been buoyed up with during their official lives. No; they must be content to live in Town and frequent their Clubs, or bury themselves in the country and take to gardening diversified by an occasional local or parochial board meeting, or a penny reading in the parish school-room; and as garrulous old age creeps on they will try and engraft the wisdom of the East on the self-sufficient West, regardless of the fact that relentless Fate has branded "*Fui*" on their brows. If the prospect is thus unpleasantly drawn for the man, what shall we say for his wife and his daughters? His sons go forth, like young and lusty eagles from the nest, to battle with the world; but the change to a life of comparative penury is more keenly felt by the gentler sex; and still more the loss of the life of pleasant sociability which prevails in India. The wife misses the ease of Indian housekeeping and the carriage at her command. The girls look back to their riding horses and the gaities of the Viceregal or Gubernatorial Palaces. It is altogether a come down in the world. They would not mind it so much if the let down were a little easier, if there were a few more comforts and a little more sociability other than working Guilds and Mothers' meetings. Girls who can hold their own in playful repartee with war-worn Generals and lordly Governors are not likely to drop into the mild adoration of an unmarried vicar, or his beardless curates. Very naughty of them, no doubt, but as a rule they prefer red coats to black. Therefore the feminine inclination is a powerful factor in the Anglo-Indian's domestic life in this country. Then the question arises "What shall we do? stay or go? and if the

latter, then where to?" In the solution of this question a good deal depends on the father of the family. If he be a man of physical and mental energy, with a wish to yet achieve something more before he descends to the grave "unhonoured and unsung," then by all means let him go to the Colonies, especially if he can command a few hundred pounds. With the latter he might, I do not say he would, gain a fortune before he joined the majority; or by entering the political arena, he might gain those honours which his Indian career has denied him.

We have to consider the question of the man who feels that he has done enough for himself, and has no further ambition; who wants a restful *dolce far niente* life, with a *shikari* to carry his gun for him when he goes out shooting, and a bearer to pull off his boots for him when he returns tired; whose soul yearns not after theatres and clubs. For him there is no better place than an Indian hill station. I leave the ladies of his house out of the question at present, for I take it for granted that they would approve. They toil not, neither in these days do they spin, but here they sigh for the dear delightful old *Derzie*,—that feminine mechanical engineer with his "leetle ishlope" and his "fals hame"—so cleverly described by E. H. A. Life in a pretty little bungalow in the Hills, embowered in jessamine and honeysuckle, and gay with roses, geraniums and fuchsias, with a view stretching away to the eternal snows, and the ponies being brought up to be fed and old Ramzan *derzie* stitching away at a delicate Ball dress, is a pleasant picture: so the young ladies would vote for it at once. Papa can have a little shooting and fishing, and his whist with the old fogies at the club; *et vive la bagatelle!*

We grant you that the climate is as good and in some cases better than that of England, but now as to expense?

What can you get for your money in India as compared with England? I will take a typical household for a retired Indian officer, based on an income of £500 a year; those who have more can of course enlarge the field of

their comforts and pleasures. It is an axiom that house rent should not exceed one-sixth of your income; but it is difficult to get any house, say of ten rooms, for less than £100 a year including taxes, especially in the vicinity of London;—you might in the country miles away from civilization, but then you would probably have to keep a carriage of some sort, and your occasional visits to London would cost five times as much. Living you may put down at a pound a day, and the wages of two servants, a cook and a housemaid, will absorb the rest of your £500; so you must make food, clothing, education, doctor's bills, etc., come out of that one pound a day; and if you can do so you will find very little left for amusements. However, how far will 5,000 rupees a year go in India? Say Rs. 416 a month at Ootacamund.

An unfurnished house on lease should cost about Rs. 75 a month. Servants comprising Cook, Butler, Mate, Boy, Washerman, Tailor, Ayah, Sweeper, 2 Syces, or horse-keepers as they are called in Madras, 2 gardeners and a water carrier—106 Rs. a month. Food at Rs. 5 a day, Rs. 150 a month; total Rs. 331 or 3,972 Rs. a year; or Rs. 1,028 saved for other expenses out of your income of 5,000 Rs. For this you get a better table as regards variety and better attendance.

It may be said that my estimate of £1 per diem is too much, and Rs. 5 per diem is too little. I only quote my own experience, and can state that we lived with greater comfort on the Ootacamund scale than we do in England, where meat and all other necessities of life are so much dearer. Another item which I have omitted is one which I find all tenants, at any rate in my locality, have to incur; viz., repairs to house, and you may put down £10 a year at least under this head. In India the landlord usually undertakes to keep the house in habitable order. In England it is out of the question to keep any sort of conveyance on £500 a year, in the Indian estimate I have provided for 2 horses.

Now as to the social advantages. However well connected a man may be he cannot, if he be a married man with daughters, keep up, in England, on limited means, the life of sociability he led in India. At any of the Presidency towns, or at Hill stations which form the summer retreat of the various Governments, the hospitalities dispensed by the governors and the leading members of the official and mercantile classes, supplemented by private and subscription parties, form a round of gaiety only to be equalled here by a London Season, the full enjoyments of which are beyond the purse of the retired Anglo-Indian.

Now I come to a question of vital import to the Anglo-Indian settler—the bringing up and educating of his children. As a mere matter of education, knowledge can be imparted as well in India as elsewhere; and with the need would arise schools at the hill stations suitable for children of gentle birth and breeding, though I am still of opinion that parents would do well to send boys home at all events for a finishing. With girls it is different, either home education under a governess, or at schools of a high class, and with music and other masters who would be attracted by growing needs, girls can be brought up with the refinements and accomplishments due to their station. As regards the pernicious influences of native servants, it would be the parents' own fault if their children were left to such influences, though, as far as I can judge from what I hear, the English nursemaid is not all that is desirable. My own daughters spent much of their lives in India, as we never separated from our children; yet they were so little in contact with native servants that they never fully acquired a knowledge of the language,—that is, they knew enough to give orders, but not to speak it as Indian children do. It is therefore quite feasible to bring up children without letting them become "little natives."

Then the next point for consideration is, Which are the best hill stations to settle in? To this I unhesitatingly say those of Southern India. In the north the winters are a

decided drawback. You do not want a place where you must either make a move down hill for the cold weather, or put up with deep snow and Siberian ways. In Murree the water is bad and the place is subject to epidemics; Dalhousie is beautiful,—to my mind it comes next to Darjeeling in beauty,—but it is dull. Mussoorie is a more cheerful place; and Simla is, of course, the most gay but also the most expensive. Of Nynsee Tal I know nothing; it has lived down the scare of the great landslip of a dozen years ago, and it has the beauty of a lake to add to its mountain scenery. Darjeeling is the Queen of the Himalayan stations, but it is a Queen often in tears. And all these stations have the drawback of monotonous roads; you must keep to these; or, if you deviate from them, you must scramble. Carriages cannot be used. Now in Southern India the stations are situated on undulating plateaux, about the same level above the sea as the others: viz., from 6,000 to 8,000 feet, with a climate superior inasmuch as snow is unknown in the winter. You can drive a four-in-hand along pretty English-looking roads bounded by hedges of roses and clematis, or gallop your horse over breezy downs. I speak more particularly of Ootacamund; but the more modern station of Kodai Kanal, in the Pulney hills, is preferred by some. It is also on a plateau of similar elevation, and has the benefit of a gravel soil which soon dries after a fall of rain; but I cannot speak of it from personal experience. It is a newer place and much quieter than Ooty; but those of our Madras friends who went there spoke of it in the highest terms of praise, preferring the Pulneys to the Nilgherries. Ootacamund, however, offers better social advantages. Being the seat of Government in the summer, there is more going on, and there are a Club, Library, Gymkhana, Assembly-room, and the sociability consequent on a large circle of residents, permanent and temporary. There are also excellent shops.

For the old *shikari* who is loth to lay by his rifle, there is still plenty of large game within a short distance. A

friend of mine not many years ago came across three tigers at once, and accounted for two of them. The lamentable death of the Madras Commander-in-chief, Sir James Dormer, but a few weeks ago from the attack of a wounded tiger, proves that there are still tigers to be had within an easy distance of the station. I have just heard of three being killed within the last two months. There are also *Sambar* and wild pig; and further off in the Koondahs may be found the Nilgherry goat, or Ibex as it is sometimes called. The fishing is poor. Attempts have been made to improve it, and trout have been imported; but with indifferent success as yet. There is a pack of hounds; and very good runs are to be had after jackals. So, on the whole, life can be spent very pleasantly at Ooty; but there is little work to be done by the retired official. Tea and coffee planting affords an outlet for capital, but all the available ground near the station has, I fancy, been taken up. The latest idea when I was at Ooty, four years ago, was planting Blue Gum for firewood—the *Eucalyptus globulus* takes very kindly to the Nilgherries; and since its introduction the hills have been quite forested by it. It grows rapidly and without much care, and is profitable for fuel.

For those who would find Ooty too bracing, the station of Coonoor, 12 miles lower down, would be more suitable. The military station of Wellington is close by; there are about 80 houses in the place; and if there be anything special going on at Ooty, it is easy to run up. The road is good, and there are the mail *tongas* in addition to private means of locomotion; and in time to come, there may be a railway. The Shevaroy's are much lower than the Nilgherries, being only about 4,500 feet. Yercaud is a very pretty little station situated in the midst of orange groves and coffee gardens—especially the latter. Coffee is the mainstay of the place, and I do not know of any pleasanter life than that of a coffee-planter at Yercaud and in its neighbourhood. The approach to it is bad: visitors must either ride or be carried up in chairs; but once on the top,

the roads are good enough for driving. The climate is very pleasant. We were there in October, and the temperature was about that of summer in England. It is healthy from June to February; but from March to May it has a reputation for fever; from which native servants especially suffer then. The arrangements for drinking water might be improved; and there is room for much improvement in other ways. Bread is brought up from Salem; and clothes are sent down to be washed there, which is objectionable, for the Salem water is anything but good. We had our bread sent up from Madras; and as for washing, it appeared to me that there was an ample supply of water on the Yercaud plateau. There is a very pretty lake close to the station, besides a large reservoir in the place. The public buildings consist of a well stocked little Reading-room, a Church, Dispensary, Post-office and one or two stores. The place is very quiet; living is cheap; and excellent meat is brought round daily to the various houses by local butchers. But I would hardly recommend anyone to settle there unless with a view to coffee-planting or some kindred industry.

I may sum up by saying that Simla if he does not mind the rigours of the winter, or Ootacamund for all the year round enjoyment, would give the retired Anglo-Indian more for his money than Bayswater or Bath; but if he have a little energy left for a new life in a new country, and especially if he have a little capital, and does not mind risking it, let him get the *Journal of the Society of Arts*, dated 14th April 1893, and read Sir Edward Braddon's able and exhaustive paper on the subject of Australasia as a Field for Anglo-Indian colonization, remembering that the author's long Indian experience gives double weight to his arguments, especially as regards Tasmania, which he so worthily represents in this country.

THE ORIENTAL WEATHER IN ENGLAND.

IN

THE YEAR OF CENTURIES, 1893.

BY PANDIT INDRAVARMA SARASWATI.

1. The celestial Court of Indra and Saraswati, the Goddess of Learning, wreathed in smiles and decked with flowers, have transported their abode this year to England. Dropping her dark robe of rain and storm, the garb of conquest, She has been crowned, in peaceful possession, by Surya, the Sun. Thus has the West become a dependency of the East and his rays have revealed, bathed in light, the home of the Empire of the World.

2. In the wake of the Deities, whom I invoke, have come Indian Rajas and Warriors, to celebrate the opening of their domicile, the Imperial Institute, which, watered by the liberality of our Princes, has been endowed with life under the radiance of the Great Queen and of Her illustrious Son, on whom our eyes had already rested in India in loyal love. O Indra, Lord of the East, of Air and Climate, visit often Thy new domain, for England requires the glow of our hearts and India the clouds that conceal Thee, so as the more to welcome Thy return, but leave not behind Thy companion (the Goddess of Learning) who, although not fickle like Lakshmi (the Goddess of Fortune), seems to prefer her present home!

3. When England is contented, the world is safe. Long may Thy epithet be Thy name "O Merry England!" Shine on, glorious Surya, and when Thy ardour is consuming, let Indra refresh our devotion with the reproach of gentle rain, but the dews of ages are still keeping the ground in freshness and Disease is hiding before Thy heat. The astonished birds are singing at all hours, without being molested, and man himself sings, enjoying life for itself, instead of its delusions.

4. The dark iron has conquered the yellow gold and gold has acquired the white diamond of learning. The TAMO-GUN (love of strong liquor, beef and slaughter) gives way to the RAJO-GUN (qualities of a ruler, courage, loyalty, etc.) of the Yavana Kshatriyas, the English, who conquered India, but under her benign warmth have developed the SATWA-GUN (intellectual and moral qualities) of the Brahmin, the worshipper of Light whose colour is white. May cloudless knowledge ever guide the councils of this Empire!

5. In all countries the yellow peasant and the dark grain-dealer complain of the weather in order to raise their prices; but in England the heat has not dried up the food of man. The red Raja and the white Brahmin love the country, but the labourer and trader prefer the town, the devourer of life. Out of its fogs emerge the men of prey who, cold and hungry, destroy Worlds for food and raiment. Their knowledge is that of the lightning which shows false paths in the surrounding

darkness. O fertilizing river-goddess, Saraswati, may the peasant, not depending on rain, irrigate his soil and, worshipping its cultivation, derive from it boundless wealth and wisdom with health and happiness, which are not found in the devastation of foreign lands!

6. Indra did not announce his coming, for mighty monarchs do not boast of intended triumphs. Our ancient sages had predicted great changes of climate before the approaching new Cycle in the present Kaliyug, but who respects Indian wisdom in this age? Who understands animals, plants and stones as announcers of seasons? Not a single watcher of weather in Europe foretold the advent of constant sunshine, chaser of sin; some feared an impending period of ice and gloom, emblems of the North. May such fears never be fulfilled, and may the science of extermination make way for that of giving happiness to all living things!

7. The Rain of Albion, the tutelar Spirit of this realm, paid his obeisance to Her Majesty on the 20th June. This was the day on which 57 years ago She ascended the Throne. Having fulfilled his duty, he again made way for Surya, as this is "The Year of Centuries,"^{*} like which there is none in the annals of England. Let plenteous showers, falling at night, reconcile this country to the Sun! O Indra and Saraswati, having concluded your visit to your sister, the Empress and mother of her subjects, do not forget your home of everlasting light and learning, for your Kingdom is now dual and the East and West are twins!

* We believe that this felicitous term was first used by the *Times* in a Report that, for continuity of fine weather hitherto, the current year was unsurpassed in the record of England.—En.

"YAMATO DAMASHI-I."

THE SPIRIT OF OLD JAPAN.*

BY ARTHUR DIÓSY,

Honorary Secretary of the Japan Society, London.

THERE is a charm, peculiar to the fascinating study of Japan-lore, which is difficult to define, but which must be felt by every enquirer seeking after knowledge of the Far East.

To various students this charm appeals in various forms. To the artist it seems to lie in the artistic spirit permeating everything Japanese; to the soldier, in the heroic deeds of knightly valour recorded on every page of Japanese history; to the historian and the ethnographer, in the development of a marvellously complete civilisation, so different from ours.

If we enquire more closely into the nature of this charm, we find that in every manifestation of Japanese national life, prior to the Restoration of the Imperial Power in 1868, there breathes a spirit distinctly Japanese, a spirit which, at times, like a rushing wind, bears the war-songs of heroes, telling of danger and of glory;—at other seasons, like a gentle evening breeze, sighs through the Cryptomerias and bears lays of good men's deeds wrought in days of peace.

This is the true "Yamato Damashi-i," the Spirit of old Japan. It is a subtle spirit, this "Yamato Damashi-i," so Protean in its manifestations that even native Japanese scholars, fond as they are of philosophically minute definitions, have refrained from expressing its nature in precise terms. It has been left to a Japanese poet of the 17th century, MOTOORI Nobunaga, to attempt a description of the Spirit of old Japan in the beautiful verse known to every Japanese man, woman and child:

* A paper read before the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists on September 4, 1891.

"Shiki-Shima-no
Yamato-gokoro-wo
Hito to-aba,
Asa-hi-niniwo
Yama-zakura-bana!"

"Should anyone enquire, What is the Spirit of Japan? It is as the scent of the wild cherry-blossom in the dawn of the rising sun!"

These lines, generally accepted throughout Japan as a definition of the national spirit, express at once its subtle nature and the veneration felt for it; for what picture could appeal more strongly to the Japanese heart than that, so often reproduced by native artists, of the wild cherry-tree, glorious in its clothing of delicate blossoms, gleaming in the rosy light of dawn in the Land of the Rising Sun?

To us, non-Japanese students of Japan, this poetical description, however beautiful, is hardly satisfactory. We want to know more of the spirit which caused Japan, in the remote past, to develop one of the most marvellous civilisations the world has ever seen, the spirit which, within the memory of young men, has produced a revolution, political and social, to which history shows no parallel and the consequences of which may yet affect the destinies of teeming millions even beyond the borders of the Mikado's Empire. Let us, then, see in what manner this spirit manifests itself in Japanese history, from the earliest legendary periods down to the present time, so that we may attempt to ascertain its nature, its origin and its effects in the past, and thus estimate its probable consequences in the future. In selecting from the multitude of instances, teeming in Japanese history, of the working of this spirit, care must be taken to eliminate cases of ordinary patriotism, such as are found in the story of any people, and acts of mere gallantry in action, such as are accomplished in every war and of which the warriors of no nation can claim a monopoly. We must rather seek out those instances which are looked upon by the Japanese themselves as typically inspired by feelings which they especially venerate as being very noble and truly Japanese. The study of these examples may lead us

to a knowledge of that grand old "*Yamato Damashi-i*" which has made Japan what it was in the past, what it is now, and what it will be in the future. No particular class of the Japanese nation can lay claim to the exclusive possession of this national spirit, nor is it confined to any one period. We find it exemplified from the very beginning of the life of the Japanese as a nation, from the time when the followers of JIMMU Tennō were conquering the land and partly destroying, partly assimilating, partly driving its Aino inhabitants northward. That no class had a monopoly of the "*Yamato Damashi-i*" is best proved by the varied nature of the instances of its possession cited in Japanese legend and history, and held up as examples to Japanese youth through a long course of centuries. The names of Emperors and Empresses, Ministers, Councillors of State, Warriors, and Sages, but also those of poor students, humble retainers, simple farmers, and even craftsmen, have been handed down from generation to generation as household words, associated with narratives of the great deeds by which they proved their "*Yamato Damashi-i*." The majority of instances are, as is only to be expected, feats of gallantry, performed against terrible odds, in the course of the centuries of warfare through which Japan has passed; but these are less worthy of our attention, because the story of many other nations is a continuous record of brave acts and "deeds of derring-do." What is peculiarly Japanese is the prominence given, in the glorious roll of Japanese national heroes and heroines, to those whose merit lay in their self-abnegation, and devotion to the public weal, to those who suffered for others, whose love for their fellows or whose loyalty to their liege lords was stronger than the love of life.

Public spirit has always been held in the highest esteem by the Japanese, and especially when it has been shown by those in high places. No words can adequately express the veneration with which they speak the name of a good Emperor, of a Lord who was mindful of the lowly. There is no story related of a Japanese Emperor dearer to the

Japanese heart than the tale of the Emperor Nintoku (A.D. 316), enshrined in their national poem "*Takaki Ya-ni*," lately so delightfully rendered into English verse by Sir Edwin Arnold.* Nintoku Tennō showed his "Yamato Damashi-i" not by deeds of valour against wild Aino or Korean warriors, not in desperate combats with native rebels, but by his love for the poorest of his subjects. Gallant Henry IV. of France wanted every man in his kingdom to have "a fowl in the pot." Nintoku went further, he actually enabled his people to live by stinting himself and his court and remitting a great part of the taxation. The rain came through the roof of his Palace of Takatsu-no-Miya at Naniwa, his clothes were sorely the worse for wear, but the great and good monarch as he saw the blue smoke curl up from many a hearth was happy, saying to the Empress who had rebuked him for their poverty:—

"Thou and I
Have part in all the poor folk's health,
The People's weal makes the King's wealth!"

Another manifestation of the "Yamato Damashi-i," quite distinct from military prowess, is connected with the cheerful sacrifice of life for the weal of others, a species of altruism so common in Japanese history that it greatly facilitates the understanding by Japanese of the doctrine of substitutory sacrifice which renders Christian dogma so difficult of comprehension by some races. The example probably best known to every Japanese is that of the wise Councillor KUSU-NO-KI Masashige, who committed suicide in order to impress the Emperor Go-dai-Go (A.D. 1319-1338) with a sense of the iniquity of his policy, from which he found it impossible to dissuade him by sage advice. Only in Japan could a Minister have thought of such an extreme protest; only in Japan could he rely upon its efficacy. The Emperor took the silent lesson to heart, and

* Sir Edwin Arnold, "The Emperor's Breakfast." In "Pictures of Ancient Japanese History" (Part I.), by T. H. Asso, Chief Inspector of Machinery, Imperial Japanese Navy. Tōkiō, Maruya and Co., 1890.

reformed his ways. The name of KUSU-NO-KI Masashige was handed down to posterity as that of a national hero, the Imperial Government ordering, to honour his memory, that no camphor-tree ("*Kusu-no-Ki*") should be cut down in all Japan for the space of thirty years. A truly wise decree; for, besides enabling the Government to indulge in that play upon words so dear to Japanese, it saved one of the sources of national wealth from utter destruction, as, in those days, owing to reckless disafforestation, the camphor-trees were disappearing from Japan. Many an apparently arbitrary edict of the Japanese rulers of olden time shows, on close examination, evidence of similar shrewd policy.

There are some instances of self-sacrifice, of devotion, of wonderful singleness of purpose and fortitude, which are capable of rousing to the warmest enthusiasm even the modern Japanese, with his disregard for the ways of his forefathers—a disregard which is wholly assumed, a mere superficial affectation. Every Japanese, however well he may disguise himself as a graduate of Oxford or of Cambridge, of Harvard or of Berlin, feels his pulses beat faster when he reads of the noble death on the cross of that martyr in the people's cause, Sōgorō, the Farmer, Chief of Iwahashi village, who, in the first half of the 17th century, laid down his life and the lives of all most dear to him, (they were tortured before his eyes,) for the good of his fellow-peasants, on whose behalf he had petitioned the Shōgun for the abolition of unjust taxes.

The modern Japanese, clad in Savile Row clothes and shod with Bond Street boots, yet feels his heart beat high at the mention of the famous BANDZUIN-NO Chōbei, the brave Master of the Tradesmen's Guild or Brotherhood, of Yedo, who, in the 17th century, died a terrible death, pierced by spears in a scalding bath, for his noble devotion to the cause of his fellow-craftsmen, loyal to the last to his "*Otokodate*," his Guild of Brotherhood.

There is no Japanese, however "modernised," however much imbued with the new learning of the West, who does

not feel moved to his very heart-strings when he sees enacted by the admirable actors of Japan the touching true story of the "*Chiu-shin-Gura*," the "Store-house of Loyalty." What that drama represents is known to every student of Japan, and, thanks to Western scholars, its plot, the "Story of the Forty-Seven Rōnin," has been read with emotion and admiration by thousands of Europeans and Americans. There is no finer example of Japanese loyalty, tenacity of purpose, devotion, calm courage and contempt for death than the story of the Noble Forty-Seven and of the Satsuma Man.

From the few examples just cited it becomes apparent that the Japanese include under the term "Yamato Damashi-i" much more than what we imply by the word "Patriotism." "Yamato Damashi-i" embraces also the idea of loyalty, both in its wider sense, in its relation to the sovereign, and in its narrower meaning of devotion to a feudal lord, to a beloved chief, to one "whose rice they had eaten," (as the Forty-Seven Rōnin said in their pathetic "Statement of Motives,") to a clan, a village, to one's companions in misfortune, to one's brethren in a League or a Guild.

Many Europeans, and some Americans, especially residents in the Treaty Ports of Japan, have curtly defined "Yamato Damashi-i" as fanaticism, or, at the very least, an exaggerated national pride, a sort of rampant Japanese "Chauvinism," a feeling to be discouraged by all non-Japanese and sternly repressed by the ubiquitous man-of-war, the thunder of whose guns is, quite erroneously, supposed to have opened Japan to modern enlightenment.

This is not a true conception of "Yamato Damashi-i." It is the view of people judging only from isolated cases of anti-foreign outrages, caused, nine times out of ten, by private revenge or by feelings of resentment at real or, more often, fancied insults to the national honour. It is as false as the aforesaid idea that the bombardments of Shimono-seki and of Kagoshima heralded the dawn of New

Japan, whereas the Land of the Rising Sun had long been ripening for the Great Change to its new civilization, for which the way had been prepared by the labours of obscure martyrs, of peaceful heroes like YOSHIDA Shōin and many others, who gave up their lives in their noble quest of knowledge, their brave hearts filled with the true "Yamato Damashi-i."

Every student throughout the world must bow with respectful admiration when he hears the pathetic tale of that pioneer of the New Learning who toiled for seven long years at the composition of a Dictionary, or rather a Vocabulary, of the Japanese, English and Dutch languages, obtaining his knowledge of the two latter tongues from occasional conversations with the few British, American and Dutch seamen at that time landing in Japan. One cold winter's night he had pored so late over the pages of his recently-completed work, that sleep overcame him. His tired head sank upon his breast and he slept until the biting, frosty morning air, stealing through the cracks of the paper walls of his humble abode, roused him, only to find the fruit of his seven years of arduous work, his beloved Dictionary, lying, reduced to ashes, in the "*Hibachi*" (the "brasero" or fire-bowl, the Japanese substitute for a fire-place) into which his weary hands had dropped it in his sleep. For a moment the stout heart may have been dismayed and a thought of self-immolation, of "*Seppuku*" performed with traditional solemnity, may have flashed across his mind; but, filled with true "Yamato Damashi-i," he was not to be turned back from his set purpose; and, with a deep sigh, the modest hero set to work and toiled for three years more, until he had re-written the whole of his tri-lingual Dictionary *from memory*!

This happened nearly thirty-five years ago and the question naturally arises, whether such instances of the Spirit of Old Japan may still be found in our day? The answer must certainly be affirmative, for we have only to turn to the columns of the "Times" of the 1st of

September of the year of Grace, 1891, to find, in an admirable letter from its Tōkio correspondent, an instance of Japanese perseverance and devotion to the common weal worthy of being cited in the glorious roll of deeds inspired by the "Yamato Damashi-i." It relates how a certain MINAMOTO Kōki, a poor man residing in Tōkio, has succeeded, after twelve years of unremitting toil, in adapting Pitman's phonetic system of Stenography to the Japanese language; so that the official reports of the debates in the Japanese Parliament, noted in shorthand by Minamoto's pupils, are published "verbatim," (and more accurately than those of any other Assembly in the world) appearing in the "Official Gazette" on the morrow of the proceedings. This is an important achievement, truly; but the "Times" correspondent goes on to state that MINAMOTO Kōki has refused all offers of rewards or honours, even declining the post of Director of the Reporting Staff of the Japanese Houses of Parliament, for which he recommended one of his pupils. "He has worked for Japan: his work has been successful, and he is satisfied."

With such a recent instance before us, we can say with certainty that the "Yamato Damashi-i" is still a living force in Japan. In spite of appearances which would seem to indicate that the Japanese national character is being ground down to the level of the every-day life of the West, with its sordid greed, its petty jealousies and humdrum monotony, there still burns in Japanese hearts the bright flame of the Old Spirit. "Yamato Damashi-i" has adapted itself to the new order of things with true Japanese versatility, but it still maintains its hold on Japanese hearts and minds. What it has done for Japan in the past it will do again in the future.

May it continue to flourish as long as "the Wild Cherry-Blossom smells sweetly in the Dawn of the Rising Sun":

"Asa-hi-niniwo

Yama-zakura-bana!"

THE PELASGI AND THEIR MODERN DESCENDANTS.

(BY THE LATE SIR P. COLQUHOUN AND HIS EXC. THE LATE
P. WASSA PASHA.)

(Continued from Vol. V., page 448.)

PALEY'S OPINION THAT THE CURRENT TEXT IS NOT THE ORIGINAL VERSION.

F. A. Paley, in his admirable Introduction to his edition of the Iliad, fully and intelligently discusses the subject, giving his adhesion to the Wolfian theory. He believes that the poems did not exist in their present form before Antimachus (156 B.C.);—that the collection of Pisistratus merely reduced to writing the floating myths and poems of the reciters, indicating that many must have existed which are not included in the present Homer;—and that the tragedians and lyric poets profited of these, as a basis for their works. He raises, however, a difficulty in the consistent maintenance of the characteristics of the leading persons. This, however, is scarcely a difficulty; since characteristics once impressed on popular heroes become typical, and, as a matter of course, are perpetuated by subsequent bards. The Odysseus and Ajax of Sophocles are identical with those of the Homeric poems, in which they had been shown in such bold relief that the public would never have tolerated any modification in which they could not clearly recognise their favourite heroes.

Paley, moreover, is of opinion, and rightly, that the present text is not the original version, even allowing it, during a series of ages, to have suffered modification with the advance of language and civilization. It is, therefore, presumable that the original texts of the lyrics or ballads were as different from the present text as this text is from the Ionic of Herodotus, and, still more, from the Attic of Demosthenes. Had the original diction been preserved it

would have been unintelligible even in the age of Pisistratus or Antimachus. In consequence of this revision it is impossible to say which parts were older and which later, for in revision, the older were modified, and the more recent made to correspond with the latest additions. This theory does not present any linguistic difficulty; for Balzac has most successfully imitated the diction of Rabelais; and it would not be difficult for a student of Chaucer to write a poem in his archaic English. The difficulty in reading Homer lies, not in the grammar or syntax, both of which are of the simplest, but in the vocabulary;—in the use of obsolete words, and unusual compounds. These once surmounted, the text may be considered easy. There are but few words of doubtful meaning; and even these are easily understood by a reference to the customs of the people, and to the Sanskrit language. The art of writing doubtless existed long prior to this time, even in a literary form; but, limited more or less to inscriptions and the monumental records of events, it was not used for perpetuating folk-lore. It was confined to a special class, and was not current among the population at large. The process was too cumbersome, and instruction was too little advanced:—and hence it did not extend beyond the sphere just indicated, except in the rare instances of brief messages sent, by the Ἀγγελοι, in cases of pressing need. This is all the more probable, if we suppose, as is here maintained, that the Greek language, though a means of general intercommunication, was not the vernacular of all those who employed it. Now folk-ballads are never in an adopted language. They are necessarily in “the tongue understood of the people,” which, in our case, was the current vernacular,—the Pelasgic. In process of time they would be rendered into the literary language,—a strong recognition of their intrinsic force and merit.

THE LANGUAGE DISCORDANT WITH THE MATTER.

Wassa Pasha very shrewdly remarked that it is difficult to suppose, on the one hand, that so barbarous a people as

are described in the Homeric Poems could possess a language so complete, composite and polished as Greek, and on the other, that a people possessed of a language testifying so high a state of culture could have been such barbarians and savages as are represented in the Homeric poems.

The Pelasgic race is admitted to have been most widely spread, extending over a greater area than any other, except its predecessor, the Gaelic people—which pushed more persistently, and by several routes, towards the West. The incursion of the second or Pelasgian wave was presumably one of the causes of this Gaelic exodus; for no other race is known to have intervened between the Gaels and the Pelasgians.

NO TRACE OF THE ARRIVAL OF THE GREEK RACE.

The only question remaining for solution is the origin of the Greek race, if indeed theirs was an immigration at all analogous to the two preceding.

Sir James Redhouse assigns to the Greek race an origin in the Ural Mountains, and supposes that it gradually descended from the north-east at a very remote period of the world's history. Its Sanskrit descent is as certain as is that of its predecessors. It certainly cannot have been numerous, or traces of its passage would have survived. That it was anterior to the Pelasgi cannot be doubted; and since, as before remarked, there is no trace of an invasion in force, the only presumption remaining is the one already suggested, that it was originally composed of an inconsiderable number, which coming into the region of the eastern Mediterranean (possibly as traders, perhaps as invaders), drove out the previous race, whether Turanian or Iberian, and occupied the country, long before the historic era.

About the epoch commonly assigned to the Trojan War (1184 B.C.), nothing is recorded outside Egypt, on which, as before stated, the "Greeks" are mentioned as making an attack, in the 13th century B.C. But as *Γραικός* is the oldest denomination of the tribe subsequently called

Hellenes, it would rather seem that these invaders of Egypt were piratical Pelasgians, who afterwards acquired the denomination of Greeks, and not the older and Greek-speaking race.

THE HOMERIC POEMS ORIGINALLY COMPOSED IN PELASGIC.

The mythical history of Troy is as follows: Originally a Pelasgic settlement by Tros, it was called Pergamos, and the city was named Ilion, after the eponymus, Ilos. Laomedon fortified it, with the aid of Apollo and Neptune; but shortly after, Hercules, irritated at the perfidy of Laomedon, took it (1314 B.C.), destroyed Laomedon, and placed on the throne the young Priamos, during whose reign the most renowned of sieges occurred.

The epoch of the fall of Troy is 1270 B.C. according to Herodotus;—the Parian Marbles place it B.C. 1209,—Eratosthenes, 1184 B.C.

	B.C.
Skammander is said to have reigned	1614
Teucer	1590
Dardanos	1568
Erickthonios	1537
Tros	1462
Ilos	1402
Laomedon	1347
Priamos	1311-1270

Mr. Gladstone fixes the date at 1545; but he does not give any basis for this view, except mere presumption. Both probability and monumental history certainly support an earlier date than 1184 B.C. Nevertheless, the date attributed to the poem may be approximately correct, if it be intended for that at which the Pelasgian bardic poems were first rendered into and recited in Greek. In the original Pelasgic they must be far more ancient; for it is quite inadmissible that this famous expedition was made and commemorated by other than Pelasgic tribes and Pelasgic bards; and it is perfectly clear that the Pelasgi neither

spoke Greek nor any language akin to it, though both they and the Greeks spoke a tongue allied to Sanskrit. This obvious consequence, though it escaped Mr. Gladstone or was tacitly ignored by him, had previously presented itself to Dr. Marsh, who met it in the only way in which it could be combated,—by the bold, though baseless, assertion, that Pelasgic and Greek were the same language!

Even at a period comparatively recent in the world's history, the inhabitants of the Pelasgic area still preserved the tribal or patriarchal system; nor are they mentioned otherwise than by local designations. The only generic term was Pelasgi: otherwise they were spoken of as Achaians, Argives, Danai, Myrmidones, etc.—more usually by the first of these names. This style of nomenclature continued till the destruction of the two leading communities,—Athens and Lacedaemon. Nay, it survived much longer; and no generic term was invented, till the formation of the modern kingdom of Greece: even then two Pelasgic words had to be sought, to define the country and the subjects of the newly-created sovereign,—Hellas and Hellenes.

The Homeric poem gives the forces on both sides. The Besiegers enumerated would be a vast host in even our modern age of "big battalions." No such host as theirs is recorded in ancient times, though later on we find that Darius I. lost 206,000 men in the Marathon expedition—that Darius III. (B.C. 483) met Alexander the Great with 600,000—that Artaxerxes led 900,000 against Cyrus II.—and lastly that Xerxes' army numbered 5,283,220 men. Yet at that early date, the expedition against Troy numbered, with its allies, at least 100,810 men—an enormous host to be transported by sea, and a large percentage of the population of a not very extensive area. Yet we must remember that every adult (as now, too, in semi-barbarous nations) bore arms; for war was considered the chief occupation of men. Agriculture was held only as subsidiary, to feed and maintain the warrior class in a state of efficiency; and

hence in time of war, it was left to the youths, the women and the aged men.

The more remote the date of the Trojan war is fixed, the less possible it is that it could have been carried out by Greeks. Even at the commonly received date (B.C. 1184), the race subsequently called Greek—*i.e.*, a race other than Pelasgian and speaking a non-Pelasgic tongue—was not then paramount in the countries whence the allies came. Designated for the most part from the localities whence they came, they are in many cases expressly stated to be Pelasgians. Hence, and from the fact already shown that the Pelasgi spoke neither Greek nor any language akin to Greek, it follows that the host was Pelasgic and not Greek.

Semitic writers make no mention of the Greek race, beyond that Yavan* was said to be its eponymus, though Yavan more probably means Pelasgic than Greek. Phœnicians are mentioned as employed by Solomon (B.C. 1000); but his chroniclers allude to neither Pelasgians nor Greeks. The Pelasgians may have been omitted because they were pirates, and not traders like the Phœnicians,—who, however, were not quite innocent of piracy and kidnapping. But this does not apply to the Greeks, and will not account for their omission, for they were given to commercial pursuits, which they eventually introduced among the Pelasgians.

We may, therefore, assume that the Greek immigration, whatever its form, was long anterior to B.C. 1184,—probably even to B.C. 1500. Even if it happened some considerable but not very long time before the siege, it is difficult to suppose that the race could have become sufficiently numerous to have sent out over 100,000 warriors by sea.†

* Yavan (Iovan) is supposed to mean Ionian, but we have seen that Ionian meant not Greek, but Pelasgic.

† Such an exodus would, in the absence of the chiefs, have left the country open to attack from neighbouring tribes, or to anarchy at home. The latter actually did occur in several cases, notably in those of Agamemnon and Odysseus.

But if, as we suppose, the population was Pelasgic, such a levy would not be surprising for such a cause, in a nation already very numerous, as proved by their attack on Egypt in B.C. 1311.

We have seen that there is no generic term for the whole host: and where the people are not designated from their localities, they are indiscriminately called Achaians, Argives and Danaans.* If a generic term had had to be made purposely, it would naturally have been taken from the Commander-in-chief, Agamemnon, and Mykenian would have been used. That this was not done, is a strong presumptive proof that the poem was founded primarily on the Achilleid and secondarily on the Diomedeid, the names of the followers of these chiefs being those most frequently used for the whole army. Now all these tribes were purely Pelasgic. The Argives and Hellenes were from Thessaly, which continues a Pelasgian region down to the present time, and certainly never was Greek in the classic sense.

Achilles was accompanied, not only by Hellenes and Myrmidons, but also by Achaians. These latter, therefore, must, at that period, have inhabited Thessaly: Myrmidon will hereafter be seen to be the designation of an employment. The later Achaia was in the Peloponnese, on the south-west and north coast of the gulf of Corinth, part of which is now called Livadia, Patras being the principal town. This was the country of the Danaans. Whereas formerly Hellas and Achaia were synonymous, the later Achaia was formerly termed Aigialos, from having a considerable seaboard. Subsequently it obtained the name of

* To these three terms Mr. Gladstone for some unexplained reason adds Kephallenians. But these were only one of the minor tribes; for though Odysseus like Ajax brought 12 ships, they were not $\frac{1}{2}$ those of Agamemnon. Odysseus, moreover, ruled not only Samos (Kephallenia), Zakynthos and Ithaka, but also "those who peopled the Epeiros and dwelt on the opposite shores," then called Molossia, afterwards called Acarnania and now Epeiros or Albania. Epeiros in the Odyssey is in many places clearly "shore," for it is used of Kalypso's Island.

Ionia, and lastly of Achaia, from the Achaians, who drove out the Ionians and occupied the territory. The original Achaia was a region of Phthiotis around the capital town of Alos; but it was the later Achaia which conferred a name on the Achaian league of the 12 cities.

When the Greek tongue had become an acknowledged common medium, many of the Pelasgic local names were grecicized either by distortion of their Pelasgic designation, or by the imposition of one purely Greek.*

Now it is impossible that the bards who sang the deeds of the heroes should have done so in any but the vernacular. Their poems were eminently folk-ballads; and in point of education there was little if any difference between the two classes, of composers and hearers.

* Thus Gaelic names are travestied by the English.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES OF THE LATE SIR WALTER ELLIOT.

(Continued from Vol. V., page 460).

XXIV.

WITCHCRAFT AMONG THE KÔLS.

BY A NATIVE.

Abridgment of Instructions by the Governor-General's Agent on the S. W. Frontier, to the Assistant Agent, in 1837.

9. Hitherto this wild class (Kôls*) on losing any property by theft, have repaired immediately to the village of the thief or thieves, accompanied by their brethren and friends, and thence driven off cattle without regard to whom they belonged. Reprisals followed, frequently causing bloodshed. This practice has already been strictly prohibited, but care must still be taken to repress it, and also to prevent individuals robbed from allowing the thieves to escape on receiving the value of the property stolen. A few punishments for such offences will prevent their frequent recurrence.

10. The murder of persons of both sexes under a persuasion that they have the power of destroying by witchcraft was a crime of most frequent occurrence before our occupation of the Kôl country. On this subject, I have failed to remove even from the most intelligent Kôls the conviction that some persons do possess the power of destroying whom they please. While this conviction continues, the fear of punishment will not wholly deter these ignorant people from committing murder. We must try to remove the dreadful prejudice, gradually, and by education. Meanwhile I have tried to save the lives of the suspected by warning the heads of villages, that whoever commits murder

* The Kôls are an aboriginal tribe. Compare this practice with the cattle-raids of the extreme South, described at Vol. V., page 460 *et seq.*

believing thereby to destroy the witchcraft, will be severely and even capitally punished; and that on their application, we will cause to be removed, with his property, any person whom a majority of the villagers believes to possess such a power, to another village where the same prejudice does not exist against him.

11. Some may think this unjust and hard; but while the conviction remains of the existence of such a power, it seems to me the only presently available plan to save the lives of persons suspected of it; for the Kôls argue that if the witch or wizard remains among them, their destruction is certain, and can be avoided only by getting rid of the person. This belief is so universal that severe measures against it might cause disturbances. Hence, till further orders, you will please to act as I have directed.

12. Besides pointing out continually the folly and wickedness of this practice, much might be done to remove the belief, by inducing the people to bring their sick in your neighbourhood for treatment by the medical officer in a hospital to be established at a small expense by the Government, with a small increase of the doctor's salary. Numerous cures thus effected of sicknesses supposed to have been caused by sorcery, would in time overcome a conviction so fatal in its consequences.

13. The Kôls generally believe that all their sickness proceeds from these causes: 1st Witchcraft, 2nd the displeasure of their *Devtas* or *Bongas*, and 3rd the Spirit of someone who has died. Against witchcraft, nothing, in their opinion, avails but the removal of the witch or wizard; hence many are unfortunately murdered each year. When sickness is caused by the *Bonga*, it is appeased by sacrifices rising from fowls to goats, bullocks and buffaloes, causing much waste and frequently leading those who have no animals of the kind required, to procure them by theft. More than one case has already come before me, of the thief pleading the sickness of a child as an excuse for the theft of the necessary sacrifice to the *Bonga*. Such persons

finding relief by medicine will cease to hold the *Bonga* as its cause. The spirit of a dead person afflicts only with the same disease as itself died of, and for this the Kòls seem to have no remedy.

14. Many Kòls who have benefited from medicines which I have given them continually apply for it. Hence my hope of destroying their baneful belief in witchcraft, by establishing a Hospital, especially if its medical officer take a personal interest in its success.

XXV.

WITCHCRAFT IN AFRICA.

[Sir W. Elliot follows the note on Witchcraft among the Kòls, by the following extract from the *Delhi Gazette* of the 8th November 1851. Our knowledge of Africa is rapidly being extended; but this note on the customs of the Zulu and Amakosa tribes of S. Africa, 40 years ago, is still of sufficient interest to warrant reproduction.—R. S.] (It is slightly abridged.)

"The following account of the system of witchcraft, which prevails among the Zulu and Amakosa Kafirs, is given in the appendix to a pamphlet by 'Veritas' on the 'Kafir Labour Question,' just published at Natal:

"Witchcraft is now known only by name to the Englishman; and recounting some of its stories in bygone days, sometimes gives interest to the social circle. But among the Kafirs of Natal and the adjacent countries, witchcraft is still one of the most elaborate systems of terror and suffering which fallen humanity ever invented. Among Kafirs it is accompanied with secret poisoning on a large scale. Nearly every Kafir Kraal has its poison-maker whose business it is to experiment with herbs, roots, etc., and to extract poison from serpents, for producing by skilful combination the most effectual poison, and devising the best mode for administering it with the least probability of detection. With them in poisoning, as with us in medicine, he who can produce the best, becomes the most celebrated and does the best trade. A short time ago the most celebrated in Pietermaritzburg was a young man—the

servant of a white man. No one can be certain that his servant is not engaged in this traffic; but as Kafirs do not try to injure white men thus, the statement need create no fear in any breast. But among the Kafirs themselves the knowledge of this fact produces constant suspicion and dread. Besides poisons causing immediate death they make 'Ubuti' or bewitching matter, which they secretly use for producing sickness and death among cattle or in each other's families. Hence if death or any misfortune befalls a man, his family or his cattle, it is at once said that they are bewitched; and some persons must be found out as having committed the offence. This brings into action and develops all the bad passions of the human heart,—jealousy, hatred, malice, revenge, covetousness. The victim selected as the author of the evil is generally a rival for a certain girl,—whom the one can only secure by removing the other,—or the owner of much cattle which his neighbours covet,—or one who has become obnoxious to some great person, etc. Hence arises a spirit of universal dread: any person one meets may be the secret cause of death to him or to those he loves best; who under the guise of friendship, may with a smiling face administer the means of death. Hence it is usual for the host first to eat a part of the food he gives to his guest, as a proof that there is no poison in it; nor would the guest partake of his host's bounty without such proof that his life was not in danger. This mark of friendly hospitality is not the most agreeable to an English stranger unacquainted with its reason.

"This results in raising up a class called *Tsanuse*—witch-doctors,—devoted solely to the study of medicine and the practical detection of witches. They not only profess to cure diseases by medicines, but also to have a supernatural knowledge of the person, called *Umtakati*, who has caused the disease or occasioned death.

"But not every one can be a *Tsanuse*—the aspirant must undergo a regular course of preparation. As our physicians

go through a course of study and rise by their own skill to eminence, so must the *Tsanuse* be a clever and sagacious youth, bent on his profession, so that his neighbours, seeing his exploits and wit, may point him out as likely to become a *Tsanuse*. This subject will not only occupy his thoughts by day but also fill his visions by night, and he will dream of wonderful things, especially wild beasts—lions, tigers, wolves, serpents. Serpents,—supposed to be possessed by the spirits of their forefathers and departed chiefs,—occupy a prominent place in the attention of the aspirant to the honour of being a *Tsanuse*. He proceeds to relate his dreams to his friends and neighbours; goes into fits; runs about shrieking; plunges into water; performs wonderful feats. His friends declare he is mad; and he speaks and acts as one under the influence of a supernatural being. He next catches live snakes (I suppose harmless ones), and hangs them about his neck, as a proof that there is something supernatural about him. With the snakes, and taking a goat, he goes to a *Tsanuse*. The goat he gives as a present to the doctor, to obtain instruction in the secrets of the profession, and the living serpents round his neck show that he is prepared for initiation into its mysteries. After a short stay here, he obtains a variety of medicines, strong-smelling roots called *Impepo*, besides some instructions. He then goes, with a cow or ox, to a still more celebrated *Tsanuse*, presenting the beast, to obtain further instruction. Here he obtains more medicines, roots, etc., and going home puts them in his house and hangs them about his body.

"His education is now considered sufficiently completed in both the art of medicine and the mysteries of witchcraft for him to practise by himself. The people say that he is changed—or is a new man—or has another spirit—using the same term *Ukutwasa* that is used for the change of the moon. Competent judges hold that *Tsanuse* are in contact with the devil, who by lying wonders and supernatural manifestations helps their infernal work. Be this as it

may, they possess astonishing penetration and make disclosures which hold the Kafir nation in the unwavering belief that the spirits of the departed tell them all that passes.

"The practice is as follows: At some kraal some one is suspected of being an '*Umtakati*' and of having bewitched some person or the cattle. As stated, the suspected is usually a rich man, or there is some other motive for having him removed. The people of the kraal and neighbourhood where the *Umtakati* lives now resolve to go to the *Tsanuse*, who lives probably far away. All must go, including the person suspected,—refusal to go would be a proof of guilt. Meanwhile the *Tsanuse*, to whom they are going, gives mysterious indications, and without knowing the parties or whence they came, he usually foretells, as if omniscient, their approach, as it actually occurs.

"On their arrival, they sit down and salute him. The *Tsanuse* steps forward and requests them to beat the ground with their sticks. This is called *Ukubula*; and while they do it, he repeatedly shouts '*Yezwa! yezwa!*' (Here! here!). He then begins to tell them about the *Umtakati*, his name and father's name, his abode, the crime committed, where it was done, etc. It is amazing that in nearly every particular he is correct; and as he was before a perfect stranger to all the parties, they exclaim at once that he is a great *Tsanuse*, and that the spirit has given correct information.

"But if he should not succeed in discovering the *Umtakati* by the *Ukubula*, he places them all in a circle around himself, stating that the spirit will not speak without the dance, to which he must now proceed. He ties to all the joints of his body bundles of sticks and assegais, tails of beasts and skins of animals and serpents, fixing feathers of ravenous birds in his hair. He thus already looks the most like a fiend incarnate that can be conceived, so that the children and young people run away in the greatest fright. Thus prepared he enters, with incantations, upon his diabolical

dance. His eyes roll with infernal glare; the motions of his body resemble those of the most terrible frenzy, every muscle and joint quivering with sympathetic expression. Even the men who went to witness the scene are aghast with horror while this terrific being conjures up the infernal spirit to obtain the requisite information. His victim is now pointed out; and in nearly every case he indicates the *Umtakati*. Although the *Umtakati* may be perfectly innocent, he will probably confess at once. But if he maintains his innocence, the Amakosa Kafirs put him to the torture, to make him confess: hot stones are applied to his body, or he is laid down and covered with black ants or small scorpions, under the excruciating pain of whose bites the poor wretch confesses or dies! But among the Zulus, if the right person is not fixed upon, they go to a more celebrated *Tsanuse* till they succeed. The *Umtakati* who confesses is, among the Amakosa, 'eaten up'—that is, all his cattle and property are seized by the chief and parties concerned, and he is expelled as an outcast and a vagabond upon the face of the earth. Among the Zulus, the *Umtakati* is killed, with his wife and children, and his property is seized, till not a vestige is left, and his name is blotted out utterly."

(To be continued.)

DARDISTAN.

By DR. G. W. LEITNER.

K.—LEGENDS RELATING TO ANIMALS.*

1.—A BEAR PLAYS WITH A CORPSE.

It is said that bears, as the winter is coming on, are in the habit of filling their dens with grass and that they eat a plant, called "ajali," which has a narcotic effect upon them and keeps them in a state of torpor during the winter. After three months, when the spring arrives, they awake and go about for food. One of these bears once scented a corpse which he disinterred. It happened to be that of a woman who had died a few days before. The bear, who was in good spirits, brought her to his den, where he set her upright against a stone and fashioning a spindle with his teeth and paws gave it to her into one hand and placed some wool into the other. He then went on growling "mū-mū-mū" to encourage the woman to spin. He also brought her some nuts and other provisions to eat. Of course, his efforts were useless, and when she after a few days gave signs of decomposition he ate her up in despair. This is a story based on the playful habits of the bear.

2.—A BEAR MOURNS A GIRL.

Another curious story is related of a bear. Two women, a mother and her little daughter, were one night watching their field of Indian corn "makai," against the inroads of these animals. The mother had to go to her house to prepare the food and ordered her daughter to light a fire outside. Whilst she was doing this a bear came and took her away. He carried her into his den, and daily brought her to eat and to drink. He rolled a big stone in front of the den, whenever he went away on his tours, which the girl was not strong enough to remove. When she became old enough to be able to do this he used daily to lick her feet, by which they became swollen and gradually dwindled down to mere misshapen stumps. The girl eventually died in childbirth, and the poor bear after vain efforts to restore her to life roamed disconsolately about the fields.

3.—ORIGIN OF BEARS.

It is said that bears were originally the offspring of a man who was driven into madness by his inability to pay his debts, and who took to the hills in order to avoid his creditors.†

4.—THE BEAR AND THE ONE-EYED MAN.

The following story was related by a man of the name of Ghalib Shah residing at a village near Astor, called Parishing. He was one night looking out whether any bear had come into his "tromba" field.‡ He

* These legends follow the series on page 310 of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of April, 1892, and should be compared with the Chitral Fables published by Miltar Nimin-ul-Mulk in the January number of 1891: "the vindictive fowl," "the golden mouse," "the mouse and the frog," "the quail and the fox." See also Legends in my Hunza-Nagyr Handbook.

† The scrupulousness of the Gipsies in discharging such obligations, when contracted with a member of the same race, used to be notorious. The *Dōms* or *Rōms* of the Shins are the "Romany" of Europe and our "Zingari" is a corruption of "Sinkari" or Ishakants on the borders of the River or Sin—the (Upper) Indus.

‡ Tromba, to be made eatable, must be ground into flour, then boiled in water and

saw that a bear was there and that he with his forepaws alternately took a pawful of "tromba," blew the chaff away and ate hastily. The man was one-eyed [shéo=blind; my Ghilgiti used "Kyor," which he said was a Persian word, but which is evidently Turkish] and ran to his hut to get his gun. He came out and pointed it at the bear. The animal who saw this ran round the blind side of the man's face, snatched the gun out of his hand and threw it away. The bear and the man then wrestled for a time, but afterwards both gave up the struggle and retired. The man, after he had recovered himself went to look for the gun, the stock of which he found broken. The match-string by which the stock had been tied to the barrel had gone on burning all night and had been the cause of the gun being destroyed. The son of that man still lives at the village and tells this story, which the people affect to believe.

5.—WEDDING FESTIVAL AMONG BEARS.

A Mulla, of the name of Lal Mohammad, said that when he was taken a prisoner into Chilas,* he and his escort passed one day through one of the dreariest portions of the mountains of that inhospitable region. There they heard a noise, and quietly approaching to ascertain its cause they saw a company of bears tearing up the grass and making bundles of it which they hugged. Other bears again wrapped their heads in grass, and some stood on their hind-paws, holding a stick in their forepaws and dancing to the sound of the howls of the others. They then ranged themselves in rows, at each end of which was a young bear; on one side a male, on the other a female. These were supposed to celebrate their marriage on the occasion in question. My informant swore to the story and my Ghilgiti corroborated the truth of the first portion of the account, which he said described a practice believed to be common to bears.

6.—THE FLYING PORCUPINE.

There is a curious superstition with regard to an animal called "Harginn," which appears to be more like a porcupine than anything else. It is covered with bristles; its back is of a red-brownish and its belly of a yellowish colour. That animal is supposed to be very dangerous, and to contain poison in its bristles. At the approach of any man or animal it is said to gather itself up for a terrific jump into the air, from which it descends unto the head of the intended victim. It is said to be generally

placed in the "tahamul" [in Astori] or "popush" [Ghilgiti], a receptacle under the hearth, and has to be kept in this place for one night, after which it is fit for use after being roasted or put on a tawa [pan] like a Chapatti [a thin cake of unleavened bread].

"baxio" or tsiliti baxio=sour baxio [moro baxio=sweet baxio].

* Almost every third man I met had, at some time or other, been kidnapped and dragged off either to Chilas, Chitral, Badakhshan or Bukhara. The surveillance, however, which is exercised over prisoners, as they are being moved by goat-paths over mountains, cannot be a very effective one and, therefore, many of them escape. Some of the Kashmir Maharajah's Sepoys, who had invaded Dardistan, had been captured and had escaped. They narrated many stories of the ferocity of these mountaineers; e.g., that they used their captives as fireworks, etc., etc., in order to enliven public gatherings. Even if this be true, there can be no doubt that the Sepoys retaliated in the fiercest manner whenever they had an opportunity, and the only acts of barbarism that came under my observation, during the war with the tribes in 1866, were committed by the Kashmir invaders.

about half a yard long and a span broad. Our friend Lal Mohammad, a saintly Akhunzada, but a regular Munchausen, affirmed to have once met with a curious incident with regard to that animal. He was out shooting one day when he saw a stag which seemed intently to look in one direction. He fired off his gun, which however did not divert the attention of the stag. At last, he found out what it was that the stag was looking at. It turned out to be a huge "Harginn," which had swallowed a large Markhor with the exception of his horns! There was the porcupine out of whose mouth protruded the head and horns of the Markhor! My Ghilgiti, on the contrary, said that the Harginn was a great snake "like a big fish called Nang." Perhaps, Harginn means a monster or dragon, and is applied to different animals in the two countries of Ghilghit and Astor.

7.—A FIGHT BETWEEN WOLVES AND A BEAR WHO WANTED TO DIG THEIR GRAVE.

A curious animal something like a wolf is also described. The species is called "Kō."* These animals are like dogs; their snouts are of a red colour, and are very long; they hunt in herds of ten or twenty and track game which they bring down, one herd or one Kō, as the case may be, relieving the other at certain stages. A Shikari once reported that he saw a large number of them asleep. They were all ranged in a single long line. A bear approached, and by the aid of a long branch measured the line. He then went to some distance and measuring the ground dug it out to the extent of the line in length. He then went back to measure the breadth of the sleeping troop when his branch touched one of the animals which at once jumped up and roused the others. They all then pursued him and brought him down. Some of them harassed him in front, whilst one of them went behind and sucked his stomach clean out. This seems to be a favourite method of these animals in destroying game. They do not attack men, but bring down horses, sheep and game.

HISTORY OF THE DARD WARS WITH KASHMIR

IN 7 CHAPTERS—(CHAPTER I. CHILAS)

INTRODUCTION.

In the "Asiatic Quarterly Review" of January last appears my "rough Chronological Sketch of the History of Dardistan from 1800 to 1842."† I now propose to republish "the History of the Wars of the Dard tribes with Kashmir" beginning with the account given to me by a Sarzni Dard in 1866 of the first war with

* This is undoubtedly the *canis rutilans*, a species of wild dog, which hunts in packs after the wild goat, so numerous found in the high mountains round Gilgit.

† Extract: "1830. The raids of the Chilas is made the occasion for invading the country of Chilas, which not being a dependency of Kashmir, is not included in the Treaty of 1846. The Maharaja gives out that he is acting under orders of the British Government. Great consternation among petty chiefs about Muzaffarabad regarding alliance plans of the Maharaja. The Sikhs send a large army, which is defeated before the Fort of Chilas. 1851.—Bahadur Hazi Singh and Dewan Hazi Chand are sent with 10,000 men against Chilas, and succeed in destroying the fort and scattering the hostile hill tribes, which assisted the Chilas."

the Chilas.* Its importance at the present moment, consists in the fact that these wars with the Dards were almost all provoked by Kashmir, as they, practically, now are by ourselves. The attack on peaceful and pious Nagyr was excused by the usual calumnies that precede and justify annexation, till their exposure comes too late either to prevent aggression or to punish their authors, who, if soldiers, obtain honours, and if writers, an evanescent popularity. Now that the manuscripts of the Hunza Library have been sold by auction, that its fairies have been silenced, that its ancient weapons have been destroyed, that its language and religion have been assimilated to those of its neighbours, a living chapter has disappeared of the most ancient traditions of mankind safe in their mountain recesses for ages, till English and Russian subalterns wanted promotion at the expense of the safety of their respective Asiatic Empires. In 1866, I already pointed out that the Legends and Customs of the Dards were gradually vanishing before the incidental inroads of Orthodox Sunni Muhammadanism and that their preservation was a duty of the civilized world. Now we have simply killed them outright as also a number of interesting Aryan republics, like Chilas and other picturesque and peaceful autonomies. In 1875, Mr. Drew reported that the abhorrence of the Shin race to the cow, which probably marked the almost pre-historical separation of the Dardas, the lowest of the twice-born, from the Brahmins of Kashmir, was ceasing, and in 1886 I saw a son of the excellent Raja of Nagyr in European garb all except the head-dress. Now that his country is practically annexed, its Chief is called "patriarchal," just as the Chilas are now patted on the back "as brave and by no means quarrelsome" by journals which a few months ago termed them "raiders," "kidnappers," "robbers" and "slave-dealers," etc., forgetting that there exist the annual reports of our Deputy Commissioners of Abbottabad speaking of them since 1856 as a peaceable people. No doubt *before* that date, the Sunni Chilas raided Shiah Astor, just as the Astoris raided what they could.†

The following account, it will be seen, and my own notes, do not, in the least, palliate the shortcomings of the Dards, but I maintain that there were *no* raids since 1856, and that in 1866 *six* Kashmir Seapoys, (not 6,000, as alleged by a recent writer) kept the Astor-Bunji road in a state of perfect safety; there

* Extract from Drew's "Northern Barriers of India," 1877: "Until about 1850 they used to make occasional expeditions for plunder, coming round the flanks of the mountain into this Astor Valley. It was these raids that determined Maharaja Gulab Singh to send a punitive expedition against Chilas. This he did in 1851 or 1852. The Dogras at last took the chief stronghold of the Chilas, a fort two or three miles from the Indus River, and reduced those people to some degree of obedience; and *there has been no raid since.*"

† "The Astor people used formerly to do the same thing," and on page 459 of Drew's "Jummo and Kashmir Territories," the author, who was a high official in the Kashmir service, says: "The Sikhs sent an expedition to Chilas under one Sujah Singh, but it was repulsed. . . . This was about the year 1843. . . . The good effects (of the expedition in 1850 or 1851) . . . have already been spoken of. Since that time the Chilas . . . pay yearly to the Maharaja a tribute of 100 goats and about two ounces of gold-dust; *otherwise they are free.*" Since then Major Gummney in 1868 reports that ever since the advent of British neighbourhood they have never committed any offences: "The people are inoffensive." Mr. Scott calls them "a quiet, peace-loving people," and all the Panjab Administration Reports give them the same reputation.

were, no doubt, small detachments of troops at these places themselves, *not* to protect the road against the puritanical peasantry of Chilas, but as Depôts for the *then* War with all the united Dard tribes *except Chilas*. Yet we are told by a recent writer, ignorant of Dard Languages and History, that we took Chilas in order to protect Kashmir from raids (which had ceased for 42 years), that we spend less on the safety of the frontier than Kashmir, that the Nagyr Raja was a slave-dealer, etc., etc. Fortunately, we have official and other reports written before the passions of the moment obscured historical truth, and these Reports will long bear witness against the vandalism and folly by which our Northern Barrier of India was broken down and a military road was constructed for an invader to the heart of the Panjab. This road is the one from Abbottabad to Hunza, of which I obtained the particulars in 1866 (when I was sent on a linguistic Mission by the Panjab Government to Kashmir and Chilas), but which, for obvious reasons, I did not publish. Now that the Indian papers constantly urge and discuss its construction, I have no hesitation in giving the details of this, as I have of other roads and as *now* ought to be done of the various means of communication throughout what was once called, and what should, and could, for ever have remained, the "neutral zone" between the British and the Russian spheres of influence or interference. The first part of the projected road is to Chilas, and extends, roughly speaking, for 125 miles, namely Abbottabad to Mansehra 16 miles; Mansehra to Juba 10 miles; thence to Balakôt 12 miles; Kawaie 12, Jared 12, Kaghan 12, Naran 14, Batakundi 6, Burawaie 6, Sehri 5, Lulusar (where there is a fine lake 11,000 feet over the sea level) 5, Chilas 15. (For details see elsewhere.) Of this 15 miles are on independent territory, so that there was no occasion for the precipitate subjugation of an inoffensive population, whose sense of security is so great that they abandon their houses entirely unprotected during the hottest part of the summer when they leave with their families for the cooler surrounding hills. In another Dard republic, full of Arabic Scholars, Kandia, there are no forts, and weapons may not be carried. Major Abbott, from whom Abbottabad so deservedly takes its name, reporting to the Lahore Board of Administration in July 1855, when the Maharaja of Kashmir had misinformed him of the successful conclusion of his campaign against Chilas and had asked the British Government, "whether he was to hold it with garrison, or to punish the people by burning their villages and then to retreat," gave as his opinion that the latter course would exasperate the Chilas into renewing their incursions, and that on the other hand "the possession of Chilas by Jummoo would altogether destroy the hopes of the Syuds of Kaghan. And as the odium of this very unpopular expedition has been carefully attributed to the British Government by the Maharaja's Ministers, so much of advantage may possibly be derived from it." I must now allow my Sarini and other Dards to give an account of Wars which not only include the struggles for the conquest of Chilas, but detail the expeditions to Hunza-Nagyr, the massacre of women and children at Yasin, the Dareyl and other conflicts, all interspersed with characteristic anecdotes and the names of men and places that have, or may yet, come to the front.

The manners, tribal sub-divisions, and occupations of the Chilásis and the names of the mountains, streams, products, etc., of the country, as also the road from Takk to Kashmir by the Kanagamunn pass, Diding, Shiril, Koja, Ujatt, etc., are detailed in my "Dardistan," where a Chilási vocabulary, dialogues, songs, etc., will also be found. There are also roads from Abbottabad to Chilás through Agrór, of Black Mountain fame, practicable for camels. Another road, fit for ponies, goes by Muzafarabad by Sharidi and the lovely Kishenganga and Sargan Rivers in Kashmir, by the Kamakduri Galli, to Níát in Chilás. As already mentioned, the easiest road to our last conquest is by Kaghán through the Takk valley. There is also the long and dangerous road on the banks of the Indus to Bunji, which skirts, as its occupation would irritate, the Kohistani tribes who are Pathans, not Dards, including the rival traders with Gilgit of Koli-Palus. Thence, on that route, comes Jalkot and the road that branches off into learned Kundid, which I have described at length in the *A.Q.R.* of July 1892. The road, such as it is, constantly crosses and recrosses the Indus (by rafts), and at the Lahtar river is reached the boundary between the true Kohistan and the Dard country, which is there called Shináki, because it is inhabited by the ruling Shiná race. We then come to pretty Sazin, from which my Sazin informant. Opposite to it runs the Tangir valley and country, whence there is a road to Yasin to which Tangir owed a sort of loose bond. We then continue by the right bank of the Indus opposite Sazin, passing Shatiál and on to the Dareyl stream, which comes from the Dareyl country that eventually joins on to Gilgit. Crossing the Dareyl stream, we pass Harban on the left bank and a few miles further on, the Tor village, and arrive at the Hódur village, whence we go on to Chilás, after as had a road of about 300 miles as it is possible to conceive. Besides, if we touch the independence of these various republics *en route*, we shall constantly be in a hornets' nest, and provoke the coalition of the Dard with the Pathan or Afghan irreconcilable tribes, whereas, by keeping to the Kashmir route or, at least, confining ourselves to the Kaghán-Chilás road, and prohibiting our men from going to the right or to the left of it, we may yet resume friendly relations with the harmless and religious Chilásis and keep the road open for the eventual advance of Russian troops! In the meanwhile, let us not destroy villages inhabited by hereditary genealogists, who, before our advent, were the living historians of an irrecoverable portion of, perhaps, the earliest Aryan settlements.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, ETC.

RUSSIANIZED OFFICIALISM IN INDIA—A REPLY.

BY A. ROGERS, ESQ. (LATE OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY).

UNDER the above title, Sir W. Wedderburn gave, in the January number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, an article containing many mischievous opinions based on so slight a fabric of facts, that a rejoinder is advisable showing the other side of the administrative system in force in British India.

Sir W. Wedderburn's main object is to cry down centralization of authority which he calls a "Russianized system," and to advocate a greater extension of individual control to local Officers, who are to be mainly guided by local usage and native ideas.

The particular local Officer who has most to do with executive administration is the Collector and Magistrate of the District; and to him Sir W. Wedderburn wishes to give a freer hand. He considers that although "the Collector nominally represents Government in all its departments, his authority in the present day is the mere shadow of a phantom of what it used to be; like a beam eaten by white ants, externally as before, but inside nothing but dust and ashes."

To illustrate how this has come about, he takes one of the Collector's most important functions, the collection of land revenue. "Originally the Collector through his own local subordinates arranged for the measurement and assessment of the village lands upon the basis of the old native settlements. As examples of such settlements we have that of Sir T. Munro in Canara, of Col. Pottinger in the Dekhan, and of General John Jacob in Sind. These settlements followed local usages and were different in every District, the Collector going round his District each year, and settling at the 'Jammabandi' (annual land-revenue settlement) what each ryot was to pay with due regard to the condition of the crops. This sort of thing suited the people, but it did not satisfy the central authority, which desired uniformity and greater scientific accuracy."

Let me describe one of these annual settlements, as, *moi culpa*, I have had to carry such out myself. The land had never been measured, and the area of each field was put down, by eye-estimate, at so many *rigid* (a local land measure varying in different localities, but generally about $1\frac{1}{2}$ acre). The dues of the State were levied according to the division-of-produce system in some cases; in others by rates varying according to crop, locality, caste of the cultivator, etc. The estimate of the produce of each field was made by Hereditary District Officers, by the eye, where the first of these was in force, in all cases except where wheat was grown as an unirrigated crop. After certain deductions in the shape of grain fees to village servants, temples, Hereditary District Officers, village dogs, etc., various proportions (from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$) were assigned to the cultivator and the

State, and calculated on the estimated area of each field. In wheat, three rows were reaped in three different parts of each field, and the grain was rubbed out on the spot. Then a rule-of-three sum finished the assessment operation;—As 9 rows: to the total number of rows in the field, :: the produce of the one: to the required produce of the other. The grain of the nine rows was appropriated for the expenses of estimating, after deductions as above for various purposes. There are hundreds of fields and holdings in every village; and a single subdivision of a Collectorate contains from 100 to 300 villages. Hence become evident the impossibility of a Collector's exercising any adequate control over such a mass of details, and the necessity for his surrendering himself to his subordinates, and accepting what figures they laid before him. One of the Collectors, to whom Sir W. Wedderburn would hand over complete authority to adopt such native systems of management, actually laid down a rule that if a Kunbi cultivator did not occupy a holding paying a certain sum to the State, or if a cultivator of another caste did not make up a certain figure, the difference should be levied from him in cash: this was called a *Khutta kharch vera* (cess for deficient expenditure).

Of the vagaries of Collectors when uncontrolled by a central authority, I may mention another case. One gentleman laid down rules for the entry of cultivators' names in fields, which amounted to a most arbitrary interference with the rights of property. For instance; if, out of 40 acres, one man held 35, the whole was entered in his name. If one held 28 and another 12, 30 would be entered in the name of the former and 10 in that of the latter. If one held 22 and two others 9 each, the former's name would be entered in 20, and those of the others in 10 each. The names of more than four men were not to be allowed in one field, for fear of confusing the accounts: if there were more, those excluded might be allotted land in neighbouring fields! Another gentleman, considering it a bad thing that the breed of cattle in his charge, a Province half as large as England, should deteriorate by promiscuous crossing while roaming over large tracts of waste land, decreed that all cattle found without herdsmen should be pounded! And so on.

The settlements of Col. Pottinger in the Dekhan and of Gen. Jacob in Sind were avowedly make-shifts, until the country became settled and the lands could be measured and a regular assessment be made. They, like the settlements of Sir T. Munro, have been gradually superseded by more civilised and controllable systems of revenue management, much to the benefit of the people themselves. No one taking the trouble to consider the question can fail to see that the first requisite of an equitable assessment of land is to ascertain its exact area. The state of matters described above made Government wisely determine that accurate measurements were indispensable; and though Sir W. Wedderburn approves of the old rough and ready survey, adopted by Collectors through their untrained establishments, he himself is obliged to confess that special skilled agency, organized like the Survey and Settlement department, for a scientific survey with proper maps and registers, did good and useful work. He proceeds, however, to say that the mischief began when the department

undertook to frame for the whole presidency a uniform system for assessing and levying the land revenue. He tries to uphold this dictum by the trite remark, that each District has different conditions, that the black cotton soil of the Dekhan (and he might have added, of Gujara't) has nothing in common with the spice gardens in the forests of Canara; and that rules suited to the terraced cultivation among the rocks of Ratnagiri would not apply to the alluvial plains of Sind, irrigated by the rise of the Indus. This would suggest that the same method of assessment had been applied to the various kinds of cultivation enumerated. But this is distinctly not so, except in so far that the assessment in every case is, as it necessarily must be under any civilised method, laid on each field, when tenants deal directly with the State as their landlord. The method of assessment, however, is perfectly distinct in each case. In the dry crop cultivation of the black cotton soil of the Dekhan and the terraced cultivation of Ratnagiri consideration is given, in addition to the intrinsic qualities of the soil, to the probability or otherwise of an adequate rain supply; in the spice gardens of Canara to the water-holding capabilities of the wells from which they are irrigated; and in the alluvial plains of Sind to the levels of the land which may or may not allow of the river floods reaching it in sufficient quantity. To insinuate that local requirements are not duly considered, and that an attempt is made to stretch all on an official bed of Procrustes, shows that Sir W. Wedderburn has been writing on a topic of which he knows but little. But he is perhaps confusing the assessment of land with the tenure on which the land may be held. If so, he is again in error; for under the Survey settlements the peculiarities of tenure in the coparcenary villages in Gujara't, such as the Nārvādāri and Bhāgdāri, and the Khoti villages in the Konkan, have been carefully preserved.

He goes on to say that the failure to consider local requirements and the attempt to stretch all on the official bed of Procrustes have produced an agrarian crisis sooner or later in every District dealt with; and he details a number of evictions carried out in 1873-74 in certain Dekhan Districts. But was not Government even just then engaged in an enquiry into the cause of these evictions, which took place on a revision of the assessments after the expiration of the first Survey lease of 30 years, when the assessments had been a good deal enhanced for various reasons? That enquiry ended in a large reduction being made in the new assessments, and a limit being placed on future enhancements, with the satisfactory result that the Commission which sat last year to enquire into the working of the Dekhan Agriculturists' Relief Act reported officially that in these very Districts no complaint against the assessment had been made to them in the course of their enquiries.

The article continues: "A year or two later there was a general agrarian rising in this part of the Dekhan, which had to be put down by military force." But there was no general agrarian rising in the Dekhan; and what did occur was not due to the system adopted for the assessment of lands. Official records prove that the rising which took place was one confined to the Ahmadnagar, Poona, Sholapur and Satara Collectornates, and was that

of an exasperated peasantry against Māvāri and other usurers, in revenge for their merciless persecution, by the latter, for their debts, and to destroy accounts and acknowledgments of debt. The matter had nothing whatever to do with the amount or the method of assessments.

It is said that each of the following Departments, viz. : Revenue Survey, Forest, Public Works, Irrigation, Police, Abkārī (excise on spirituous liquors), Salt, Opium, Education, Registration, Vaccination, etc., "has now formed for itself an *Imperium in Imperio*, and has framed a rigid and searching code of rules, which it administered through a hierarchy of executive officials, the written orders emanating from the Head of the Department, who has his headquarters hundreds of miles off at the seat of Government, and ultimately taking effect through the hungry departmental peon, who squats in the village at the Patel's house, and represents our administration in its concrete form."

What is the real state of the case? With the exception of mere departmental details, with which he has no concern and which do not affect the general system, the Forest, Public Works, Irrigation, Police, Abkārī, Opium, and Registration departments are all worked, as far as system is concerned, by their heads through the Collector and Magistrate himself! The Forest Officers and the Executive Engineers for Public Works and Irrigation are virtually his Assistants as Collector, and the Superintendent of Police is directly under his orders as Magistrate. He himself is an Assistant to the Commissioner of Salt, Abkārī and Opium, as well as the Registrar for his own District! Although he is not answerable for the work of the Educational and Vaccination departments, he, as President of the Local Funds, looks into the working of all village schools, and sees that Vaccinators do their work. With regard to the Revenue Survey, all reports on assessment, and orders on them, pass through his hands for comment and execution; and, when the Survey operations are complete, he has the sole charge of the executive details. What, then, becomes of Sir W. Wedderburn's assertion that the Collector's authority is the mere shadow of what it used to be?

Let us now examine some of the more general and sweeping charges which he makes against the Indian administration. It is said that we know little of the real condition of our splendid inheritance in the East; that others than our paid agents, equally well informed, speak of extreme poverty and serious discontent among the masses; of a fifth of the whole population going through life with their hunger unsatisfied; of taxation in India, notwithstanding this excessive poverty, being in proportion double that in England; of the fertility of the land becoming exhausted; and of people year by year finding it more difficult to live. Now, although the very recklessness of these words is sufficient in the eyes of any sober observer to refute them, it may be worth our while to consider them in detail.

Nobody denies that, according to the European standard of living, the people of India are poor; but the questions are, Are they poor in comparison with their wants? and, Are they poorer under British, than they have been for ages under Native, Administration? Even Mr. Dadabhai

Naoroji and the Indian National Congress will not dare to uphold the latter assertion. It is true that the pressure of population on the soil, in some places (due to their numbers not being thinned under British rule by war and pestilence), may cause a hard struggle for existence; but, on the other hand, roads and railways now afford to that population the means of locomotion to localities where other means of support than agriculture are procurable. There is no fear, as there was under Native rule, of the surplus produce of one part of the land not being able to find its way to other parts, deficient in food supplies. Should such deficiency occur, there are Famine Codes laying down the duty of all Officers on the first appearance of scarcity, with practical rules to prevent the possibility of any disaster from such scarcity. And is the extravagance of the statement that 50,000,000 (one-fifth of 250,000,000) people go through life with hunger unsatisfied, not sufficient to disprove it to all thinking minds?

Again, what are the signs of serious discontent among the masses? Is Crime rampant throughout the country? Are there representations, petitions, disturbances? Or does the discontent exist simply in perfervid imaginations?

"In spite of the excessive poverty, taxation is in proportion double what it is in England." How can this be demonstrated? What is the taxation in India of the great mass of the people? Simply and solely the salt excise probably amounting to 10d. per head per annum; for land revenue is only the rent of land and not taxation.* Excise on spirituous liquors, opium and preparations of hemp are not taxation. India, moreover, is a country of free trade. Where, then, is the excessive taxation? This is, in fact, another meaningless flower of speech.

"The fertility of the land is becoming exhausted, and year by year the people find it more difficult to live." What has exhausted the fertility of the soil? Is it at all true that it is becoming exhausted? I was present some years ago at the reading of a paper before the Colonial Institute where this idea was mooted; and I quite agree with what Sir Arthur Cotton, the well-known Madras Irrigation Engineer, said at the time, that far from the fertility of the soil of India being exhausted, its surface had barely been scratched!

Sir W. Wedderburn offers himself as a witness of the change that has come over the conditions of the Indian Civil Service since he entered it, as one who knows it by experience from the bottom to the top of the official ladder. He does not mention, however, that there are two official ladders. One of these he ascended; but on the other he got only on the lowest rung, as a boy, a good many years ago, and rose no higher. Most of his service was spent in the judicial line, and not the Revenue. He has, therefore, for many years been in contact, not with the great mass of the people, the agricultural classes, but only with those who frequent the Courts, the litigious and the criminal classes, decidedly the inferior ones, who do not by any means represent the true feelings of the people, from whom

* It seems to us to be another name for the same thing, because the proprietorship of the land claimed by the British, and by some native Governments is not founded on either Hindu or Muhammadan Law, not to speak of justice. — *Ed.*

they are as widely apart as a barrister from a farmer. He must even have forgotten his youthful experience of revenue duties, or he would not have said that the ryots or village Council are careful to raise and distribute the crops according to ancient local usage, and that from the crop is raised, as a first charge, a certain share, under the name of Land Revenue, for the Government of the country, with smaller shares to the village Officers. In the Bombay Presidency, in which his experience was gained, there is no such system of division of produce: under the Bombay Revenue Survey settlements, all payments towards Land Revenue are, and have been ever since he went to India, in cash, in the shape of a fixed tax on the rent of land.

"Under the easy-going methods of native rule, the village communities were little interfered with. And this was what best suited them." Some of these systems have been described above; and the National Indian Congress itself would probably disapprove of them. Would it be thought an excessive interference with the liberty of the Indian subject if the Magistrate endeavoured to prevent the spread of cholera by forbidding the use of the village tank for drinking, and washing the persons and clothes of the inhabitants, as well as for frequentation by cattle? No village Council would object to this, or to the storing up of manure in pits close to the houses of the people or to the village well. Village Councils would not even think of putting a stop to the burial of the dead in the actual embankments of tanks from which the inhabitants drew their drinking water, an abomination I have myself witnessed.

Where the people of a country are so wanting in the crudest conceptions of sanitation, and are so wedded to immemorial usage as in India, it seems simply Radicalism run mad to go back, as Sir W. Wedderburn proposes, to self-government by the people alone. In such matters as the repair of village wells, the temples and other public buildings, the entertainment of strangers and care of the poor, the authorities not only do not interfere, but encourage the municipal efforts of the people; but in such other matters as the management of communal forests and pastures and the distribution of water from irrigation tanks, they have to keep a watchful eye that the oysters are not eaten by the heads and other influential people, and the shells only left to the poor ryots.

Is it only under Native Rule that communications have been opened up, reservoirs and water-works constructed, and the welfare and progress of the people generally provided for? To judge by Sir W. Wedderburn's Article one would think there was truth in the exploded idea that if the English were to leave India they would leave no traces of themselves but their broken beer bottles. He may rest assured that one-sided statements of this nature will do infinitely more harm than good to that advancement in the prosperity of India which we all have at heart.

A. ROGERS.

THE CAUSES OF THE LATE AUSTRALIAN CRISIS.

IN complying with your request that I would jot down the causes of the late Australian crisis, let me frankly state that I am by no means qualified to speak authoritatively on this matter. It, however, you care to know the

impressions of one who has a fairly extensive acquaintance with the conditions of business in Australia, and who think that great ignorance exists on the subject in England, they are at your service.

In the first place, there are too many banks for the population, and their wants. But the *causa causans* was, of course, the sudden panic that set in; and, of course, no banks in the world could stand against a prolonged panic. Another feature was that the investments of the banks were mainly on security (mortgages, etc.) which could not be thrown on the market and realised at short notice.

It must be distinctly understood that what has occurred betokens no decline in the wealth or commerce of these great colonies. A glance at the returns of imports and exports for the last few years will reassure one on this point. The magnitude of her territory, the inexhaustible nature of her resources, and the energy of her sons, assure to Australia a splendid future. What has happened may not be without its value, if it calls attention to the necessity of obeying certain fundamental laws of commercial finance which have too generally been ignored and violated. So great is the elasticity of Australian business, that this disaster will leave no permanent traces: a single "good year" in the wool industry would alone supply ample compensation. In every little struggling up-country town you will find two or more rival banking establishments, struggling for local business, like two drowning men for a plank that will only support one. In my opinion, several of the Banks should be amalgamated, the superfluous staffs being discharged (with suitable compensation), and the super-seded buildings being sold. Again, as it is very unlikely that British Capital will be attracted into these banks for some 10 years or more, the London agencies and staffs should be got rid of, until confidence is thoroughly restored. By these measures of retrenchment a sum considerably exceeding £250,000 a year might be made available towards interest, paying off debt, and dividends. The policy of reconstruction is like that of the well-known spendthrift, who, after renewing a bill on exorbitant terms, would exclaim, gleefully, "Thank Heaven! that's off my mind; there's an end of that!"

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36, Eaton Square, S.W.

13th June, 1893.

SIDE-LIGHTS ON AUSTRALIAN FAILURES.

THE present crisis, long since foreseen by me, is the logical outcome of neglect in Australia of the most elementary rules of trade and business. The trade has been supplanted by speculation, in other words, by gambling. Money is a token value of labour and consequently of production; one must be given in exchange for the other. But Australia has borrowed money without equivalent given, for high rates of interest have merely come out of capital. The basis of commerce is the exchange of the results of one kind of labour for those of another—money being the medium and a concentrated result of labour. Money borrowed gives only an artificial and temporary prosperity. For the last decade Australia has been borrowing, not *making* money.

The sole security of Australia is land, and land itself is of no value, but only for what it will produce—and this only if (besides local consumption) it can profitably be brought into the world's markets. Land, too, however, has been "boomed." A man buys land for, say, £1 per acre. He deposits a fraction (out of borrowed money) and pays the remainder with paper. He then forms a syndicate. Duly puffed, the concern is passed on to a second syndicate at double the price—paid in paper. A plot or two are built on or planted, and *the whole land* is revalued at the enhanced price of the usual par, and sold to a third syndicate. The Labourer has been bribed and coaxed to work on his own time and terms, for his vote is useful to secure official position, which often means credit—money—loans. Promises made at elections compel Governments to provide work, hence many Government railways. Now Railways do not themselves produce; they can only pay with a large population and a great carriage traffic, and that solely on manufactured goods, for cattle, timber, wool, etc., can be conveyed merely at unremunerative rates. Australia has a sparse population and few, if any, manufacturers and the freight is very small. Part of the capital leaves the country for plant which perishes by wear; and part is consumed in unproductive labour on construction and working. Unlike roadmaking which would have profited Australia far more, railways consume capital and enrich but a few individuals.

Australia has been like a penniless man, refusing to work and living on speculation or gambling. Now labour, helped by economy and knowledge, constitutes the only true prosperity of a country. All other processes are simply gambling, but the present generation know no other means of making money; and hence the remedies now proposed are simply the continuation of the same system on a larger scale. The gambling of private individuals and Limited Companies is to be advanced a stage further; Governments are to speculate—to end in a Confederated Colonial Speculation. They propose to purchase Bank shares and to give guarantees. But governments are a changing body; officials have been implicated in discreditable banking operations; and, with deficits every year, shares can be purchased only out of Trust Funds-Savings Banks.

Increasing the number of penniless guarantors does not, however, make a concern solvent. Prohibitive duties, injurious speculation and fresh loans will not stave off the inevitable day of compulsory labour, after national bankruptcy has occurred. Better face the situation manfully; and by steady, strenuous, well-directed, productive *individual* labour develop our own resources, than evolve new schemes for borrowing from new dupes. This course is now scarcely a virtue; it will soon be a necessity.

Lenders share the responsibility of the present crisis, for having encouraged this spirit of gambling, by pouring in money at the asking, and thus leading Australia to ruin, after creating an artificial prosperity, they have led Australia to consider speculation as the only source of making money. I sum up my blunt, but well-meant, remarks with the homely advice: "Let Australia learn to work and cease to borrow; and let England cease to lend." Thus only can ruin be averted and Australia's deplorable past be retrieved.

CALIFORNIA FOR RETIRED ANGLO-INDIANS.

YOUR article on the subject of ex-Indian officials farming in Australia is in the right vein, from all I have heard. California is in every way a superior place for them. The climate is delightful, labour more plentiful, markets good, schools excellent, and surroundings generally refined and agreeable. The Chinese make good domestic servants. The collapse of Australian Banking seems, however, to present some resemblance to the state of things that has obtained on the Pacific Coast for $2\frac{1}{2}$ years past. The tightening of the London and New York money-markets that began about 3 years ago, crippled the Pacific Coast badly; and the depression that set in then still continues. Up to that time money was plentiful, and Real-Estate speculation rife. Eastern banks began calling in their loans to the Coast banks, and deposits from Eastern sources fell off. The growing scarcity of money and work caused people to leave the newer towns, and property of all kinds depreciated in value. Consequently banks had very often to take over unsaleable property, as the mortgage interest was not met. The banks were strained, but very few failures occurred.

Now in Australia there has been similar land speculation and booming, without really so much reason in it as in the case of the U. S., where the growth of population is so rapid. Probably the Australian banks did a similar business to those of the Pacific Coast. I am informed that the loans of British to Australian banks amounted to £26,000,000, which was called in, the collateral security being unsatisfactory. The Australian banks naturally crowded their own credit-customers. Values were quickly affected—all of which caused depositors in those banks to withdraw.

Even the Hon. Harold Finch-Hatton does not quite go to the root of the matter in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of the 18th May last. Ten years ago, "*Bradstreet's Journal*," of New York, published an interesting letter from an Australian correspondent, in which he reviewed the borrowing proclivities of the Colonies, from the various governments to the smallest municipalities, and predicted a day of serious reckoning.

AN ANGLO-AMERICAN.

CHANGES IN THE INDIAN ARMY.

I DOUBT whether the British people will ever realize their real position, as masters of India. Two momentous administrative changes have recently been carried out, the first of which has been effected by Act of Parliament—I mean the abolition of the Commanders-in-chief of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, and the substitution for them of officers simply holding the rank of Lt.-General, and thereby sweeping away at one stroke the military traditions and policy of a century and a half. So far as I am aware, this great change has not evoked even a single comment from any London daily paper,* and in the brief discussion in the House of Lords concerning the Bill—Viscount Cross rescued it from utter flatness by inducing the Government to accept his proposal, that these

* It is, indeed, strange that a measure which a few years ago excited a storm of opposition should now pass almost without comment.—*Ed.*

Lt.-Generals, these Deputy Commanders-in-chief, should, as their predecessors did, hold seats in the Presidency Councils, thereby rescuing the respectability of their position from extinction. The Duke of Cambridge was the only speaker in the Lords who spoke decidedly against the Bill, but he deferred to the judgment of the hero of the day, Lord Roberts. On the 3rd June, the bill was read a third time in the Lords; it has yet to get through the Commons, where, if it can have nothing else, I hope it may have a decent funeral, some words of recognition, such as the imperishable services rendered by the Madras and Bombay armies call for. There may be good reason for modifying some of the departmental arrangements in the Madras and Bombay armies, but, I say again, such a revolutionary change required fair consideration by the leading organs of public opinion.

The second change is that of Class Companies to Class Regiments, effected by local Indian authority, and should, like the above, be brought before the public. The management and control of our Native-Indian Armies are vital subjects; this is not always remembered, owing partly to the natural docility of the men, but that this may be outraged we have ample proofs in the past. While the entire civil administration of India is being transformed, is no change to be made in the condition of the native army? With a man's cousin perhaps serving as a Collector while he is a Subadar, or perhaps only a Havildar, what must the ambitious spirits in the army feel, to say nothing of the examples before their eyes—in the larger Native States—of Colonels, Majors, etc. In time, no doubt, some beneficial change will be made; in the meanwhile, in my opinion, the utmost provision and care should be taken that no opening be left for any misunderstanding about pay or allowances, for it is upon these points only that more or less insubordination or mutiny has arisen—this is the keystone of the fabric.

As a minor consideration, I think it probable that taking away the Commanders-in-chief of Madras and Bombay will lessen the pride of those armies—and perhaps even the men will feel the removal of their visible chiefs.

I should think no military man in India ever understood Native character better than Sir John Malcolm; to the best of my recollection, he considered the maintenance of separate divisions of the Indian native armies as the very essence of their safe existence. As to Class Regiments, they have been ordered; but unless you have some mixed Regiments, how are you to enlist the lower castes, such as Koormees, Aheers—to say nothing of the lowest?

Among other reasons for maintaining the Commanders-in-Chief at Madras and Bombay, is—that in the event of our troops at the front meeting with a crushing defeat—we should have the Madras and Bombay armies, as separate and reserved Corps,—with their confidence and spirit not impaired, whereas if they are to form mere outlying and inferior portions of the whole Indian armies, they would infallibly consider our prestige (in which their own is included) gone and universal military panic would ensue.

A RETIRED BENGAL GENERAL.

AMIR ABDURRAHMAN AND THE PRESS.

St. Petersburg, $\frac{1}{2}$ th May, 1893.

AFTER the perusal of your interesting article on "the Amir Abdurrahman and the Press," I have come to the conclusion that the Amir has not only been grossly misrepresented by the Anglo-Indian, but also by the Russian, Press. I had always been under the impression that the Amir was a bloodthirsty barbarian, and I am glad to think that he is in reality a firm and far-sighted ruler. It is pity that he does not come to Europe, like the Khan of Bokhara and the Shah of Persia. If he were to do so, many of the absurd reports concerning him and his government might, *ipso facto*, cease.* Believing that the Amir was a despot of the worst kind, many Englishmen in Russia thought that it would be better that his kingdom should be distributed between his neighbours (as a result of his misgovernment) than that two of the most powerful Empires in the world should come to blows at the cost of millions of money, and perhaps also of thousands of lives. Indeed, there ought to be a close alliance between Russia and England, if not also France, who could then amicably divide Asia among themselves.

The English are here said to have fortified the Baroghil Pass which leads from the Pamirs to Chitral, and to slowly prepare its annexation to India. The Amir of Afghanistan, who must, it is said, for his own safety, remain in touch with the Afghan tribes which are alarmed at British approach in various directions, is said to be greatly annoyed at the interference in Chitral and to ponder over the deposition of the Khan of Kelat, Khudadad.† He is reported to have also, once for all, refused to receive a British military mission. General Kuropakine will shortly make a reconnaissance along the Afghan frontier, the Russian detachments at Murghab having been reinforced, as also the Pamir Mission, which will now be able to establish three little outposts.

I hope you will notice the English expedition to the Yenesei and the great future importance of Siberia and the North of Russia for English commerce.

Now that there is an Anglo-Russian Society under the auspices of the Imperial Institute, in which is also located what is left of the Northbrook Indian Club, the efforts of Lord Dufferin and of Sir M. Wallace to bring about in India a better understanding of Russia, ought to bear the happiest results in the friendship of the two greatest Empires of the world. This

* Although we have ourselves urged the Amir's coming to this country, it would be disastrous for him to do so now, for he has not only to contend with a renewed rising of the Hazaras, but he has also to be on the spot when Russian, if not British, aggression threatens his territory.—Ed.

† Whatever the Amir's views may be about the Khan of Kelat, he is not likely to say a word on that subject to the Government of India. His dislike, however, to our proceedings in Chitral is natural enough seeing that he thinks that Chitral ought to be under the influence of Kabul. This was never really the case, and the Government of India has long claimed independence for Chitral and the other Eastern States, and has for many years past objected to Kabul interference in this quarter. The reply sent to the Amir through his agent, Mr. Pyne, by the Government of India is, of course, a friendly one.—Ed.

happy consummation is, moreover, inevitable, owing to the pressure on India, through Siam and Burma by a French Indo-Chinese Empire in the South, whilst Russia is installing herself in the North.

ANGLO-RUSSIAN.

RACIAL DWARFS IN THE ATLAS AND THE PYRENEES.

IN my "Dwarfs of Mount Atlas" (David Nutt, October, 1891), a second letter from Mr. Walter B. Harris appeared, who stated that early in November he would visit Morocco, and clear up the subject. Had he carried out his intention, it is now plain that he would have put an end to all discussion on the question before the end of December, 1891; but when the time for his leaving for Morocco had arrived, he was on his way to Yemen as "special correspondent of the *Times*," where he wrote some very interesting letters as to that unknown country.

A year later, members of the Scotch Mission to Southern Morocco discovered that there were, beyond question, in the Great Atlas, and almost in sight of that city, tribes of dwarfs such as I had described; and one of the Mission subsequently gave an account in the *Times of Morocco* of pygmies that had been seen, men and women, bathing together in the sacred waters at the tomb of Mulai Ibrahim.

Mr. Harris, who accompanied Mr. Cunningham Graham on a round trip through Northern Morocco, heard from the Scotch Mission that there were dwarf tribes in the Atlas, a statement which the Moors fully confirmed; and he subsequently met with fourteen of these dwarfs at Amzmiz, and other places, height 4 ft. to 4 ft. 6 in., with a reddish-brown complexion.

There is now no question raised by anyone as to the existence of dwarf tribes in the Atlas; but the *Times of Morocco*, in admitting the fact, tried to account for it by a theory which no anthropologist will accept, namely that these dwarfs are stunted descendants of big rebel Berbers, who, driven by tax-collectors to inaccessible mountain ranges, had become dwarfed by cold and hard living. No instance of mountaineers being dwarfed by cold into pygmies, smaller than Andaman Islanders, is known to science; and as the southern slopes of the Atlas and the secluded country below offered a safe home and refuge to these people, they must have lived in the Atlas voluntarily. Mr. Silva, an engineer formerly in the employ of the Moorish Government, several years ago discovered in some high ranges of the Great Atlas an independent and warlike race of Jews, who, so far from being stunted, were much larger and more robust than other Barbary Jews.

While the fact of there being dwarf tribes in the Atlas was being conclusively established, a similar discovery was made of the existence of precisely similar racial dwarfs in the Pyrenees and other parts of Spain. Mr. Macpherson, our consul at Barcelona, at my request, caused careful enquiries to be made in the Eastern Pyrenees, the results of which he stated were conclusive as to there being racial dwarfs there, principally in the Val de Ribas, 1 metre to 1 m. 17 c. in height, copper-coloured, with flat broad noses and red hair, active and robust.

Some years ago a writer in *Kosmos* described them in similar terms, and spoke of their hair as woolly, and their eyes as slightly Mongolian-looking.

An Austrian merchant has informed me that he saw in the market-place in Salamanca similar dwarfs.

My attention was attracted last winter by an old Murcian peasant-woman, who had very decided "*dwarf clicks*," similar to those that are in use in South Africa and Southern Morocco, and I suspected that she must have got the habit of "eating words" from dwarf ancestors. On inquiry I found that I was right; she said that these clicks came to her from some "*Nano*" or "*dwarf*" ancestors. In four out of six generations a "*nano*" had appeared. Her daughter and grand-daughter were under three feet eleven inches in height. In other half-breed *Nano* families dwarfs sometimes appear that look in every respect like African dwarfs.

We find in the Palæolithic and Neolithic ages traces of two dwarf races; those of the first era of an inferior type with a head projecting behind, and with oddly-curved thigh-bones, the joints of which, according to Huxley's acute conjecture, must have caused these *Neanderthal* or *Iberian* dwarfs to turn their toes in and to waddle in their walk. A very similar type is now found in parts of Central Africa, who are inferior to the Akka dwarfs, and who walk in the way mentioned. The dwarf on the monuments described by Wilkinson is one of them evidently, as he has a head projecting behind, in a singular way, and a flat forehead, probably the result of artificial flattening, such as is seen among American Indians. The Egyptian artist has also tried to give a full face portrait showing how the dwarf turned in his toes in walking.

The old Murcian half-breed *Nano* woman says that there are also two species of *Nanos* in Spain; one, a bad lot, of a low type, who are *Gitanos-nanos*, and live in caves and who are called *Tartari*, and walk in a ludicrous way, with toes turned in.

The other, who are better-looking, are *Castillano-Nanos*, who came to Spain originally from an ancient city beyond Morocco, called *Poun*, where their business was washing sand for gold and silver. Their queen was very fat and was called *Mena*, and they were called *Pouni*, and *On Mena* (*Mena's men*), names still applied to dwarfs in the Dra Valley. In *Ta-Pount* is the tomb of "the fat queen *Hlema*," or "*Hlema-Mena*," where in times of drought offerings are still made. The ruins of the old city are called by the people of Southern Morocco *Poun* or *Pount*, or *Ta-Pount*.

Two Dafeur dwarfs, whom I found in Cairo lately, and who had dwarf clicks in their speech, spoke of *Ta-Pount* and of *Hlema-Mena*, both of which they connected with the Dra Valley and *Ta-Pount*. One of the dwarfs would not come to see me a second time, she was so horrified at my mentioning the awful name of *Didoo* ("*Didoo-Osir*"); "anyone who does that is sure to swell up and die, or to wake up dumb, or blind!"

The Sherif of Warazat at the head of the Dra, in which district are the ruins of the Cyclopean city of *Poun* or *Pount*, has offered to take Mr. Harris there, who has been in correspondence as to his expedition with the Royal Geographical Society and myself. He is probably now in "*the Holy Land of Pount*," the cradle land of the Egyptian race, which

Champollion, Bunsen, and other early Egyptologists identified with Mauritania.

The last expedition to Fount mentioned on the monuments took place between 3 and 4,000 years ago; but Queen Hatasu's mission to that country, so elaborately and boastfully portrayed, will probably turn out to have been a romance on stone. If so, the last expedition was that of the Egyptian *Hannu* (Hanno) between 4 and 5,000 years ago. If there are any vestiges, however slight, of that oldest of cities and of civilizations to be found in the Dni Valley, the results of Mr. Harris's expedition will be of much interest to the world.

R. G. HALLIBURTON.

28, Pall Mall, June 14, 1893.

CHINESE PROGRESS—A CHINESE MENU.

CHINESE conservatism is perfectly compatible with progress: last year a hundred Chinese workmen were sent to study practical metallurgy in the workshop of Cokril, near Liège. The steam-factory of Hou-pee for weaving cotton-stuffs is well known. For 20 years has China used the telegraph, which is now being generally extended, the superstition wearing off of the shadow of its wires causing misfortune and that no funeral should pass under them. Indeed, the Government has published a dictionary of 7,000 cyphers—Chinese being ideographic and not alphabetic—which the merchants are now largely using. The wires are now being continued from Kansu through Chinese Turkestan unto the Pamir. The school formed for the training of interpreters at foreign Legations and Consulates is under both Chinese and European Professors. A few months ago prizes were awarded by the princes of the Chinese Foreign Office Commission to 55 students distinguished in English, 25 in French, 14 in Russian and 9 in German, after a three years' course in European as also various Oriental languages.

The Viceroy Li of Canton, to whom the Emperor sent, on red silk, the autograph word "Fu" which means happiness, has struck coins on the French system, putting on one side the Imperial dragon and on the other the name of the ruling Emperor and the value of the coin. Talking of coins, the Emperor has sent 100,000 taels (of the value of 4s. 2d. each) to the sufferers by the bad harvest in the province of Shansi.

A banquet was given at Peking to the Foreign Diplomats, the *menu* of which follows: First came four classic dishes, namely: swallow nests with pigeon eggs, shark fins with crabs, dogfish with wild duck, duck and cauliflower; then succeed delicacies served in cups placed before each guest: swallow nests, shark fins, plain morris, vegetables, mushrooms with duck feet, fried partridge, pigeon in slices; then there appeared four middle dishes, namely: ham in honey, a puré of peas, vegetables and dogfish; four side-dishes: haricot cheese with bamboo buds (a kind of asparagus), roots of bamboo, chicken, shellfish; four *hors d'œuvres* in duplicate; ham and chicken, fish and gizzard, pork tripe and vermicelli, duck and pork cutlets. Each guest had also placed before him plates of almonds,

pistachio paste, pears and oranges. Finally the following were the roast and boiled meats: sucking pig, roast duck, boiled chicken, boiled pork. There was a profusion of European and Chinese wines. No opium was smoked; for official China is not yet reconciled to the drug which it owes to the East India Company.

CHINESE MANDARIN.

A FRENCH VIEW OF THE SIAM-CAMBODIA IMBROGLIO.

As neither the claims of France on Siam nor her determination to suffer no interference, either by advice or arbitration, in what only concerns herself and Cambodia, are understood in England, I venture to give to your readers the true facts of the question.

If Siam has any right whatever on the territories occupied by her, among an oppressed, unfriendly, but thinly-sown population, it is by our Treaty of 1867 with Siam in which we agreed not to annex Cambodia, whilst ceding to Siam its two finest Provinces, Battambang and Angkor, in which those marvellous ruins are found which puzzle the historian. Thus Siam has admitted that we had a right to give them away, but as the principal interested in the treaty, King Norodom of Cambodia, has protested against it, and as it has never been executed it is null and void, and we can resume what has never legally been estranged. If, however, it be alleged that by a still more ancient cession, these provinces were given to Siam by a King of Cambodia for services rendered, it is sufficient to reply that this remains to be proved, and that by the constitution of Cambodia no such cession is permitted.

The Siamese, under bad advice, have never delimited the territories on which they have encroached, but we want to settle the question once for always. Geographically and politically, Siam is indicated to become a French protectorate. We do not seek to destroy its independence but to make sure of its benevolent neutrality. Just as England did not, and could not, object to our Cambodian protectorate, so she will say nothing to our protecting our possessions in Annam and Tonkin, by taking Luang-Prabang and the valley of the Mekong. This we secure by making our influence paramount at Bangkok and on the Meinam, the short cut to the Upper Laos regions. There the establishment of a native neutral State from the Shans and Laos would also be a protection of our Indo-Chinese Empire, but it is easier to cut the Gordian Knot by a demonstration before Bangkok, which is 40 days' march to the Mekong Valley, where the warlike Cambodians will soon make short work of any troops that Siam could send to a country that cannot even feed its present sparse population. To reward King Narodom and his people for their support, we trust to raise a great Cambodia by reviving the ancient Kingdom of the Khmers.

That neither Lord Rosebery nor the Siamese should know what is going on, is simply a proof that the question is really foreign to them. Nor will any responsible official, English or Siamese, venture to argue the case. Travellers, like Lord Lamington, and commercial pioneers, like Mr. Holt Hallert, may well seek to stimulate public attention, but they are helpless to prevent the natural and inevitable extension of French influence and

commerce in its legitimate sphere. The annexation of Upper Burma has taught us what to do, though we have grievances against Siam, whereas there were none against Burma, except that it was required to consolidate the British Empire. Thus too will the existence of a French Indo-Chinese Empire be a factor in European politics and secure British neutrality in French questions, just as the approaches of England and Russia in Asia must secure British neutrality in Russian questions. The peace of Europe will, therefore, be assured in spite of any triple alliance.

Remains the possibility of Siam placing herself under a British protectorate. Its acceptance by England would be tantamount to a declaration of hostility against French Indo-China and may, therefore, be dismissed from present consideration.

CAMBODIAN.

VIVISECTION AND DISSECTION.

I STRONGLY protest against our Government identifying itself, in any way, with the brutalization of India by the introduction of Vivisection or by any interference with the time-honored Pinjrapoles in which old and disabled animals are fed and kept alive. The reverence felt for the sacredness of life by Indians should be rather fostered, for it is a feeling that is connected with their noblest associations, whereas with us mercy to animals, that have long served us, means to destroy them speedily, so as to be saved the trouble of looking after them, when they are "no longer of any use." The foolish slaughter of animals deprives our fields of manure and we have reached a state of things in England in which beer may be purchased for less than milk. The dissection of paupers who die in our Hospitals should also be stopped; I believe that few would subscribe to Hospitals if it were known that such an outrage might be committed on patients, ignorant of their possible fate. Charity may cover a multitude of sins, but it should no longer aid the experimentalizing, alive or dead, on the poor, without their previous knowledge or consent, for the very doubtful benefit of Medical Science and to the certain destruction of finer feelings in the operator and the public. In Bombay, the Muhammadans have protested against the way in which their dissected co-religionists are disposed of; in the Panjab, a College was—some years ago—emptied of its Central Asian students—all possible pioneers of British civilization—when Moulvi Abdullah of Bokhara died in Hospital and was dissected; but in England, the want of consideration towards paupers, "the beloved of God," awakens no protest.

AN ENGLISH DOCTOR.

OBITUARY.

ORIENTAL Learning and Art have sustained a heavy loss in the death of FREDERICK SALMON GROWSE, C.I.E., at the comparatively early age of 56 years. He was the younger son of Robert Growse of Bildeston, Ipswich, born in 1838. He was educated at Oxford (Oriel and Queen's Colleges) and was a scholar of the latter, where he graduated as M.A. Having joined the Civil Service, he went out to India in 1860, and was

posted to the N.W. Provinces, where he eventually rose to be Collector and Magistrate. Stationed first at Mathura, he worked zealously and arduously at the usual official routine, with a sympathy for the natives and a gradually increasing knowledge of their languages, ways and thoughts, which gave him an immense influence over them. This he exercised chiefly by urging the richer men to works of utility, both in constructing new wells and buildings and in restoring the splendid specimens of Indian architecture, existing in the district. His "Mathura, a District Memoir," is one of a series of government publications for the guidance of district officers; and here his erudition and love of Oriental art have combined to produce a work superior to most others of the class. It is illustrated with many photographs of personages and buildings, and published at the Allahabad Government Press; has run through three editions, and is still the standard work on the subject. His Essay on the principles on which town and village names have been formed shows the depth and extent of his study in Oriental languages, of which he has left another elegant monument in his Translation into excellent English Prose of the great Hindi poem—"the Ramayana of Tulsi Dās," which reached a fourth edition in 1887: this also was published at the Allahabad Government Press, first in 8vo. then in 4to. He had been transferred to Bulandshahar, where he continued both his work and his studies, on the same lines as at Mathura. His failing health compelled him to leave India in 1890, after 30 years' service. He was nominated in 1879 a Companion of the Indian Empire for his excellent, if obscure, services, and a Fellow of the Calcutta University for his learning; and he was on the Committee of the Bengal Asiatic Society. Retiring to Haslemere, in Surrey, his health rapidly gave way; and after a long illness, borne with great patience and fortitude, he died peacefully on the 19th May, 1893. He was an accomplished scholar, a profound Orientalist, a learned archaeologist, a sound critic, and a good administrator. His antipathy to the Public Works Department was not surprising in a man of his æsthetic tastes, to those who remember the Department's white-washing of the Pearl Mosque of Delhi. Mr. Growse, among other monuments of his zeal, liberality, and artistic taste, has left a very beautiful little Catholic Church at Mathura, himself bearing one-third of the cost. It is remarkable principally for being almost entirely in an Oriental style of architecture, its every detail elaborated with exactness and skill on the best models, yet without servile imitation. The effect is excellent, and if somewhat marred by the semi-Russian shape of the dome which rises over the intersection of the four arms of the edifice, the fault lies with the absurd prejudice of the priest in charge of the mission, who objected to the "heathen" Hindu elongated and quadrilateral dome which Mr. Growse had originally designed. His idea of utilizing Oriental forms for Christian art has unfortunately met with no response; and tawdry European china vases and cast metal candlesticks and French fiddle-shaped vestments are still obstinately used where Oriental pottery, Benares brasswork, and kinkobs stiff with wonderful gold embroidery can be got at much less expense. Mr. Growse, who had joined the Catholic Church, was a zealous observer of its precepts without any bigotry; and he received the last rites of his Church before his death. His

remains rest in the cemetery of Haslemere; his good works still survive in the memory of his friends; his books and buildings form a yet more lasting monument; and his soul reposes, we trust, in God.

V.

Lord Chelmsford has favoured the public in this issue with a masterly account of the real "Defence of India," which is *within* its frontier. He has, however, in the course of his remarks on "the Madras and Bombay Army Bills" in the House of Lords on the 4th May last, also incidentally referred to the danger of any attempt to defend India *beyond* the Frontier, in sentences that are as terse as they are true, and of which the words, "those who were so persistent in advocating 'a forward policy,' were doing a great injustice to the natural features of our own Frontier and risking the loss of our Indian Empire" sum up the result of all careful topographical observations made in the countries beyond the Frontier. We trust to be able to show in detail in a future issue, how utterly unsuited are the countries beyond the Frontier to a military advance or occupation, and how unwise is the conduct of those who are breaking down one physical barrier after the other in order to join in a suicidal issue with a foe whom Nature had divided from us by almost unsurmountable obstacles. The whole extract from Lord Chelmsford's memorable speech runs as follows: "Running through the whole of the Despatch too, lay the presumption that, if we are to meet a formidable European enemy on our frontier, we must go outside the frontier to do so. He believed that would be a fatal mistake to make, unless it could be absolutely proved that by stepping outside we should find a better fighting position than inside our own country. But, he contended, after studying this question very closely for a great number of years, that the north-western frontier, which was the only strikable frontier for a European force, was as strong as it possibly could be made, and if they were to yield to those who were so persistent in advocating a forward policy, it would be seen, he believed, that they were doing a great injustice to the natural features of our own frontier and risking the loss of our Indian Empire."

We consider that Lord Chelmsford has not only saved his soul by putting the truth so plainly before his peers and the public, but that he has also rendered an invaluable and opportune service to his country by a warning, to which attention cannot be paid too soon.

Australia just now is under the storm-cloud of Bank disasters, but the sharp discipline was needed to restore banking from a kind of pawn-broking and to teach Australia to depend more upon herself.

MR. ADAMS ACTON, the well-known sculptor, who some years ago, at the request of the late Sirdar Bikrama Singh of Kapurthala, executed a fine marble portrait of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, for the Jullundhur Town-Hall, which was unveiled with great *éclat* on the occasion of Her Majesty's Jubilee, is now occupied on a bust of the late Surgeon-General Dr. H. W. Bellew of Indian fame, which is a speaking likeness of that eminent scholar,

traveller and official. A visit, therefore, to Mr. Acton's studio at 8, Langford Place, Abbey Road, St. John's Wood, would not fail to interest the many friends and brother-officers of Dr. Bellew as also others connected with India. At Mr. Acton's studio they will also see other sculptures of eminent Anglo-Indians. We would suggest to our Indian guests now in London to visit a studio where they will find the busts of many friends and celebrities, which the genius of Mr. Acton has rendered immortal in marble. Certainly in the life-like delineation of the human face and figure, Mr. Acton is *facile princeps* among English sculptors. The Committee for a Statue of Lord Roberts cannot do better than secure Mr. Acton's services, if they desire an ever-vivid presentment of our popular hero.

THE *Pioneer* thinks there is an element of humour in the position which the Secretary of State has suddenly assumed in regard to the burden of the home charges. Lord Kimberley pictures himself as engaged in an unequal combat with the Treasury and the War Office, in which, of course, he is always defeated. But knowing, as we do, the ways of the India Office in regard to the contracts for stores and their method of meeting the indents sent home from this country, one cannot accept the Secretary of State for the time being as the champion of India. The fact is that India is considered fair prey by all the offices and departments in England which have any dealings with her. Whether it be the cost of an expedition to the Mediterranean or the Red Sea, or the sending of a handful of native cavalry to add to the glories of a pageant in the London streets, India must pay the piper, in whole or in part. It never seems to strike the home authorities that the Indian Treasury should not be called upon to meet charges connected with affairs which, in the cant of the day, are purely Imperial. What possible concern, for instance, could India have in the wretched muddle in Egypt and the Soudan? And yet her army was called upon to furnish fighting men, transport, etc., and to share in the barren honour of routing the Mahdi's forces. Did England ever offer to meet the indirect expenditure which the participation in the campaigns in the Nile delta and at Suakim involved? She gave grants of money, it is true, to cover to some extent the direct outlay, but there her generosity ended. The Indian taxpayer had to meet the other bills and to make the best of a bad business.

Turning to purely military matters, his lordship said the fact that India maintained a third of the British Army on active service gave her an undoubted claim on the help of the British reserves in any emergency. In Lord Ripon's time, when the Russian scare had caused general alarm, the question was plainly put from this country as to whether, in case of war, India would receive her quota of the reserve towards the cost of which she contributes. The answer was, we believe, that no such assistance could be promised, and it has never been modified. The most that could be expected was, it was said, that a few regiments would be sent out. This means of course that three or four thousand immature young soldiers would arrive at Bombay or Kurrachee to die off by the score, while all the

seasoned men would be enrolled to form the army corps in England—those corps which exist on paper only owing to the short service system. If Lord Kimberley will engage in earnest with the War Office on the particular point he will do the best service for India that a statesman is capable of performing at the present time, for when the time for campaigning comes the British garrison out here should be strengthened by trained men, capable of meeting the strain of active service, and not by "specials," who will not be able to march a hundred miles beyond the frontier. This question of Reservists for India is one which Lord Roberts will doubtless bring forward in the House of Lords, and the facts which he will be able to quote should serve to convince Parliament that India is indeed being hardly treated under the present arrangement.

We congratulate Lord Kimberley and the India Office on the admirable manner in which the secret of the Lord Herschell's Currency Commission has been kept, till the time arrived for the simultaneous Proclamation of the Government decision in England and India. In a Money Market article in the *Times* a leakage was more than insinuated as an explanation of a temporary rise in Rupees and Rupee paper, but this rise was solely due to speculative guessing, and not to any knowledge or hint improperly obtained.

On the 15th June, in the House of Commons, Mr. S. Smith asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether the attention of her Majesty's Government had been drawn to the recent statement of Lord Northbrook that India was for a period of 14 years, up to 1884, charged with a sum of four million sterling a year in consequence of the mode of adjusting military expenses between England and India, of which sum one half ought to have been borne by the Imperial Exchequer; whether, at the meeting of the new Legislative Council in Calcutta, Lord Lansdowne would be empowered to give any explanation on this subject; and whether, considering the condition of Indian finance, the Home Government would consent to a revision of the existing adjustment of military expenses.

Mr. G. Russell replied:—"Yes, sir. Lord Northbrook's statement referred to the system of paying the capitalized value of each pension, which was abandoned in 1884. (2) It would be open to the Viceroy to give explanations in answer to any question on the subject in the Legislative Council. (3) As any such revision would affect several departments of the Government, the Secretary of State is unable to give an answer to this question." Comment is needless.

A splendid specimen of the Art-Industry of India has been prepared for the Chicago Exhibition, by the great carpet maker of Ahmedabad—Bakhtawur Singh Rajaram Singh. It is a carpet 20 feet long by 14 wide, and is valued at Rs. 2,000, which should equal £200, but alas! in these degenerate days go for only £125. It represents the labour, during 10 months, of 16 workmen who have been especially engaged in embodying into this carpet a design expressly made for it by a Deccanese artist.

This is a hunt in a dense forest; and it contains figures of lions, tigers, stags, *Nilgai*, and other wild animals, with horses, elephants and hunters. The details are most elaborately worked, even the clothes of the hunters showing splendid embroidery; among the hunters are a European lady and gentleman. All the figures are clearly picked out, and the large number of colours used are admirably blended. The price tells a tale of low wages in India, for even skilled labour. The daily wage of each of these artizans would be only about 15d. a day!

The great Earthquake in Southern Afghanistan and the Quettah districts on the 29th December, 1892, was especially severe in the Kwaja Amran range, and produced a peculiar and rare result, which has not yet received the attention among scientific men that it deserves. Between the Khojak Tunnel and Old Chaman, at mile 643, the movement of the earth caused five rails to bulge out laterally, and all the joints, for a great distance, in both directions were found to be very tightly jammed up. The bent rails were, of course, at once taken up; but on trying to put on others they were found not to fit: the intermediate space was found *shortened*, by about 2 feet. This was due to a positive contraction of the Earth-surface at this point in consequence of the earthquake. Photographs were taken of the spot. Dr. Griesbach had been ordered up to examine the strange phenomenon, and his report will be looked forward to with much interest. A great crack in the earth has been produced a little East of the Meridian through Chaman Bezos and up to the Kwaja Amran main range.

Our withdrawal from the false position of forcing ourselves on our Ally, the Amir, so far from injuring, would vastly increase our "prestige" in Afghanistan as "possessors of faith and justice." The Amir would be dethroned by the Afghans, if we overrun his country with our politicals and soldiers. "X" writes in the *Times of India* that little more than fifty years ago an European could travel in perfect safety in Afghanistan. The Afghans were then neither fanatical nor "treacherous" to the stranger. These qualities have been developed, in self-defence, since alike Russian and British influence has swallowed up around them the whole of Muhammadan Asia. "Only Afghanistan now remains closed" to the omnivorous European. "The Pathan in his obstinate wisdom" will have none of our civilization. As a friend and ally he would be a source of strength to us; as a subject, one of weakness. "The Amir has so far held his own firmly on the Pamirs" against Russia and his invitation to Major Yate to settle the Khushik Valley dispute, "proves that he recognizes the British as his helpers in any difficulty with a Foreign State;" only he wants to be the judge of whether such difficulty exists and not to have difficulties found, invented or provoked for him by outsiders as an excuse for interference.

We greatly regret having to postpone many important articles announced in our last issue (as, e.g., Pundit H. H. Dhruva's learned contribution to the Samvat Era controversy), and others since received. Our contributors and readers will, we hope, excuse the necessity laid on us by press of important current subjects, that often compel us to defer articles on matters of a more scientific or academical character, which, as of permanent interest, are of importance whenever issued.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

THE Imperial Institute was formally opened with a State ceremonial by Her Majesty in the presence of representatives of every colony and dependency of the British Empire. From India there were present their Highnesses the Chiefs of Bhownagar, Kapurthulla, and Gondal; and the squadron of Indian cavalry, picked men from various corps, received marked attention. The event notes an important stage in the development of our Colonial Empire. The Jewelled key presented on the occasion to the Queen-Empress was made of materials from most parts of the Empire; but as far as we have learned, nothing from India proper entered into its composition. The Institute may be over-rated; but it fulfils an important office, as a perpetual Exhibition of the products and industries of the British Empire, collected in one central place.

The Gaekwar of Baroda is travelling in the north of Europe, and the young Nawab of Rampur is doing a tour round the world; the Raja of Bobbili is also visiting England.

The unaccountably tardy report of the Indian Currency Commission, signed only on the 31st May, was forwarded on the 2nd June to India, the government of which has just communicated its decision by telegraph. This is being discussed by the Cabinet, and will afterwards be laid before Parliament; but a guarantee was expressly refused that action in India should be deferred till the House of Commons has studied the subject. This would indicate that the Indian Government is allowed (as should be the case) a free hand to deal with the matter. The exchange has already begun to rise and has passed the official rate of 1s. 2½d. fixed for the year. How widely spread is the process of systematically fattening on the Indian Exchange was indicated by the impertinent protest of the China Trade Association against legislation for the benefit of India,—because, forsooth, it would injure *their* trade! Thus actually pretending that the interests of 285,000,000 should be deliberately sacrificed to the profit of a handful.

In Parliament, the *Madras and Bombay Armies Bill* has passed the Lords; but it is doubtful if there will be time to pass it through the Commons. Replying to a question, the Government declared that though theoretically it was important that judicial and executive administration should be separate, yet practically the finances of India could not, at least at present, stand the strain of the increase in the staff which it would necessitate. Lord Northbrook called attention to the excessive military expenditure of the India office; and it was admitted that this, and much else at that office, needed economy and improvement; but nothing was concluded. To a request for an early date on which to discuss the Indian Budget, Mr. Gladstone, while acknowledging its necessity, practically said that Ireland blocked the way. The absurd resolution regarding synchronous competitive examinations in England and India for the Civil Service, has been referred for report to the Government of India; but they are

allowed a free hand in the matter, which must then be resubmitted to Parliament.

In INDIA itself the Councils Act has come into operation on the lines mentioned in our last *Summary*: The Bengal Government has accepted all the nominations made; but we have to note the significant fact that at the election of Babu Sourindro Nath Bannerji by the Corporation of Calcutta, he received only one European vote. There has been, as was natural, some sharp criticism on the inadequacy of the representation granted; but the beginning made is good, and is capable of wide extension and great improvement. We hope yet to see a regular system put forward, to be worked up to, in a statesmanlike manner, for a good predetermined form of Constitutional government.

Sir Charles Elliot having taken sick leave, the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal is temporarily in the able hands of Sir A. P. Macdonnell from the Central Provinces, where he is replaced by Mr. J. Woodburn from Allahabad. The negotiations with China on the Sikkim-Thibet trade are nearly completed—the tea question alone remains. The Maharaja of Kashmir and his two brothers have contributed to Pundit Avinash Chandra's English translation of the Charaka Samhita. The Lucknow British Association has awarded Rs. 1,000 to Babu Pertab Chunder Roy for his English translation of the Mahabharata, three-fourths of which are already completed. The historic Lahore gate of Delhi is being pulled down to make way for a large square necessitated by the increasing size and importance of the suburb of Subzi Mundi; the city is lighted with electricity; and last year saw the establishment of several steam flour and cotton mills, and of 4 iron foundries. Dr. Cleghorn, Mr. Ibbetson and Moulvi Samiulla are named Commissioners to inquire into the Contagious Diseases Act. Though the winter has been unusually cold, stormy, and long, the rainfall has been almost everywhere somewhat above the average, and the reports on crops of all kinds—especially wheat—are very favourable. The new Railway Bridge over the Kistna at Bezvada was opened by Lord Wenlock. The S. I. Railway have contributed Rs. 50,000 as their share towards the new waterworks at Trichinopoly. The Hon. R. Thombee Chitty, Chief Judge of Mysore, has given Rs. 10,000 for a hospital at Bangalore, half being for a women's and children's ward to be named after his wife. Mr. Edulji Dinshaw has given Rs. 50,000 for a female Hospital at Karachi. A statue is being erected in Travancore in memory of Sir T. Madhava Rao, K.C.S.I., sometime Diwan of that state.

Disturbances by some aboriginals—Bhingas and Khonds—occurred in the Keunjar state, Orissa District. The Raja was besieged in his fort, and troops had to be sent to aid him. Heavy taxation was alleged as the excuse; but the rising seems to have been caused by the same leaders who raised similar troubles in 1891 and 1892. A series of executions by the Khan of Khelat, who is an independent Prince, has led to the intervention of the Suzerain Power. The Khan offered no resistance; and though no decision is yet published, he will doubtless be advised to abdicate in favour of his son. The detachment till now stationed in the Mekran has been withdrawn, as too far out of India, but political control will be continued over the region.

In the Military Department, Lord Roberts closed a long career of honourable service in India with a well-earned ovation on leaving the country; and he has had an enthusiastic welcome home. Sir George White has replaced him in Bengal. Sir James Dormer's death (from the effects of mauling by a tiger), after good service done during his tenure of office especially in his scheme for reconstructing the Madras army in class regiments, leaves the Madras command in the hands of General Stewart, till General East's return from leave. As we write, the death of Sir John Hudson, by a fall from his horse, leaves vacant the Bombay command which he had but lately taken up. Thus the three Commander-in-chiefs in India have changed hands during the quarter! The system of class Regiments has been extended to 16 more corps in the Bengal army. Sir George White has permitted subscriptions being raised in Sikh Regiments to aid the Khalsa College mentioned in our April issue. Complaints are made of negligence in the India Office, as the 6 Maxim guns ordered 4 years ago have not yet arrived. The British troops in India are armed with the new magazine rifle; and the native army, now using the Martini-Henry, show a further improvement in their already excellent shooting. Disarmament progresses in the Chin hills, where 1,270 guns were lately given up, and four rebel chiefs were captured.

There is discontent in Assam, where the new Settlement has increased the assessment by 20 to 100 per cent.; the people say that beyond 15 per cent. is not a just enhancement. The Kukis have raided the village of Sweny Naga near Manipur, carrying off nearly 300 heads. The Kachar district also has been disturbed, and a planter was murdered; and it was not till repeated strong representations had been made, that the authorities took steps for restoring security and confidence: it would seem that energy in India is displayed only in our senseless action in the extreme north-west frontier.

In BURMA the Siamese delimitation Commission has ended its labours. The boundaries fixed are those mentioned by us (October, 1892), except that we have yielded to Siam the old Burmese state of Kyaing Chaing astride the Mekong, while Siam in return has ceded the trans-Salween Karenni to our loyal Karen chief. The affair, conducted on the most friendly terms, has given satisfaction to all concerned. To encourage the study of Chinese, large pecuniary rewards are offered, with leave on full pay for 6 months at Bhamo and 1 year at Peking. There has been further trouble with the Kachins near Sima. More gold has been found in Wuntho. The proposed university for Burma has met with opposition. From the 1st July, all habitual consumers of opium are to be registered, and it is forbidden to supply the drug to any others—the latter a very senseless enactment, due to the absurd interference of irresponsible agitators. In lower Burma, excessive rain has done some damage to the crops, which are, however, reported to be good. The question of the deputation to China is still unsettled, but it is decided that no tribute of any kind will be sent. The Tswabwa of Theebaw is coming to visit England; his son who has just returned hence, carrying on the government during his absence.

French India is undergoing a severe financial crisis. For some unexplained reason—probably diminished prosperity leading to a lessened revenue—the chest at Pondicherry is empty, and it is found difficult to replenish it. The governor, M. Thomas, who was to have left Pondicherry, has been asked to continue in office, in order to help in finding a way out of the difficulty, by his experienced advice. Dom Teixeira da Silva, Governor-General of Goa is replaced by Dom Raffael de Andrade, whom he relieves at Mozambique.

The road and telegraph to Gilgit are opened; and things have been quiet there, as the threatened attack by the Kohistanis on Chilas has not occurred. Umra Khan of Jandol, having made peace with Nawagai, had been fighting with Dir. The Russian forces from the Murghabi Forth—where 1600 are said to be stationed—had appeared at Sarhad in Wakhan, and had called on the Afghan commandant of Kilch Panja to surrender: this, however, lacks confirmation. More troubles have arisen, in AFGHANISTAN, with the Hazaras, and there has been some fighting. Both sides claim success, whence we may conclude that nothing decisive has yet taken place. Colonel Yate, on his way to the Kishlik river, has been everywhere received with great cordiality and marked honour, it is said, by express orders of the Amir. The Russian commissioners reached Vikusk on the 25th May; and a satisfactory termination may be soon expected of the dispute about the waters. The Amir is said to be still desirous of visiting England; and it is hard to conceive what possible reason the government of India can have to prevent his doing so, unless it be the danger of a revolt in Afghanistan when he is away. He has lately received 20 great packages of electro-plating machinery; but some difficulties were reported to have arisen with some of his European employes.

The accounts, for 1892, of the STRAITS SETTLEMENTS show a deficit of \$600,000, while at Perak there is a surplus of exactly the same amount. The Sultan of Johore, who is once more travelling in Europe, has been decorated by the Emperor of Austria with the 1st class of the order of the Iron Crown.

The King of SIAM opened in April the Railway from Bangkok to Paknam, its port at the mouth of the Meinam. By a most unjustifiable and unprovoked raid, the French have seized Stung Tien, pushed up to the Kong rapids, and seized nearly all the Siamese territory on the left bank of the Mekong. They were organizing a "Cambodian militia with the best results." The Siamese have offered scarcely any opposition, and seem disinclined to maintain by force of arms their undoubted rights. The importance of the difficulty can scarcely be over-estimated; and as it has long been brewing, it is one more stain on Lord Lansdowne's administration, that it seems not to have been foreseen and averted. The French pretence is that all territory belonging to Annam in 1838 is theirs; the Siamese naturally say that the French can have no right except to what belonged to Annam at the precise date that the French protectorate was declared. Might, however, will probably overcome right yet once more in human history.

There has been some severe fighting in the DUTCH EAST INDIES with the Acheens who are still unsubdued.

JAPAN has annexed the Pelew Islands, lying between the Philippines and the Carolines, and is encouraging emigration to foreign countries. After reductions had been made and reforms promised by the ministers, the Diet voted the Budget and was closed; and the vacation is being utilized (as elsewhere) in stumping the country. The reduction amounted to only 493,743 yen, in place of the first demand for 10,000,000 yen. The Jiyuto party cordially yielded to the Emperor's proposals; and the Kashinto, who held out, could do nothing. The proposed 10 per cent. tax on salaries is calculated to yield 17,699,229 yen; and private individuals have generously contributed large sums to help their government. A fire at Kanagawa destroyed 2,000 houses. At the end of March, 551 miles of government railways were open; and the Austrian Lloyd's steamers now run to Kobe. The foreign trade of Japan in 1892 has exceeded that of 1891 by 20,000,000 yen, chiefly in tea and silk; in the decade the trade has increased 150 per cent. 35 cotton mills with 307,398 spindles were turning out 21,000 bales of yarn: two mills sent no returns.

From China, the trade for 1892 is reported at £47,530,000, of which £28,530,000 (or 60 per cent.) was with the British empire, £8,000,000 only being with Great Britain direct. From the interior come reports of a severe famine and consequent emigration of large numbers to Mongolia. This year the examinations at the Imperial College include the English, French, German, and Russian languages, the returned secretaries of the embassies acting as assessors. For the riots at Ichang in 1891 full compensation has been given in two cases,—the third, reduced by the Consul by 15 per cent., is not yet settled as the claimant and his friends indignantly decline to admit any reduction. Sir Robert Hart, G.C.M.G., who has just received a well earned Baronetcy, has prepared a scheme for a general Postal service all over China, but the edict for its promulgation will not be published till all the details are in order for actual working. In Korea disturbances have been raised by the Togokuts—a violently anti-foreign politico-religious body, numbering over 200,000 strong. Japanese and Chinese men-of-war had been sent to preserve order.

The Grand Duke George Alexandrovitch, second son of the Czar, has gone, under medical advice, to reside at Abas Tuman, in the Caucasus. The Russian Customs line has been abolished between Russia and Bokhara and one established between Russia and Afghanistan, along the Amu Daria.

PERSIA has granted to Poliakoff of Moscow, the contract, with a 99 years' lease, for a road between Kazvin, Resht and Enzeli—about 125 miles—with the right of cultivating the land on both sides of the road, not exceeding a total width of 70 feet. The road must be completed in 2 years, and is estimated to cost £100,000; no restrictions are put on the number of foreigners to be employed; heavy tolls may be levied and only a small royalty has to be given on profits over 12 per cent. He is also to have the refusal of a Railway to Enzeli, and will be indemnified if it is granted to others. A separate engagement is to provide for improving the Enzeli port by dredging and establishing a tug and lighter service by the river to Resht. Russia is trying to force Persia to expropriate the owners

of the land required for the road at a special price, instead of the current market value: as yet the Shah has not yielded. The Belgian Co.'s Railway and Tramways in the environs of Teheran have been transferred to Russian hands. There have been riots at Shiraz owing to dearness of bread and trouble about the copper coinage. Gavan-ul-mulh, who seems to have exercised much pernicious influence, has been recalled; and the people have quieted down. An insurrection near Bunder Abbas, accompanied with much pillaging, has been suppressed, and the rebels driven into the hills north of Bunder Abbas will have soon to surrender as they are in straits from want of provisions.

IN TURKEY the Sultan has ordered the release of all the Armenians lately imprisoned for riots; and an Imperial Iradé has restored to Mgr. Kremian, now Catholicos of the Armenians, his rights as an Ottoman subject of which he had been deprived on his deposition from the see of Constantinople. The brigands who attacked and wounded the agent of the Rothschilds, proceeding to the Jewish Colony of Jamieh, were captured by Yahia Bey and sent to prison at Beyreuth. The Emir Mustapha Arsian has been appointed Chief of the Druses, and Abdur-Rahman Pasha, transferred from Smyrna to Adrianople, has been succeeded by Muhammad Imaladdin Pasha. At Tel-el-Hesi (Lachish) excavations conducted for the Palestine Exploration Fund by Prof. F. J. Bliss of the American College, Beyreuth have disclosed 8 superimposed towns, like Schlieman's Troy. The German Emperor has conferred on the Grand Vizier the Order of the Red Eagle, and on the Minister of Public Works, that of the White. Some Arab disturbances are reported from Al Adan on the Turkish side of the Persian Gulf; and the Russian explorer, Baron Nolde, has returned safe from Central Arabia. Cholera is reported from Mecca.

IN EGYPT, a new steel bridge over the Damietta branch of the Nile at Mansourah was opened by the Khedive, who is about to pay an official visit to Constantinople. Prince Aziz Hassan has gone to Germany to study, travelling *en route* Marseilles. Riaz Pasha has had to warn several native papers for their seditious tendency. An amnesty was granted to all prisoners with over 3 years' sentence who had put in $\frac{1}{2}$ of their time: the prisons were said to be overcrowded. Some policemen sentenced to imprisonment for shooting down a notorious brigand trying to escape were pardoned: subsequently an attempted escape by 50 other prisoners ended in the shooting of no less than 30. The annual statistics of the work done by the native tribunals show that there are no arrears of cases, and that murder and brigandage are both diminishing. Tigrani Pasha, the foreign minister, has addressed to the European Powers a circular proposing alterations in the Mixed tribunals. The motion in Parliament on the evacuation of Egypt ended in the declaration of a continuance of the policy hitherto pursued. The matter was hotly debated in Egypt; but the results are distinctly good, as announcing the definite resolution of England. The European officials interfere less in details, confining themselves to supervision: and Riaz Pasha is acting now as cordially as he always has done honestly. There seems to be a rising

demand in some quarters for a representative government, on the ground that Egyptians are at least as fit for it as Bulgarians and Serbs. The *Figaro* of Paris has lately given a bold and clear justification of the English occupation of Egypt, from the pen of M. Felix Dubois, who declared he had visited the country for the express purpose of fault-finding, but had to come away converted. Another raid by Osman Digma has been repulsed, and the booty taken by him recaptured. The dredging of Alexandria harbour has been completed.

The negotiations for delimitation between TRIPOLI and TUNIS have failed through the exorbitant demands of the latter under French influence. In MOROCCO, the Sultan has recovered from his illness. Caravan robberies have been perpetrated with impunity by French-protected tribes; but an ample apology was exacted for the uncivil treatment of two British subjects at Fez. Locusts have done much damage. Mr. Satow has been appointed British Minister at Tangier.

At Niambatung (Bathurst district, GAMBIA) the English flag, hoisted by Mr. Llewellyn was hauled down by a French officer; no steps have, of course, been taken. Fighting has occurred in LIBERIA at Rocktown, but without definite results. The territory hitherto known as the OIL RIVERS' PROTECTORATE is henceforth to be styled THE NIGER COAST PROTECTORATE, the right bank of the Rio del Rey forming its boundary with the German Cameroons. The affairs of Dahomey still await settlement, and Behanzin has not yet come in; but Col. Dodds has, of course, received an ovation in France. Samoury has been defeated in the French Soudan; and Col. Achinard has opened the way to Timbuctoo, *via* the Niger, and subdued the Macma country. M. Mizon has been filibustering, and slaying many Africans. The French are still quarrelling with the CONGO STATE about some territory, and they declare they will not submit the dispute to arbitration. Lieut. Dhanis has defeated the Arabs and captured Nyangwe. M. del Commune reports having traced the Congo to a mountain chain running from the S. shore of Tanganyika to the N. shore of Nyassa. Hence, under the name of Chambesi, it flows into Lake Benguelo: thence, as the Luapula to Lake Moëro. Issuing hence as a river 800 metres broad, it descends by a series of waterfalls to the village of Ankorro, then meets on the west the Lualaba, increased by several affluents. From this point the stream was well known. The deaths are reported of M. van der Kirkhoven and Dr. Montanzi; and the rumours of the death of Emin Pasha are still current, but very conflicting and unreliable.

THE CAPE ministry has been reorganized; Mr. Cecil Rhodes is still Premier, with Sir J. Gordon Sprigg as Treasurer, forming a much stronger government than before. The revenue for 11 months was £4,500,000—an increase of £500,000. The NATAL responsible government party having got a decisive majority, have carried their project into operation. Mr. Kruger has been finally declared President of the TRANSVAAL, the rival claimant, Joubert, having only 7,009 votes to his 7,881—majority 872. He advocates a reduction of tariffs; and failing that a joint Customs' Union of all the South African states is proposed, as also a Mint Union, under joint control; the mint is to be at Praetoria. Sir H. Loch and Pre-

sident Kruger held a conference at Colesberg concerning SWAZILAND—M. Joubert at the last moment failing to attend as he had promised. This conference (for exclusion from which Natal seems very sore) was resumed at Praetoria. There have been conflicting rumours of the result, but nothing positive is yet known as we write. Meanwhile the Transvaal government has notified the termination of the present convention, on the 8th August. Copper has been discovered in Demaraland, where the Germans have had some fighting with predatory tribes who attacked protected tribes. The South Africa Co. reports new and rich finds of gold, and has taken up the making of the Vryburg-Mafeking Railway. A good waggon road is completed from Beira to Manicaland. A company has been formed for conveying goods from Beira to Fontes Villa up the Pungwe, whence a railway is already completed for 50 miles, with earthworks ready over 25 more; and another for a railway from the Bay of Beniba to Lake Nyassa. The British Commissioner for Central Africa was attacked at Mwpa but was rescued by a party from the *Mosquito* and the *Herald*, after a forced march of 22 miles, over the hills. Lt. Edwards had arrived with 100 Sikhs. The *Philomel* captured a dhow with 42 slaves, going northward from German East Africa. Over 200 slaves had been liberated in April, and some Arab vessels were seized with slaves under the French flag. The report on ZANZIBAR shows considerable financial progress; the old fort has been abolished as a prison, for which purpose it was quite unfit, and 300 of the late Sultan's slaves have been liberated. The clove crop is very good; but as the liberation of slaves has seriously diminished the number of work hands, fears are entertained that it cannot all be gathered. Herr von Schele has succeeded Baron von Soden as Governor of GERMAN EAST AFRICA. Sir Gerald Portal has reached Uganda, and proclaimed a British Protectorate; and news reliable, if not official, has been received thence. Capt. Williams had had to attack Uvuma, in consequence of outrageous raids; 3 islands had submitted, and 300 slaves were released. Bishop Hannington's remains had been found and were to be interred in the chancel of the new Church; and the King with 5,000 of his people had been attending Bishop Tucker's service. Sir Gerald had engaged for Government service nearly all the Soudanese troops and several of the officers in Uganda—Major Eric Smith, Grant Wilson and Reddie. Captain Williams had reached Kubuyu with those who were not so engaged. The two furthest garrisons in the Toru country had been transferred to the two nearest forts in it, and Major Owen and Capt. Portal remained there to organize the troops; 100 soldiers, with their wives and slaves, had been brought to Kampala, where Captain Macdonald, R.E., had been appointed Resident. There are indications that the territory will not be abandoned; and Sir Gerald is expected at the coast in August. The British E. Africa Co. have held their general meeting. The expenditure was stated at £448,000, and assets at £287,000, leaving a deficit of £161,000, and it was said that their affairs could go on satisfactorily, if government would grant a fair and reasonable readjustment of the Zanzibar Protectorate Revenues.

IN AUSTRALIA the successive failure of bank after bank has led to

a deplorable financial crisis showing a deep-rooted evil in the Colonies. A conference of Premiers took place; and Sir J. W. Downer of Adelaide was asked to frame a common Bill for all the Colonies, and it was resolved that all the Savings Banks should be put under government control. The Melbourne Chamber of Commerce had nominated a Committee to report on the crisis; and this declared it inadvisable to issue Treasury notes, as had been done at Brisbane and Sidney, and considered it better that Parliament should aid really sound banks with negotiable government securities. The interference of the legislatures does not seem to have given much aid in the crisis, if it did not intensify it. The Cape government offered assistance to Australia, but the offer was declined with thanks. The precise nature of the offer is not known—only that it was a proposal to invest a large sum in Australian securities. Considering the enormous indebtedness of the Australian Banks to the public, no such loan could have prevented the inevitable smash resulting from bad system, rash speculation, large dividends and the locking-up of great part of the capital. In January there were 21 Banks with deposits amounting to £140,000,000. Seven with £57,000,000 in deposits still stand. Fourteen have gone, with deposits up to £85,000,000, Notes and Bills to £3,500,000 and share capital to £21,000,000; total indebtedness to the public £91,500,000. In nearly all these colonies, deficits and borrowings have to be chronicled each quarter, in spite of numerous retrenchments. In QUEENSLAND, the new ministry, led by Sir T. Mellwraith has a good working majority after a general election. The revenue for the quarter was less by £130,000 than last year. At MELBOURNE the retrenchments, amounting to £885,000, include £50,000 in the military vote; railway privileges have been greatly reduced: and the Governor's salary is to be reduced from £10,000 to £7,000 a year. Revenue for last quarter shows a decline of £150,000 on that of last year. The estimated deficit for the year is £1,068,000, with £960,000 from last year. The SOUTH AUSTRALIAN ministry was reconstituted in May. On opening the XIVth Parliament, the Governor noted the end of the drought, a good prospect for the crops and a fair vintage; the Adelaide Bank was safe, and no legislation was needed for it; by continuing the income tax, by increasing death duties and duties on some items in the customs and by economy all round, further taxation would be avoided. A deficit of £50,000 was expected; and last quarter's revenue had declined £20,000. Sir J. Downer's Government was defeated by 2 votes, and Mr. C. C. Kingston is now Premier with a new ministry. Sir Robert William Duff has succeeded the Earl of Jersey as Governor of NEW SOUTH WALES, where the revenue of the March quarter had shrunk £14,000. A "patriotic gentleman" had paid £1,000 into the treasury to meet the expenses of Sir G. Dibbs' journey to Europe. By May, the customs were £50,000 less than last year, the railway receipts £39,000, and the number of sheep less by 5,500,000 chiefly due to increase in the export trade of meat. WEST AUSTRALIA on the other hand has a surplus to show of £115,000, and seems flourishing. The Australian traveller Guy Boothby has arrived in England after traversing the continent with his secretary. The total increase of population in Australia in 1892 was the smallest since 1878.

IN NEW ZEALAND, Mr. R. J. Seddon has succeeded to the Premiership, by the death of Mr. Ballance. The finances are in a very prosperous condition, and the receipts exceeded the estimates on almost every item. There was a net surplus of £300,000 after paying off £100,000 of the floating debt and £74,000 of the Land Fund deficit. The railways show a large clear profit. It is not considered prudent however to reduce the taxation. The fruit industry is thriving; and iron has been discovered at Wanapata in the North Island. Some floods had caused much damage at Wellington. Australian fruit is finding its way to India, where it ought to find a good market.

TASMANIA issued a loan of £1,000,000: of this £200,000 were by Treasury Bills; £800,000 were taken up through Banks; and the remainder was withdrawn. Viscount Gormanston, K.C.M.G., has been appointed Governor of Tasmania; Sir C. C. Lees, K.C.M.G., goes from the Mauritius to British Guiana, and Sir Herbert Jennings, K.C.M.G., becomes Governor of the Mauritius. Sir C. B. H. Mitchell, K.C.M.G., from Natal will succeed Sir C. Smith at the Straits Settlements, being replaced by Sir W. F. Hely-Hutchinson, K.C.M.G.

The Earl of Aberdeen will be Governor General of CANADA on the return of Lord Stanley of Preston now Earl of Derby by the lamented death of his brother. General A. Montgomery Moore assumes the duties of Commander in Chief. The conclusion of the treaty with France is indefinitely postponed; but that with Spain grants to Canada the same terms as to the United States in trade with the Antilles. Mr. Mercer made an explicit pronouncement in favour of Canadian independence, which is unlikely to produce any effect except some inter-religious animosities. A new line of Steamers to Australia *via* Hawaii has been subsidized to £25,000 a year by Canada and £10,000 a year by Sydney. The owners are Messrs. Huddart, Parker & Co.; and the pioneer steamer the *Miwera* started from Sydney on the 18th May, arriving at Vancouver on the 9th June, a passage of 23 days. The revenue and trade continue to expand satisfactorily. For the 10 months, the exports were \$93,500,000 an increase of \$4,100,000 over the corresponding period of last year; and the Imports \$97,334,000, an increase of \$7,500,000. A serious misunderstanding is pending regarding the claim to priority made by Her M.'s ships over all others at the Esquimaux Dock, on account of the imperial grant towards its constructions. The Labrador seal fishing has this year been comparatively unsuccessful. Two steamers brought in 25,000 skins, but 17 others engaged in the trade have had varying success, bringing only from 200 to absolutely no skins; it has been the worst season for 30 years. The Behrings Sea Arbitration is dragging on. As nothing has been concluded about the British sealers now some time ago seized and ill-treated by Russians, that power has proceeded to prohibit all sealing within 10 miles of her coasts and 30 miles of her islands; and our government has agreed to this, but only as a temporary and special concession. We hear only that the discussions caused by these proceedings "continue to be amicable." The Canadian Pacific Railway shows a net earning of \$8,420,348; and after paying dividends a clear surplus of \$2,221,933:—551

wooden bridges were replaced with permanent works. The increasing Eastern trade has led to the appointment of special agents at Yokohama, Hong Kong and Shanghai. The province of Quebec failed to raise the \$10,000,000 loan to pay off loans, etc. becoming due, as the province owes already \$65,000,000: a trial is to be made in Paris. In Prince Edward's Island the former two houses of Legislature have been abolished in favour of a single chamber of 30 members, half of whom are elected by manhood suffrage and half by a £65 qualification: a majority of $\frac{2}{3}$ is required for passing a measure.

THE NEWFOUNDLAND legislation has sanctioned a Railway from Exploits Bay to Port Basque Bay—250 miles—via Bay of Islands and St. George's Bay—to be finished in 3 years at a cost of \$4,000,000. Messrs. Reid of Montreal are the contractors. The annual cost to the public funds will be \$170,000, but the line is of great promise, as it taps the best timber, mineral, and agricultural lands. There has been a fresh quarrel with the French, who pretend to receive their supplies duty free.

OBITUARY.—We record with regret the following deaths during the quarter. His Highness the Maharaja of Bettiah, K.C.I.E.; Col. Andrew John Macpherson, (2nd Punjab and Mutiny Campaigns); Alan William Macpherson, author of *Procedure in the Civil Courts of India*, and Secretary to the commission for codifying the Laws of India; R. L. Bensley, M.A., Lord Almoner Reader in Arabic; A. M. Monteith, late Postmaster-General of India; Ti Kooti, the Maori chief on whose head a price was once fixed of £5,000 for having committed a massacre, but who was afterwards pardoned; Shorabji Shahpurji Bengallee, C.I.E., a Parsi gentleman who did much for female education and social reform; the Hon. Krishnaji Luxmon Nulkar, C.I.E., successively Dewan of Bhooj, and member first of the Bombay and then of the Governor-General's Council; W. Cotton Oswell, Hon. E. I. Co.'s Service, and an African explorer; Sir R. J. Pinsent, Kt., D.C.I., Judge of the Supreme Court of Newfoundland; M. Barrot, who explored Korea in 1888; the Hon. John Ballance, Premier of New Zealand; Lt.-Gen. Sir James Charlemagne Dormer, K.C.B., Commander-in-Chief of Madras, who had served in the Crimea, India, China and Egypt; Prince Dondukoff Korsakoff, Commander-in-Chief in the Caucasus; Gen. John Pitcairn Sandwith (Sindh Campaign); Gen. James Burns (Burmese War 1852-3, Sonthal war 1855-6, and the Sassirum Field Force, 1858); Edward K. Moylan, Attorney-General of Grenada, then of the Rangoon Bar, and *Times* Correspondent in the Burmese war; W. G. Romaine, Judge Advocate-General in India and English Controller-General in Egypt till 1879; Col. James D. Carmichael, C.B. (Mutiny); Hon. Sir W. H. White, Auditor-General of Hong-Kong, and on financial Commissions of inquiry in Egypt and S. Africa; Gen. Henry Duncan Taylor (Burma war, 1852-3, Mutiny, and China 1860, and Inspector-General of Police in the Central Provinces); Chung How, once Chinese Ambassador at St. Petersburg, author of the ill-starred Treaty of Livadia, which China declined to ratify; Quinton Mackinnon, a New Zealand Explorer; Charles Rudy of Paris, a Chinese scholar; Frederick Salmon Growse, of whom we give a special notice elsewhere; Lt.-Genl. Sir John Hudson, K.C.B.,

Commander-in-Chief of Bombay, who had served in the Mutiny, the Abyssinian war, the Afghan war (1878-80), and the Soudan (1885); and General Samuel Black long connected with the Punjab Government; Mir Ghulam Baba Khan, C.I.E., of Surat; General Sir Frederick Edward Chapman, R.E., G.C.B., who served in the Crimea and was afterwards Governor of Bermuda; James Claudius Erskine, Oriental Translator to the Indian Govt., Director of Public Instruction, and author of a History of the two first Timur Kings of India; Sir Elliot Charles Bovill, Chief Justice, Straits Settlement; the most Revd. Christopher Augustine Reynolds, D.D., Archbishop of Adelaide since 1873; Prince Iskandar Ali Mirza Bahadur of Murshidabad; Resaldar Major Gopal Singh, Cent. Ind. Horse, Ad. D.C. to the Viceroy; Rao Bahadur Yeswantrao Kilkar, a very valuable revenue officer and Oriental translator to the Bombay Government; General W. R. Gordon, B.S.C. (Burma war 1852-53, Sonthal war 1855, Mutiny, Bhutan and Assam); Col. G. B. Messediglia Bey, an African explorer, and a friend of General Gordon, whom he helped in his administration; Genl. Sir Edwin Beaumont Johnson, G.C.B., C.I.E., (both Punjab wars, and Mutiny); Genl. Sir William Payn, K.C.B. (1st Punjab and Crimean Wars and Mutiny); Sir Theophilus Shepstone, K.C.M.G., the South African statesman; Genl. Mounsey Grant (Crimea, Mutiny, Eusufzai and Umbeyla Campaigns); and Sir William Fox, K.C.M.G., four times Premier of New Zealand.

V.

As we are going to Press, we learn with deep regret that Sir William Mackinnon, Bart., C.I.E., died at 10 a.m. on the 22nd June, 1893, at the Burlington Hotel in London. He laid the foundation of one of the greatest shipping Companies in the World, the British India Steam Navigation Company, but he is, perhaps, better known as the founder of the Imperial British East Africa Company, to which our article on "Ibca" endeavours to do justice. We hope that with him has not died the last hope of his Company becoming in Africa, what the East India Company has been in India, whatever Government may do with Uganda.

The terrible disaster on the 22nd instant to our troopship "Victoria," whilst manœuvring off the Syrian port of Tripoli, which has involved the deaths of Admiral Sir G. Tryon and of 360 brave men, concludes our Obituary in a manner, the loss and gloom of which we are not able immediately to realize. Admiral Tryon was eminent both with the pen and the sword and as an organizer, but it is his Imperial work in connection with the naval defences of Australia, not to speak of his services before Sebastopol, in the Abyssinian Expedition, at Tunis and elsewhere that will render his name illustrious in the naval annals of Great Britain.

P.S.—The decision of the Indian Government on the Exchange is just published: the Indian mints are closed to free coinage of silver, and the exchange is provisionally fixed at 15. 4d. As an immediate result, the Rupee has gone up $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and the price of silver has fallen nearly 4 per cent. We reserve the subject for our next issue—27th June.

26th June, 1893.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

1. *Memoirs of my Indian Career*, by SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL, K.C.S.I. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1893, 2 vols.; 21s.) Sir George Campbell's long and meritorious service in India, in both the Judicial and Administrative Departments, has left distinct marks in more than one part of that country, all of which he travelled over if he did not live in: he even visited Singapore, Hong-Kong and Canton. A Haileybury man, of the old type, he understood the people over whom he ruled, sympathized with them, and was generally understood by them. He was distinctly conservative in India, whatever he may have been in Parliament; and his object was to improve on the old native institutions rather than to abolish them in favour of our newer civilization. He read much, thought soundly as a rule, and wrote well. These memoirs, which he did not live to complete, end with the Bengal famine of 1876; and his style is familiar and clear, sometimes witty, often humorous, always pleasant to read. They are not full of himself, as such memoirs usually are; but in tracing his own career he furnishes a fund of information on India. He has a thorough command of his subject. He discusses the Mutiny, successive viceroys, Lord Clyde and Sir C. Napier, native character and ethnology, judicial systems and codes, a proposed new Metropolis for India, the village communities:—but he is particularly interested in what concerns the land and its cultivators. His thorough knowledge of India, both from experience and reading, enables him to treat his numerous subjects with exactness and correctness,—even though we have *gaolies* for *gwalas* and *Chuddahs* for *Chuddars*. Space forbids our saying much in detail of this interesting book which should be read by all who wish to extend their knowledge of India—for it is a country that requires much study. Excellent, each in its way, are, a comparison between village communities and our own municipalities (p. 81), a sad and over-true tale (p. 85), a touch on the jury system (p. 136), the Edlingham Burglary with reference to India (p. 158), Sir H. Ramsay of Kumaon and the Exchange (p. 169), a sound policy about native States (p. 180), the proposed abandonment of Peshawur (p. 237) where he does justice to Lord Lawrence for what we have always considered a parallel to Napoleon at Mantua. In vol. 2, he touches on "European-educated rulers" (p. 86), on the chronic absence up to his time of statesmen in Madras (p. 114); on Ethnology (p. 130 and *seq.*). Good instances of Sir George's outspoken criticism are at p. 130: "The Sonthal rebellions were not without much provocation," at p. 157 and *seq.*, on the Orissa famine, and on "Eye-wash" at p. 172. Clyde, Napier, Nicholson, Edwardes, Hodson, Broadfoot and some others get some sound knocks, but neither malicious nor undeserved; Lawrence, Thomason, Colvin, Mayo and others have new and favourable light cast upon them; Kaye, Malletson and Canning come in for good criticism. We conclude with a characteristic anecdote. In Kashmir, "I had occasion to say to a man 'Are you the head man of the village?' 'Well,' he

said, 'if there is any one to be beaten for anything, I am the man' if you call that being headman, I am," (ii. 122)—which tells a tale.

2. *The Oxford Teachers' Bible*, with *Helps to the Study of the Bible*, as an appendix. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1893.)

3. *Helps to the Study of the Bible* (as a separate volume). (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1893; 4s. 6d.)

4. *The Cambridge Teachers' Bible*, with *The Cambridge Companion to the Bible*, as an appendix. (Cambridge and London: C. J. Clay and Sons.) *The Companion* (as a separate vol.), 3s. 6d.

These new editions of the Bible, according to the Authorized Version, are splendid specimens of the printing and binding of the great Universities' presses. Our copies are 8vo, minion type; and the paper though thin is so good in quality that the type does not show through. Each Bible (the Oxford of 1,000 pages, the Cambridge of 998) has, as an appendix, what would form a goodly volume in itself: and indeed each is printed also separately. Both the Oxford *Helps* (pages 378 + 6 + 15) and the Cambridge *Companion* (405 + 6 + 9) contain a good concordance, indexes of subjects and proper names, with the Natural History and antiquities of the Bible and Biblical History and its connections. The two books, however, are not the same, but are similar or parallel works, of recognized value. The *Helps* has a Harmony of the Gospels, the *Companion* is rich in Introductions to separate books; each has a good atlas and geographical index; both contain much common matter, given in different form; but each has its specialities. The *Helps* has more maps and illustrations, the *Companion* treats the text more fully. There is not much to choose when both works are, in every respect, excellent. Students of the Bible should provide themselves with both.

5. *Comparative Philology of the Old and New Worlds in relation to Archaic Speech*, by R. P. GREG, F.S.A., etc. (London: Kegan Paul and Co., 1893; 31s.), indicates wide reading, deep research and close attention, and is of the highest importance to both the student and the proficient in Comparative Philology. The author modestly puts it forward as an attempt to show that an archaic substratum underlies all languages now in existence, and is also visible, therefore, in the hitherto little considered languages of America. Accordances had already been long known between certain languages; and later researches by Dr. Edkins, Professor Abel and others had shown their existence where they had not been generally suspected. Mr. Greg carries the matter a long step further, by his extensive and classified tables of accordances, which include African and American languages. He advocates the comparison of words, and especially of roots and cognate meanings, in preference to that of sentences and grammatical niceties, in spite of Prof. Sayce's paradoxical statement that language consisted of sentences before it did of words. The author's erudite introduction naturally includes disquisitions in anthropology and ethnology, besides philology; and Mr. Greg thinks that all these tend to show a common origin of the human race. Our limits preclude any detailed analysis of the contents of this large 4to volume of over 400 pages, of which the Introduction—a mine of information, taking 73 pages of

rather small print, is followed by a table of accordances for African, English, Accadian, Chinese and American, with a separate column for "Sundry" languages. An accordance between Chinese and Accadian is then given from the Rev. C. J. Ball. Next we have Aryan and Semitic accordances, with American and "Sundry"; some from the Basque; and others between Ancient Mexican and Aryan, from Biondelli. The next part deals with accordances between Turanian and American languages. The last part consists of comparative philological tables of certain selected class words representing such primitive notions as must have formed part of the earliest archaic languages,—under the supposition that speech is a gradually developed attribute of the savage man. The author does not give any definite conclusions; but he has with infinite pains and great skill put together the materials which, with additions by himself and other hands, will enable scholars to arrive, in course of time, at something even more conclusive than comparative philology has already set forth. The study of archaic speech is only in its infancy; but the infant promises well for the future.*

6. *James Thomason*, by SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, Bart. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1893; 3s. 6d.) Uniform with the lives of the "Rulers of India," though not itself forming one of that excellent series, we have here the biography of an estimable man and a good governor, from the ready and graceful pen of Sir Richard Temple. His materials are carefully collected from the oral and written reminiscences of many who knew James Thomason intimately and had worked with him, including Sir Richard himself. The book is eminently pleasing; for it not only gives a full portrait of the man, but presents also a carefully filled in background of the work he did and the circumstances of the times. The land settlement, the Ganges Canal, the efforts for elementary vernacular education, the founding of the Rurki College are among the deeds which have cast around Mr. Thomason's career a halo of well-merited renown; and Sir Richard, like a good biographer, carefully and accurately details all this, with the incidents of his hero's life, without prolixity or undue partiality. Men of James Thomason's stamp are sadly needed in India, instead of the present root-and-branch reformers; and our author quotes a passage at p. 174, which many in India should study: "I want to do something in a manner consonant with Native institutions and ideas, and also to induce the people to work with me and exert themselves in the cause." Of Thomason, Sir Charles Napier wrote—and he was not apt to praise Civilians—"He is an able and good man, but wants to polish and clean without change." Many think that is just all that should be done. The problems of Indian statesmanship are by no means yet solved; and the study of lives and of sayings like these of James Thomason are useful to read for their solution. We heartily recommend the book to our readers.

7. *Philistines and Israelites*, by H. MARTYN KENNARD. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1893; 6s.) It really is a long while since we saw so wonderful a book, in which one knows not what most to admire—the

* Especially if it were to really study what has already been done on the field of Indo-Germanic research.—ED.

author's astute detection of a most fearful conspiracy against truth, or his astounding discovery of hitherto unknown facts, or his marvellous powers of making things "massively evident." As by a touch of Ithuriel's spear, he transforms what mankind have hitherto blindly accepted as history, into mere sophistry. He exposes the horrible system of priestcraft, which, by wholesale, continuous and subtle falsifications, had corrupted every source of information; but Mr. Kennard, carefully "reading between the lines," succeeds in sifting out truth in spite of such books as Smith's "Bible Dictionary, which may be regarded as the concentrated essence of sacerdotal sophistry" (p. 198). We can note only a few of these disinterred "truths." All history merely reports the struggle between only two races—the Cushite and the Elamite;—wherever there is a fight, it can be between these two only, for of course civil wars are impossible;—Abraham, who is also Father Ham, was a Cushite, ruling from the Euphrates to Thebes, and was a Pharaoh;—so was Moses (Apepi);—so was Joseph (Aohmes, who is an Elamite, by the way, though his great-grandfather was a Cushite);—so was David (Horor); so was Solomon; so was nearly everybody that was anybody, including "The Lord" and "God" of the Bible. There were two Josephuses, and two Exoduses; and Saul, son of Kish, was Rameses XII.;—Solomon accepted office under Shishak, who is also Sargon. Jesus Christ was the head of a rebellion of the Elamites against the Cushites: "He undoubtedly led a large and organized party; and we might conjecture that the Lord's prayer was a prayer for his restoration"; p. 253. "Peter succeeded Jesus as the recognised head of the house of Elam. It therefore follows that the present Pope Leo XIII. represents the same flag"; p. 254. *Punch* and *Ally Sloper* pale before Mr. Kennard as a source of amusement.

8. *Social Life among the Assyrians and Babylonians*, by A. H. Sayce, LL.D. (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1893; 2s. 6d.) This small book, forming No. xviii. of the series styled *By-paths of Bible Knowledge*, is a reprint of articles contributed by the learned Professor to *The Sunday at Home*. That they are the result of long, deep, and varied studies goes without saying. With many details taken from the cuneiform inscriptions and other archaeological data, Prof. Sayce professed to give a picture, popular and exact, of the peoples of Assyria and Babylon, of their ways of living, their surroundings and their civilization. He has succeeded admirably in enabling the reader to form as clear an idea of those remote times, as a good traveller can give us of distant regions which he has visited. Among others we may point out here data proving the falsity of the modern theory that all mankind have risen gradually from a savage state. As early as 3,700 years B.C., civilization is found existing in the East; and many things supposed to be modern are seen in an advanced stage of progress in the early history of the human race. Among these are, the spread of general education, the study of languages, the elaboration of legal documents, the cultivation of many other sciences besides astronomy, the advanced state of working in metals and the thorough development of trading and banking operations. We are able even to calculate the wages of labour, the fluctuation in price of most articles, and the value of lands,

houses and rents. There is a chapter, full of interest, on the condition of slaves. The conclusion, dealing with the religions of the people, is perhaps somewhat vague; but the book gives otherwise a very ample account of the people, clearly and well told.

9. *New Lights on the Bible and the Holy Land*, by B. T. A. EVETTS, M.A. (London: Cassell and Co., 1892.) Mr. Evetts' goodly and well-illustrated 8vo, is meant to give to the general reader a detailed yet brief history of recent discoveries in the East, shorn of mere technicalities interesting only to learned Orientalists. The remains of the Empires of Assyria and Babylon form the subject of his work, to which he has brought a deep knowledge, clear ideas, good method and a plain style. He records the discoveries and decipherment of ancient monuments and inscriptions and the difficulties which attended both operations. By the information which they convey, he illustrates many passages of Scripture, which are thus placed in a clearer though perhaps not quite a new light. Two points stand out prominently. One is the utter absence of proof of any savage state in Assyria and Babylon: when those empires first come before us, they are already in an advanced stage of civilization. The other point is that whenever the history of these states comes in contact with the Bible narratives, these are confirmed and illustrated. Even the defeat of Sennacherib is indicated, if not by the admission, at least by the very reticence of the usually boastful Assyrian inscriptions, to a greater extent than Mr. Evetts has here shown. His book is of importance to Biblical students and readers; and it should suggest to some one, who has the leisure, the yet unaccomplished task of illustrating, one by one, all the passages of Scripture which the present stage of discoveries—Accadian and Sumurian, Assyrian and Babylonian, Egyptian and Hittite—has touched. In face of the confirmations already furnished—many of them unexpected and startling in their clearness,—we may confidently anticipate that future discoveries also will but increase, externally, the trustworthiness of the inspired narratives.

10. *The Influence of Buddhism on Primitive Christianity*, by ARTHUR LILLIE. (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co. 1893; 2s. 6d.) The author's attempt to prove that Christianity is nothing but a modified and plagiarized Buddhism and our Lord only an Essene—a Buddhist monk, has not even the merit of novelty. Ogre-like, Mr. Lillie begins with the "cracked human bones, 240,000 years" old; and having disposed of the old Testament by making Vahveh out to be a ghost, and trotting out *Totems*, he draws "parallels" in the events of the lives respectively of Buddha and our Lord. Many of these parallels exist only in a vivid imagination; as when at p. 61 a terrible bandit confronted and converted by Buddha in his mountain retreat is given as the prototype of the Penitent thief. When again, at p. 64, the Buddhist false disciple, carried down to hell without accomplishing his meditated treachery, is compared to Judas, most human beings will fail to see any resemblance. Mr. Lillie next gives his own peculiar version of the origins of Christianity and its sacred books—very different from what history tells—and gets hopelessly lost in Apocryphal writings and Gnostic teachings, while he persistently disregards

the very books on which Christianity is based. He is one more—and we fear will not be the last—writer, who leaves the obvious truth for recondite illusion, and who fails to see that the remains of ancient patriarchal traditions and the identity of human nature in all ages and climes account easily for much of the similarity not only between Buddhism and Christianity, but among all the religions of the Earth.

11. *The Recrudescence of Leprosy*, by WILLIAM TEBB (Swan Sonnenschein and Co. 1893), contains very full information regarding Leprosy, brought down to date, from official and professional reports and from private information, including the substance of the report of the Leprosy commission in India. It proves conclusively that the disease does exist in very many places, and infects very many persons,—that no cure has yet been discovered for it and that there seems little hope of such a discovery in the future,—and that the unfortunate victims are often experimented upon by some medical men in charge of them, in a manner and to an extent which should bring them within the grasp of penal servitude: a horrible instance is given at p. 348. But Mr. Tebb fails completely to establish that Leprosy is on the increase. Cases have doubtless been brought more prominently forward, since Father Damien's lamented death; but closer examination does not mean increase. The only comparative statistics given are those from the Indian census of 1881 and 1891; and these show a clear decrease. But Mr. Tebb, who has a prejudged point to prove, at once tries to twist this startling fact. His purpose being to cast discredit on vaccination, he supplements his very interesting and useful researches into Leprosy with wholesale condemnation of vaccination as the principal agent in its increase. To this, too, the Indian statistics give a clear contradiction. Vaccination, however, can hold its own, from its usefulness, acknowledged by the profession. The dangers so much insisted on are being gradually reduced to a minimum, and are due to culpable and avoidable negligence, rather than to the operation itself. Divested of its anti-vaccination bias, Mr. Tebb's work is very important as a manual of the present state of Leprosy, for those who take an interest in the unsavoury subject.

12. *Japan as we saw it*, by M. BICKERSTETH. (London: Longmans and Co. 1893; 21s.) The reader must be prepared to find that the greater part of this book deals with Japan as a field of missionary labour, the remainder treating pleasantly of the country and its people, with the usual travellers' episodes of journeys and difficulties, feasts and receptions, etc. There is also a good deal of detail on the great earthquake of October, 1891, which is of interest. The numerous illustrations, too, are very good, even though they include such un-Japanese things as photographs of Europeans; and there is much entertaining reading, even if there is little if anything new about Japan itself. The details of missionary work given are of importance to the understanding of the case. There is some unconscious humour,—as when the Anglican Bishop informs his English relatives that a certain learned Buddhist priest—a Japanese by birth—preaches "in very good Japanese!" The book is particularly valuable to the thinker who wishes, from a comparison of various authors on Japan, to

form a clear idea of the country and its future. This makes Miss Bickersteth's work of great importance, though "Japan as we saw it" was seen through a pair of extra strong missionary spectacles, as befitted the daughter and sister of Bishops and the Secretary of the Guild of St. Paul. Still, even so great a personage might restrain her pen a little more from a rather excessively Pharisaical self-laudation, and write with more respect of those who hold different opinions. At p. 108, she admits that "Christianity though present in greater force than in the days of Xavier, is, alas, not proportionately stronger," and then alludes to the "endless 'splits' of Non-conformity," as though the Anglican Church was free from "splits"; and next dares to stigmatize the Christianity of the great Xavier as "imperfect truly." Is it not in "The Newcomes" that Thackeray asks us to imagine "Queen Guinevere's lady's-maid's-lady's-maid patronizing Sir Launcelot"?

13. *The Children's Japan*, by MRS. W. H. SMITH (Tokio: T. Hasegawa, and London: Sampson Low and Co., 1893), is a pleasantly written little description of Japan in a style suited for children. It is beautifully illustrated, and is printed on a cream-coloured Japanese paper which looks and feels very like crêpe—extremely strong, and practically indestructible. The illustrations, all Japanese in style, show great multiplicity of colour combined with much delicacy in the tints. The leaves are bound together with blue silk ribbon. Not only will the book serve as an interesting and instructive present for a child and be a novel and lasting toy, but it will be welcome to all as a splendid specimen of æsthetic work, which we hope will find many imitations. Why should not most of our books for children be got up in this manner?

14. *Rhyming Legends of Ind*, by H. R. GRACEY. (Calcutta and London: Thacker and Co., 6s.) Here are ten Indian stories related pleasantly enough in jingling rhymes, which recall memories of Ingoldsby, though Mr. Gracey falls short of the go and ease of that master of comic versification. If legend mean a venerable traditional tale, none of these ten is a real legend; but they are ten tales, funny in their degree, in very good verse. The reader who takes them up in the hope of finding accounts of Rajput chivalry or Moslem valour will be somewhat disappointed; but the book, of which the style reflects the greatest credit on its publishers, will help to amuse much and also to instruct a little. Among others, we find the rather stale tale of the griff who shot a buffalo in mistake for a Nil-gai, the point of which, though we are not Scotch, we are still unable to perceive, though we have heard it repeated, with many variations, more times than we care to count.

15. *Letters from Queensland, reprinted from the "Times"* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1893; 2s. 6d.), open to the reader in 6 chapters a mine of information on the actual state and future prospects of an important colony. The question of Kanaka labour is boldly faced; and from personal observation the writer explodes much exaggeration regarding its alleged evils: the more interesting question of Indian coolie immigration, however, is not touched. We learn much concerning the Sugar industry of Queensland—in fact, except gold-digging and stock-rearing, there is no other.

The mineral resources of the country are detailed; and these show a mass of wealth in other things besides gold. The political aspects of Queensland and the proposed subdivision of its legislature are clearly stated; and the author makes out a good case in favour of division into two if not three parts. Well written and full of information, the book is a welcome boon to all who wish to study our Colonial Empire. It is a little strange, though not surprising to us, to note that even in the last letter which appeared in the *Times* in February last, there was no prognostication of the terrible financial crisis, which, like a typhoon, has wrecked almost every Australian Bank.

16. *More about the Mongols*, by JAMES GILMOUR. (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1893; 5s.) We reviewed favourably the lamented author's "*Among the Mongols*," just one year ago; and the present companion volume, edited from Mr. Gilmour's papers by Mr. R. Lovett, scarcely yields in interest to that charming book. Sketches of native manners and character, the reflection of the writer's own simple and devoted life, a chapter on Mongol meteorology and another on Mongol Camels form the best part of the book. The tirade against tobacco (chap. x.) seems a little fanatical. The whole is very interesting and pleasing.

17. *Indian Wisdom*, by SIR MONIER MONIER-WILLIAMS, K.C.S.I. (London: Luzac and Co. 1893; £1 15.) This is a new edition of Sir Monier's well-known work, in which he fulfils his purpose of giving a compendious summary of Sanskrit literature, with select specimens, translated into English. The learned professor's thorough mastery of his subject enables him to deal effectively with his difficult task, and his book enables the outsider not only to form some idea of the immense extent and depth of this literature, but to gauge its greatness and (as must occur in all things human) also its incidental littlenesses. The Vedic hymns are followed by the Brahmanas and Upanishads, and the 6 systems of Philosophy. Readers who are not well versed in Indian studies will be surprised to find here that scarcely a Greek or even modern metaphysical or logical speculation is to be found, which has not its prototype or counterpart in ancient Sanskrit. The Bhagavadgita, the Smritis, the Vidangas are touched upon, including Panini's grammar and Patanjali's Great Commentary on it. The various Sotras are discussed; and at greater length the Dharma Sastras or law books of the Hindus. The Indian Epics and the Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata are considered, and in chap. xiv. are compared with each other and with Homer, a very interesting operation; and choice specimens of religious and moral sentiments are given, with their parallels from Scripture. Sir Monier goes on to the Indian Drama, then to the Puranas. He omits nothing that enters the scope of his work; he is choice in his selections and accurate in his comments; and the result is a work as instructive and sound as it is pleasant to read, full of matter for reflection. It tells of the immense stores of wisdom, sometimes mixed with the follies of the frailty of human nature, which the ancient sages of India accumulated, and which still in part await excavation.

18. *Official Year Book of the Scientific and Learned Societies of Great*

Britain and Ireland. (London: C. Griffin and Co., 1893; 7s. 6d.) This—the 10th annual issue—is a very handy book of reference, and a very useful one. It is divided into 14 sections, each dealing with a special class of societies, and giving in alphabetical order all the societies entering into its scope, the principal officers and the address of each society. In many cases the papers read during the last year are mentioned, and in general the book is very complete.

19. *Bimetallism and Monometallism*, by the MOST REV. DR. WALSH. (Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1893; 6d.) The Archbishop of Dublin gives us a pamphlet of just over 100 pages, in which he discusses this vexed matter, especially in its bearing on the Irish land question; and he puts his views with clearness and vigour. His study of the question is seen to be both deep and extensive. His Grace is, of course, a Bimetallist; and his special object is to show how Monometallism with its fluctuating price for silver, though beneficial to the rich, is disastrous to the poorer country. The special circumstances of the farmer in Ireland, with rents judiciously fixed for 15 years, and annual payments to Government fixed for 49 years, must lead to ruin. His Grace brings forward in support of his views a cloud of authorities,—including Mr. Balfour and Mr. Giffen,—and shows, by a practical consensus, that permanent charges are becoming more burdensome. There is only one defect in His Grace's utterance:—no practical solution is offered, though several are discussed. Few doubt that something should be done: the real question is, What?

20. *The Portuguese Records relating to the East Indies*, by F. C. DANVERS. (London: The India Office, 1893.) The investigation, rather tardily ordered by the India Office in 1891, of the Portuguese archives regarding Indian records, has been ably made by Mr. Danvers, who praises the Portuguese system of preserving them, and their courtesy in allowing him every facility for his object. In his preface (entitled Report) he explains what are the documents in the Portuguese archives, their locality and condition, and the *hiatus* that occur in them. He then gives, in 168 pages, summaries and extracts from these documents. That they contain much that is novel and interesting, goes without saying. For instance, it is not generally known how conscientiously Philip II. of Spain, on getting Portugal also in 1580, kept the two administrations separate, and nominated none but Portuguese to offices in what had been Portuguese territory (p. 2). The present flourishing state of Bombay justifies the refusal of De Mello e Castro in 1662 to surrender it to the English: he calls it “the best port your Majesty possesses in India, with which that of Lisbon is not to be compared” (p. 65). The king, however, insisted on the honourable fulfilment of his engagement; but loud complaints follow that the English did not fulfil their part in it with equal exactness. The records extend beyond India. They give the Portuguese operations in the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, in Ceylon and Malacca, Macao and Formosa, China and Japan. At p. 114 is Albuquerque's quixotic scheme in 1513 for carrying off Muhammad's body from Medina, with the view of holding it to ransom in exchange for the temple of Jerusalem. The book does not, of course, do more than skim the archives, and even that but partially; but we are very

grateful for it, especially with the gratitude which consists in a longing for more favours to come. The Secretary of State spends much money on worse things than continuing the efforts of which the book under review is only the first result.

21. *Primitive Religions*, by G. T. BETTANY, M.A. (London: Ward, Lock and Co., 1891; 2s. 6d.)

22. *The great Indian Religions*, by the same Author and Publishers (1892; 2s. 6d.).

These are the first two volumes of the Series "The World's Religions," of which the 3rd, on Muhammadanism and other religions of Mediterranean countries, we reviewed in our January 1893 issue. As a rule, most people have very hazy ideas of all religions, except their own,—and very frequently even of that,—and few things tend to make men bigoted and one-sided so much as want of knowledge on this point. Hence one of the most fascinating of studies is that of comparative religion,—by which, however, we do not mean indifference or laxity in the observance of one's own. This series of text books by Mr. Bettany will be of great help to the general reader; for he gives in them very fair summaries of his wide reading, among many competent authorities, on the subject of each religion. The first of the series deals with Primitive Religions. There is a general introduction treating of various observances and forms, such as Animism, totemism, and a host of other 'isms, together with explanations of various terms used in the study of religions. Next follow the lower forms of the subject, gradually rising through Australian, Polynesian, Melanesian and African religions, to those of America, and of the Aborigines of India. Confucianism, Tao-ism and Shinto-ism conclude the volume. The other book deals with Hinduism and Buddhism, and Zoroastrianism. The treatment of all these subjects indicates much reading and thought, a good method, and a simple and clear style; and the descriptions of the religions are accurately and well detailed, for Mr. Bettany follows reliable writers. Here and there we have noted a little vagueness in giving the pith of a system, though the details are numerous—notably in Confucianism, Taoism and Shinto-ism. But these are rather philosophic systems of ethics, than real positive religions, and what there is of distinctive religion in them, may perhaps be due to the deposit left on them, like the silt of an Oriental flood, by the high tide of Buddhism. The series, as the author justly remarks, rather furnishes the material for comparison than offers any system of comparative religion. This, however, was not his object; and the science is still young, and its students are by no means agreed even on its first principles. Personally, we think this is due to the fact that most of them regard the higher forms of religion as gradual developments from a crude state, instead of considering them as the renewed growth of primeval traditions, after they had been overlaid by barbarism. The savage man was and is the degradation of the original civilization.

23. *A History of Currency in the British Colonies*, by ROBERT CHAMBERS, B.A. (London: H.M.'s Stationery Office, 1893; 10s.) This painstaking and exhaustive volume on the currency of the British possessions throughout the world, comes particularly opportune just now, when the

tardy report of the Indian currency Commission is not yet published. A general survey of the question is followed by separate sections on the currency of the American, African, Australian, Mediterranean, and Oriental possessions of Britain. One appendix, short but full, treats of various foreign coins circulating in our possessions; the other gives the Imperial legislation on the question; and a copious and well-digested index concludes a most interesting and valuable book. Incidentally it furnishes a grave accusation of continued neglect on the part of the Imperial Government, in the treatment of the currency question of the colonies. Safe in her own currency, England has never done anything for that of her possessions till fairly driven to it, and has even then acted with a bad grace and often with egregious shortsightedness. No such thing as gradually working up to an Imperial coinage, suitable for the whole empire, seems ever to have dawned on her Majesty's advisers, though before the dislocation caused by the present so-called depreciation of silver, the matter could have been easily settled. Just now while the £ circulates in Australia and the Cape, dollars prevail on the W. Coast of Africa and in Canada, Hong Kong and Singapore (in the last they form the currency, but the Government accounts are kept in Rupees !!), and the vanishing Rupee supplies India, Ceylon, and the Mauritius. From the nature of the case, some of the histories are more interesting than others, but all are complete: that of Malta takes us back to the Knights of St. John. The Indian coinage is judiciously begun with our own coinage; and at pp. 344-5, is matter for serious reflection on the criminal folly which has led to the actual disastrous state of the Indian exchange. The book is of the utmost importance.

24. *Epochs of Indian History: Ancient India*, by ROMESH CHANDER DUTT, C.I.E. (London: Longman and Co., 1893, 2s. 6d.) This is the first volume of a new series of Indian Histories, edited by John Adams, M.A. The plan is to entrust each distinctive epoch to a writer specially qualified to deal with it, and to treat rather of the peoples of India, their manners, customs, civilizations and religions, than with mere details of historical facts. Mr. Dutt takes the epoch B.C. 2000 to A.D. 800—a pretty wide one; and, so far as the scope of the work is concerned, he leaves little to be desired. He writes good English—a rather rare qualification nowadays—but he is both prolix and verbose, and sometimes ultra-pedantic; at p. 146 we have *Haridvāra* for what even pundits call Hardwar. Mr. Dutt's special failing is in attempted parallels with European History; and here his mistakes are sometimes ludicrous. He often mentions the Dark Ages, but has no clear idea of their duration. He credits Cluny and Clairvaux with being centres of learning for France, ignorant of the fact that they belonged to a branch of the Benedictine order whose rules substitute manual labour for study. He is unnecessarily dogmatic on subjects still *sub judice*, as the date of the Samvat era. We hope the Editor will use his pencil a little more freely in the subsequent volumes of this series. In spite of the faults we have noted, we can honestly say that this little book should be perused by all students of Indian History, as giving the results of the varied studies and systematized conclusions of a good Sanskrit and English scholar.

25. *Histoire du Peuple d'Israel*, par ERNEST RENAN, tome 4^{ème}. (Paris: Calmann Levy, 1893.) This is the posthumous and therefore final volume of Renan's History, characteristic of the author in every way. The same charm of style, the same extent of reading, the same picturesqueness of grouping, the same anti-Christian spirit, the same almost atheistic tendency, the same boldness of statement, the same dogmatism of prejudiced conclusions, the same mixture of greatness and littleness. Beautifully written, it continues to give us not the real history of the Jews, but what Mr. Renan chooses to decide that this history should be. It is a polished and cultured guide, but a very untrustworthy one, in all except beauty of diction.

26. *The English Baby in India*, by MRS. HOWARD KINGSOTE. (London: J. and A. Churchill, 1893; 2s. 6d.) Like all the technical publications of this well known firm, this is a very useful handbook of the subject of which it treats. Mrs. Kingscote presents to the European wife and mother in India the results of her own experience and study; and in addition to general directions for preservation of health, she treats of most of the ills that infantiflesh is heir to. It promises to be a useful handbook, but she is careful to say that it cannot supersede the necessity for which the proverb honours physicians. It is odd to find it said (p. 96) that "the mother should carefully enquire into her child's diet;" we should have thought it was always known. There is a bitter anti-Indian spirit throughout the work, which we hope will be eliminated in succeeding editions; instances are at pp. 35, 101, 110, etc. The useful instructions given by Mrs. Kingscote will carry greater weight without this kind of twaddle. There are expressions which show that her experience in India has been comparatively limited, as "going away to eat *rice*." She is extra dogmatic too; and while learned men of medicine are still in doubt, she knows all about cholera (p. 130). Her prescriptions, which are generally innocuous, have the fault of not specifying the age of the child, or giving any directions for regulating doses according to age.

27. *Indian Nights' Entertainment*, by the REV. C. SWYNNERTON, F.S.A. (London: Elliot Stock; £1 11s. 6d.) The importance of popular tales can scarcely be overestimated. Modern folk-lorists deduce from them many important and true conclusions with many more just the reverse; and they are always pleasant to read. Mr. Swynnerton, therefore, has done a great service, in collecting from a corner of the Punjab and publishing 85 such tales (of varying length) in a large volume of 368 pages. In the Introduction—short and to the point—he classifies them under (1) Nursery tales, (2) Drolls, (3) National and professional tales, (4) Fables, and (5) Miscellaneous; but in the book itself he judiciously intermixes them, and thus avoids fatiguing the reader by monotony. In such collections the tales must, as a matter of course, vary considerably in interest; here, however, nearly all are very good. Many are easily traceable; of many we know the congeners in other climes; and several are old friends with scarcely a disguise on. The book—which reflects great credit on the publishers and printers—is splendidly illustrated. Almost every page has a picture by native artists, executed with their characteristic minuteness and exactness of detail: a most interesting series, which will do much to

familiarize Indian ways to the eyes of those who have not the chance of visiting distant countries. These illustrations form a very important item in the book, which is itself written in a clear and simple style. While amusing and instructing the young, and furnishing good materials for work to the student of folk-lore, it will be especially welcome as an old and valued friend to those who have resided in India. We can heartily recommend it.

28. *The Anti-Foreign Riots in China, in 1891.* (Shanghai: "North China Herald" office; London: "The London and China Telegraph" office, 1892; 6s.) Over 300 closely printed pages in 8vo. are filled with reprints from the *North China Herald*, and a few other sources; and from these the reader may learn all that it is possible for a foreigner to gather and understand, regarding the causes and occasions of these unfortunate periodical riots and the means of preventing them in the future. But of more consequence still is the insight which they give to the thoughtful reader, into Chinese character and idiosyncrasy and into the by no means blameless system adopted by foreigners towards Chinese. If the Chinese are absurdly touchy and conservative and their officials often culpably apathetic and negligent, the foreigners frequently are equally unreasonable and aggressive. It is, therefore, hard to apportion justly the amount of blame attaching to each. We may, however, ask how the express command of our great Master (Mark vi. 11) is fulfilled by the persistence of missionaries in thrusting themselves into places which do not want them: is there no such thing as a particular country not being yet ripe for the harvest? At p. 104 is a letter from a Chinese, severely criticizing missionary deeds; and among the rest, he brings a direct charge—with chapter and verse—against French priests, of having acted as spies for the French troops. Now, though his other statements were traversed by other writers, this particular one has not been yet met, much less refuted. Since the Crusades taught us to supplement the tardy workings of divine grace with the sharper action of steel, and later on, of gunpowder, and since missionaries have taken to reconciling God and Mammon by simultaneously advocating Christianity and the "influence" of their own country, it is no wonder we have to deplore the comparative sterility of missionary work. This book, deserving of attentive and patient study, is, in general, of a rather anti-Chinese spirit; but the careful and just reader will be compelled to sigh over many of its disclosures, and to blush over not a few. The appendix on Hunan is of special interest.

29. *The Simple Adventures of a Mem Sahib*, by SARAH JEANNETTE DUNCAN. (London: Chatto and Windus, 1893; 7s. 6d.) This book is not meant to be a novel in the usual acceptation of the word; for the inevitable marriage takes place early in its pages, only for the purpose of introducing the reader to a typical Indian household. On this peg the authoress hangs numerous happy and amusing sketches of Indian life and manners, into which her experience gives her a good insight. The scene for the most part is in Calcutta. The book is full of truthful sayings, lively descriptions, gentle satirical strokes, and finely touched delineations; and there is much lively and pleasant reading in its pages which are plenti-

fully interspersed with good illustrations. The reader, however, should remember that Calcutta is not all India.

30. *The Origin and Growth of the Healing Art*, by EDWARD BERDOE. (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1893; 12s. 6d.) Dr. Berdoe gives us a carefully-prepared history of medicine and surgery, treated with a thorough mastery of his subject. He starts with the medicine of primitive man; and it is an evidence of the exhaustive nature of the work, that he begins with the healing art as practised by the lower animals, and includes in his history, which quotes works as late as 1892, many living masters in his profession. No age or country has escaped his research; and almost every subject, even indirectly connected with his purpose, is treated with more or less detail. Hence the book contains much curious matter, and is of interest not only to the professional but also to the general reader, who will find in its varied pages much both of instruction and amusement. After tracing the art from primitive man, through the ancient civilizations of Egypt, Asia (with an excellent chapter on Hindu medicine), and Greece, he brings it to mediæval Europe, and the modern "scientific" period, from its dawn in the XVIth century to the present time. In their respective places, are short biographical notices of every name of note in the profession,—from the most ancient to Pasteur, Virchow, and Sir Andrew Clark, with mesmerism, and the germ theory. The work is well studied, well digested and well written, clear of prejudices, full in details, just in its judgments, and pleasant to read.

31. *Recollection of an Egyptian Princess*, by Her English Governess, MISS E. CHENNELLS. (London: W. Blackwood and Sons; 2 vols., 1893; 6s.) This is a faithful picture of life and character as described by an intelligent observer who conveys her knowledge in an agreeable form.

Miss Chennells' pupil, Princess Zeyneb, is the favourite daughter of Ismael Pasha, the ex-Khedive, who, not adverse to European ideas, allows her to be entirely under the influence of the English governess. The Princess, therefore, grows up little of a good Muhammedan. She does not keep the fast of Ramadan, takes to wearing European dress, etc., which, owing to the orthodox ideas of most of her people, was not looked upon by them with favour, still, she was much liked because of her kindly disposition to all around her. She marries Ibrahim Pasha, and is the only wife of her husband. Miss Chennells continues to be her companion after her marriage and till her untimely death. She has, therefore, every opportunity to make herself thoroughly acquainted with Harem life in all its phases, and she entertains the reader with almost every possible variety of its customs, such as betrothals, processions of the bride, curious superstition about brides, royal trousseaux, wedding fêtes, the etiquette observed on certain occasions, popular superstitions and strange stories, dancing and other amusements, purchase of slaves, the distinction made between black and white slaves, the treatment of European servants, etc.

Photography is popular in the Gynæceum. The Ramadan and Kurban Bairam festivities are faithfully observed in the Harem even when the mistresses are not orthodox or are disinclined to the exertion. The 2nd volume ends with a full account of the pomp and circumstance of the

funeral of the Princess. Miss Chennells' work is in fact a collection of chatty little essays on Harem events, which are well written and delicate in tone and matter. The book is well got-up, and contains photographs of the chief personages concerned. The authoress avoids all scandal and thus sets a good example, not only to other writers, but also, and above all, to those who being admitted to positions of trust in Oriental families are bound, both by good taste and duty, to abstain from retailing "tales out of school." Ismael Pasha is still alive, but is detained at the palace of Emirghian on the Bosphorus during the Sultan's pleasure, watching the events in Egypt which he can no longer control.

32. *Arabic-English Dictionary*, by the late W. T. WORTABET, with the collaboration of J. WORTABET, M.D., and H. PORTER, Ph.A. (London: Luzac and Co., 1882.) This Dictionary, printed in Beyrout, may be recommended to scholars, students and travellers as a carefully compiled work, containing a large number of references within a comparatively small compass (8vo., 814 pp.). Derivatives are invariably enumerated under their respective root-forms and there only; if the latter were distinguished from the former not merely by an asterisk, which does not always catch the eye, but also by being printed in larger and more prominent type, much trouble and confusion would be saved to the user of the dictionary; at present the "guiding" words at the top of each column are positively distracting. One looks, for instance, through *K*, and is suddenly startled by words beginning with *A* being printed in the corners of the pages, simply because some derivatives of each root beginning with *K* necessarily commence with *AK*. It is impossible to express how annoying these supposed "guiding words" are, and how advantageous even their mere omission would be. The grammatical peculiarities, meanings and usages are well and carefully set forth; occasionally illustrative sentences or current idiomatic phrases are added. The only instances of omission which we have discovered are تَقَى and تَلَّى which ought not to be absent, especially not the former. It may not be out of place here to remark that since the publication of the Arabic Dictionary by Dr. F. Steingass (London: W. Allen and Co.) no Arabic-English Dictionary has come into our hands, which for thoroughness and scholarship joined to convenience and "all-round" usefulness even distantly approaches the excellence of that work.

33. The Sanskrit Monthly Magazine *Vidyodaya* entered in January last upon the 22nd year of its existence, a long lease for an Indian literary journal. Originally established at Lahore, it has appeared since April, 1882, at Calcutta, and continues to be largely subvented by the Oriental University Institute, Woking. Its object appears to be to place, at a very moderate price, in the hands of Sanskrit students selections from Sanskrit literature ranging from the Upanishads down to a translation of "Hamlet," and from abstruse philosophical treatises to the pleasant tales of the *Puruṣaparīkṣā*. In the 5 fasciculi that have appeared in the current year we note especially instalments of Udayana's *Kusumājali* and *Ātmatattvavivēka* (of both of which works good printed editions already exist), and of an *Advaitaprakaraṇam*, the author of which is not specified. There are also

instalments of some *Alankārasūtram*, of a *Purushalakṣhanam* (from the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*?), and of the well-known grammar *Paribhāṣendus'ekhara*, the text of which has the advantage of "a new explanatory gloss." The editor has adopted the good plan of giving to each work a separate consecutive pagination. We would suggest the further improvement of a brief literary introduction to each work, and the addition where desirable of a critical apparatus as is done in the "*Kāvya-mālā*," which is in every respect a pattern of good editing.

REINHOLD ROST.

34. *The Chinese Classics*, with a translation, critical and exegetical, notes, prolegomena and copious indexes, by JAMES LEGGE, Professor of Chinese in the University of Oxford. Second edition. Revised. Vol. i. containing Confucian Analects, the Great Learning, and the Doctrine of the Mean. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1893.)

In the revision of this work it is pleasant to notice that Professor Legge has reconsidered his verdict on the greatness of Confucius. In the first edition it was said, "I hope I have not done him injustice; after long study of his character and opinions I am unable to regard him as a great man." In the Oxford edition now published, we read in place of this the words, "I hope I have not done him injustice; the more I have studied his character and opinions, the more highly I have come to regard him. He was a very great man." In the first edition he said, "He was not before his age, though he was above the mass of the officers and scholars of his time. He threw no new light on any of the questions which have a world-wide interest. He gave no impulse to religion. He had no sympathy with progress. His influence has been wonderful, but it will henceforth wane. My opinion is that the faith of the nation in him will speedily and extensively pass away." In the new edition Professor Legge says of Confucius, "His influence has been on the whole a great benefit to the Chinese, while his teaching suggests important lessons to ourselves who belong to the school of Christ."

That Confucius was a great man is clear by the fact that he has been so greatly honoured by his nation, that his books are studied till the present time, and form the groundwork of education throughout China, and that he placed morality above royalty and aristocracy as that controlling power which ought to rule in the individual, the family, and the State. As a champion of morality he occupies a unique position. He loved teaching, and his disciples made him happy by their progress. His meditations on the decline of virtue and manners in his day made him sad. He thought of duty, right, purity, disinterestedness, sympathy with the people as all of the highest importance. He aimed consistently to show that covetousness and injustice, insincerity and oppression, are to be heartily condemned. He has become by this teaching the brightest example of a morally great man that China has produced, and by combining the work of the political and social teacher in one, he is without a rival the "uncrowned king."

The books of Confucius, in fact, hold the country together, and constitute the realized ideal of Chinese thinking. They show for example, that politics must be essentially based on moral principle, and that the sage must be uniformly a warning voice to incline great men and common men

to virtue's side. The government of China, whether Manchu, Mongol, or Chinese, has never failed to recognise the necessity of maintaining the stability of the state on moral principles, nor has it ever ceased to honour Confucius as the national sage because he taught these things. Intellectual greatness is inferior to moral greatness.

This renders it very important to have an accurate translation of the Four Books in the English language. This we have in Professor Legge's work. The English reader can acquaint himself here with the inner thought of the Chinese nation. This is how they think, the standard on which to this day they still model elaborate books, literary essays, and state papers. An ordinary Chinese scholar or diplomat knows every sentence of these books by heart; and he judges the words and actions of his foreign visitor by their principles, which touch every point in the daily life of the people, and in the administration of affairs by every local magistrate. China, therefore, is best understood by combining a knowledge of these books with a practical acquaintance with things as they are in China at the present time.

In the translation now beautifully reprinted at the Clarendon Press there are not many changes. The orthography for Chinese names is altered so as to suit that of the Sacred Books of the East, and also the system of Sir Thomas Wade. There is one numbering of pages carried through the introductions and the text. Also the chapter headings are printed along the upper margin of the pages. In the old edition the lack of this was always inconvenient. Reference to passages is now much easier than before.

I regret that Professor Legge does not see Persian influence in the worship of the South-west corner mentioned in page 159. I had written to him contending that we ought to find in this place a reference to fire-worship as having been by the time of Confucius introduced from Persia into China. He prefers not the Chinese view as represented by Chu hi, who recognises that there was a sacrifice, but an older explanation which does away with the idea of sacrifice. I appeal to the *Ti li* as proving that burnt sacrifices were offered to the spirit of the South-west corner, and to Tu yü's comment on the *Chün Chün* corresponding to pp. 174, 176, 177 of Professor Legge's Translation. Tu yü says expressly that the human sacrifice there described was in accordance with the rites of the Persian religion. The spot was not many miles distant from the home of Confucius. A modern writer, Kiang yung, says in *Si shu tien tin*, ch. 19, p. 20, under the word "burnt sacrifice," that the worship of the South-west corner was offered to an aged woman. It was a burnt sacrifice. The men of that time regarded this as sacrificing to the god of fire. By the aged woman was meant the personage who taught the art of cooking to mankind. Confucius condemned this. It was the first cook, and not the god of fire, and therefore in the opinion of the sage, a contemporary officer, Wen chung in using a burnt sacrifice on the occasion, was in the wrong. He then adds from one of the authorized imperial comments that the sacrifice to the kitchen god is properly offered every summer, and that an aged woman is also sacrificed to at the same time as his wife.

The whole subject of the ancient worship of China may be illuminated.

by careful research into the contemporary religions of Asia, and this is an instance of it; for Tu yü lived about sixteen centuries ago, and the *Ti li* is a classic. So also with the old Chinese writing. It needs to be made plain by adducing parallel facts respecting contemporary foreign scripts. Old Chinese characters are identical with Accadian characters, and the tadpole writing existing in China in the time of Confucius, was so called because it was similar to the cuneiform writing of Western Asia. When mentioning the tadpole writing, Professor Legge does not allude to this. To my mind the shape and colour of the tadpole were to the Chinese scholar suitably suggestive of the appearance of cuneiform writing. The Chinese in their written character, as in their seals, their war-chariots, their astrolabes, their clepsydras, and their sundials, were borrowers, and they were always borrowing. Every intelligent nation should and will borrow.

Yet while lacking such improvements as these, the translation of Professor Legge is of very great value for its fulness and accuracy, and may be strongly recommended.

J. EDKINS.

35. *Where Three Empires Meet*, by E. F. KNIGHT. (London: Longmans and Co., 1893; 18s.). This book ought rather to be called "Where Three Empires do *not* Meet," where they cannot meet, in any real sense of the term, and where, if they meet, there are mainly sheep and dogs and their Khirghiz keepers to be described. "Where Three Empires Meet" is supposed to be that debatable portion of the barren Pamirs to which neither China, nor Russia, nor England has yet reached. The Pamirs and their nomadic inhabitants are, however, not described by Mr. Knight. His travels were chiefly in Kashmir, Ladak and Skardo, countries which have been fully described since Vigne wrote in 1842 and Cunningham in 1853. To Mr. Knight, however, his predecessors did not exist, for he apparently had the ambition of writing a new revelation. For this purpose Mr. Knight was not fitted by merely being the author of two naval cruises and the correspondent of some English newspapers. He left England on the 26th of February 1891 and was already in Ladak by the middle of May, so he saw little of India. He also took part in our attack on Hunza-Nagar and, naturally enough for an amateur, glorifies it. Were our perennial frontier campaigns similarly accompanied by a newspaper correspondent, there would be many deeds to chronicle even more heroic than that of Aylmer in putting gun-cotton under the gate of the Nilt Fort. We there played Russia's game in going to expense and alienating the tribes because of the mare's nest of Grombcheffsky's visit, and there we have also destroyed an ancient landmark of Aryan civilization when we broke up the Fairy-Land of Hunza and Dard forms of polity generally, not to speak of the Vandalism of selling the Manuscripts of the Hunza Library by auction to the Sepoys at Gilgit, where also went the ancestral family axes of prehistoric lore. It is a great presumption in this journalist to ride rough-shod over facts and peoples, that he had not the preliminary training for rightly appreciating. Indeed, unless his going to India was a *coup monté*, as were, undoubtedly, the respective Russian and British advances, we fail to understand how a person, unacquainted with Oriental languages and totally ignorant of Dard history, can dare so to mislead British opinion as not only to justify the

encroachments already made, but also to encourage further collisions to the injury of our Indian Empire. "Fools rush in where angels fear to tread," but to be an authority on Kashmir, Tibet, Dardistan, and the great Indian Frontier problem, one should be more than "a fine fellow," fond of port, and whose main hardship appears to have been the absence of beef. Indian Officials, compromised in the present policy of approaching Russia through the destruction of inoffensive intervening autonomies, eagerly seized on him and gave him much one-sided information, which he has used in their interests. Thus it was easy to convert him into an advocate of the official view. Kashmir he saw through the spectacles of the Settlement officer, visited the (to him) "mystic" land of Ladák with Capt. Bower, "took part in Col. Durand's expedition against the raiding Huna-Nagyrs" (the Nagyris have never raided at all) and has come to the conclusion that "the Indian Government can be trusted to do everything as heretofore," and that "it is foolish for people at home to airily criticize" its policy. We cordially agree with him that it *was* "foolish for one to do so who has spent but a year in the East and who, therefore, has just had time to realize what a vast amount he has yet to learn;" still, so thoroughly does the book hit off the superficial taste of the ordinary reader, so well has it been got up by the publishers, so cleverly and so profusely is it illustrated, that it is almost a pleasure to discover old facts with new faces or events in their disguise. So true it is that there could be no Achilles without his Homer and that the imagination of the latter might easily dispense with the existence of the former. Here is a man, who reprints the articles that he has sent to English newspapers, serenely unconscious of their refutation in many important particulars in the Press and at public meetings, and who yet is a welcome guide, philosopher and friend to a public that has forgotten this fact.* Anticipating, as it were the labours of the proposed Pamir Delimitation Commission, he gives us the following *explanation* (!) "*where Three Empires meet.*" It is, at the same time, a good specimen of his tone and style: "Kashmir has been *called* the northern bastion of India. Gilgit *can be described* as her *farther* outpost. And hard by Gilgit it is that, in *an undefined way*, on the high Roof of the World—what more fitting a place?—the three greatest Empires of the Earth *meet*—Great Britain, Russia and China. Hence the title I have given to this book;" (the italics are ours). Having thus found, and made the most of, a catching title, he now leaves the subject severely alone throughout the whole of his book. We cannot more thoroughly expose its failure than by repeating the praise which it receives from a leading Indian journal, which represents official opinion: "It was certainly a stroke of good fortune for the Indian" (official) "world that sent Mr. E. F. Knight to these shores in the spring of 1891. Of how few 'globe-trotters' can this be said. . . . Mr. Knight does not seem even to have gone through a 'Griffinhood'. . . . That

* It is lucky that an injunction is not taken out on behalf of the good old Raja of Nagyr who is confounded with "ignorant and blood-thirsty scoundrels, faithless to treaty obligations, . . . who murdered and sold their subjects," etc., and that too after these mis-statements had unconsciously, indirectly and incidentally, been disproved by a letter of the Raja written years ago, which we published in the "Asiatic Quarterly Review" of January, 1892.—E.O.

Mr. Knight is essentially *bin camarado* is only what one would have guessed from his previous books. On his way out he met Mr. C. Spedding, of Kashmir fame, who at once took him in charge as far as that State was concerned. At Srinagar he was *seized upon* by the Settlement officer, Mr. Lawrence, who showed him the realities of life in the Maharaja's dominions. . . . It is needless to say of such a man when he comes forward in the capacity of author that he has used his opportunities with equal *loyalty* and good taste." [The italics are ours.] A non-official Indian journalist writes: "The routes taken by Mr. Knight, as marked on the convenient if not very detailed map, prefixed to the work, although travelled over before and under much less favourable circumstances, are not so neck-breaking as would appear. We specially refer to the Indus route from Skardo to Astor. He did not make his way single-handed through a new or hostile country, as did some of his predecessors, but he strutted along, ever strongest on the stronger side that required a willing pen in order to justify the most suicidal of encroachments. We regret that his demeanour towards the natives seems to show that off-hand and contemptuous manner, which more than any Russian aggression weakens our hold on India. He admits on page 258 that he does not even know why Dardistan, on which he poses as an authority, is so called, and the 'unexplored' country in his map has been pretty well known for the last 28 years. He is astonished at the sight of an Indian Fakir, but, fortunately, finds no 'Mahatmas' in Tibet. None of these things, however, detracts from the interest of the book to the general reader, any more than does the fact, patent in its pages, that the author is as loud in the praise of his friends, as he is strong in his abuse of whatever does not commend itself to his approval. So far as his ignorance of the languages enabled him, he travelled with his eyes and ears wide open and he has much to tell us which is decidedly worth reading regarding the Tibetan miracle-plays, or other matters which depend more on observation than judgment or knowledge. On the policy of further annexation in the fastnesses of Dardistan and of further construction of military roads we do not agree with Mr. Knight, any more than we do in his general contempt for the people and their ways, which he expresses sometimes with benign pity, oftener with savage condemnation. He repeats many stories to the discredit of some of these peoples, without allowing for the fact that they are inventions of their hereditary enemies. The recent invention of a certain Chief's descent from Alexander the Great is treated seriously. Nor are we inclined to be too sympathetic with his descriptions of military operations, where disciplined and well-armed men defeated those who were the reverse. Still, we recommend the book to the general reader, in spite of its failures, or our differing from its conclusions, for it has the great merit of stimulating curiosity, of retaining the attention of the reader on subjects hitherto unfamiliar to him and of preparing the way for a more exhaustive and judicious work on regions which from every point of view offer the greatest interest to the scholar and the statesman." What the Hunzas think of us, and we of Mr. Knight, may be inferred from their pantomime in which they describe a rampant Anglo-Saxon who after failing to hit an ibex

within two inches of his gun, turns on his Shikari or native Gillie and kicks him! Mr. Knight sees the fun, but not the irony on our disregard of natives and our worship of red tape, when an anglicized Babu, a type to which we are reducing our subjects, evidently wishing to please his masters, suggests that some grain that he suspected of being poisoned might be given to the Balti coolies "and watch if they thrive on it," or when another Babu proposes that we might offer terms of peace to the enemy, take our native allies to the Conference, and then blow all up together by a Sahib inserting the famous gun-cotton and a lit fuse into the wall, who then "retires with careless slowness as if nothing was up," or to tie up a big batch of prisoners in a bunch and "slay them with shrapnell shell. I have carefully looked through the regulations, and find nothing to forbid this plan."

36. The second volume of "*Entartung*," (Degeneracy) by DR. MAX NORDAU (Berlin: Carl Duncker, 1893) on literary aberrations and eccentricities from a scientific standpoint, has just appeared. It is impossible within the limits of space at our disposal to give more than a general indication of this remarkable inquiry. Hosts of writers from various countries, with characteristic passages, are passed in review by Dr. Nordau, including many names that are not known to the English public and whose influence on their age is yet undoubted. We, therefore, reiterate the hope already expressed at the appearance of the first volume, that "*Entartung*" may be suitably translated into English. Starting with "egotism," as distinguished from "egoism" or selfishness, as the basis of the morbid developments of our *Fin de siècle* Literature, Dr. Nordau shows that mental disease can alone explain them. Its symptoms are compared with those of medical practice and we find the lunatic or the idiot, in various stages, in the monomaniac of whatever kind, the voluptuary all as frantic, the poetaster's eye rolling not in the fine frenzy of genius but in that of incipient or advanced madness, such as a physician would be bound to recognise. Typical words and sentences, supposed to contain a thought, from modern writings are examined with the result of showing the vacuity, intellectual exhaustion or perversion, with which vice and hereditary degeneracy are identical. His analysis of Ibsen's plays similarly proves that their author, beyond a powerful grasp of their technical *mise en scène*, is a man of one—and that the poorest—idea (the revolt against the marriage-tie) which is repeated *ad nauseam* in ever-recurrent similar passages and names and thinly disguised reiterations of the same personages and plots. It is not merely greed and vanity that create a Zola, but disease. Dr. Nordau dissects his works and shows how largely they are indebted to his use of the judicial record of a criminal family. When the eye, the ear, the nose, the touch are vitiated in disease, then arise those literary peculiarities of bad or strange taste, that are the admiration of a public already debased by those national or social processes of decay which Dr. Nordau shows at work in our gangrened civilization. Thus he introduces us to the Psychology of Egotism, which is the exaggeration of the individualism that characterizes modern tendencies, but which is the destruction of Society that can only be maintained by *altruism*, ranging from sympathy to patriotism or other forms of conformity or self-abnegation for the common-weal. The egotist-reformer destroys for the

sake of destroying what may not please his passions or the narrow range of his conceptions; the altruistic reformer builds even where he reluctantly destroyed. Dr. Nordau then examines what is practically the School of the so-called Parnassians and Diabolists with Catulle Mendès and Gautier at their head, who sacrifice matter to manner, sense to sound and feeling to form or "impassibility," for which the English mannerism of *nil admirari* has much to answer. Baudelaire leads the "demoniacs" in singing of lust, crime, disease and corpses, but why add to the publicity of these decrepit specimens of humanity, unless it be to dissolve their following? The Chapter on "Decadence and Aestheticism" deals with the inversion of the moral sense, of which Huysman's "*à rebours*" is typical. His hero stimulates crime in order to foster his own indignation with Society, but he lives in an artificial manner, which discloses to Dr. Nordau the secrets of his diseased imagination. We wonder what Oscar Wilde would say to finding himself among the egotists as well as æsthetics, but Dr. Nordau's criticism of his idiosyncrasies seem unanswerable. To Nietzsche and his School in Germany Dr. Nordau assigns a special chapter and the lunatic asylum, to which, we hear, he has been consigned, whilst the Schools that follow Zola and the "young Germany" that also apes Realism before it is even emancipated from leading-strings are similarly dealt with critically, humorously and pathetically. Altogether we are in a bad way, but the twentieth century may see the revolt against the hysterical follies of our age which threaten to bury all the conquests of past culture.

How this is to be done by the association of physicians with high-minded literary men to make immoral popularities impossible and how far more probable is the gradual disuse of Railways, telegraphs, books and everything requiring attention by an exhausted and diseased generation, what is the lower deep in these depths and what the details of the added gloom of further degeneracy, are described in a masterly manner by Dr. Nordau, whose appeal in favour of the maintenance of ancient traditions in Art and Literature and of healthy conceptions of life and duty, will make his "*magnum opus*" doubly acceptable to the Critic and the Philanthropist.

37. *The Nine Circles; or, the Torture of the Innocent*, being Records of Vivisection, English and Foreign. Compiled by G. M. RHODES and revised Edition. With Introduction by EDWARD BERDOE, M.R.C.S., etc. (Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1893; 1s.)

We quote the following from its preface and are glad that the present edition has rendered the case unassailable for the anti-vivisection society by eliminating the mistakes of the previous edition. "The extracts of which this book is composed do not describe exceptional experiments, but are samples selected out of hundreds of similar character, showing the different kinds of vivisection practised in England and other countries and illustrating the mental attitude of the professional physiologists. . . .

"That any immediate benefit to mankind is not contemplated by ordinary vivisection has, over and over again, been demonstrated. . . .

"The justifiable impulse to demand some proof of the useful results to be derived therefrom, has recently been characterized by a leading vivisector as 'the miserable spirit of *cui bono?*' Another has told us that science

must advance, and the 'question of the animal being sensitive, cannot alter the mode of investigation.' This book will sufficiently show that even where care is used, the infliction of pain amounting to torture is unavoidable in this method of research."

38. *A Pargidnya, Inno di Vdsista, per Giuseppe Turrini* (Bologna: Regia Topografia, 1892; L. 4.) This short hymn of only 3 lines (27 words) is translated literally into Italian, preceded by two versions of its text. That, however, is the least part of this *édition de luxe*, splendidly produced by the Royal press of Bologna. The notes and Glossaries which form its greater part, prove (if proof were needed) the varied learning, the deep erudition, and the careful study of the learned Professor of Indo-European Philology in the University of Bologna. A good specimen of the style of his work is given at p. 49, in the word "jutra," of which he traces the derivation through various languages to the root *pā* = cleanse, to purify. We understand that the learned professor has long been engaged on similar work, and that the fragment under review is only one of many translations already achieved.

FURTHER PUBLICATIONS OF THE ORIENTAL CONGRESS OF 1891.

39. *Sommaire des études turques, par M. Clement Huart* (Woking: The Oriental University Institute, 1893). M. Huart has revised and brought up to date (end of 1892) the statement which he prepared for the Statutory IXth International Congress of Orientalists of London 1891, of the work done in Turkish literature during the period 1886-91. It forms one of the excellent series of similar Summaries for which that congress was remarkable. M. Huart, whose position as Dragoman of the French Embassy at Constantinople gives him exceptional opportunity for such a work, has elaborated this summary with a care and diligence which leave nothing to be desired. This little work should be in the hands of all students of the Turkish language, who will find in it notices of many useful books which might otherwise escape their attention.

40. *Aperçu des études philologiques des langues malaises, par J. J. Meyer* (Woking: The Oriental University Institute, 1893) is another of the same series of summaries, and deals with the work done in the Malayan language during the years 1886-91. Its author, Mr. Meyer, who is an official in the Dutch East Indies, gives an exhaustive list of all the publications in this branch of linguistic studies.

41. *Sommaire des travaux relatifs à l'Indo-Chine, par M. E. Aymonier* (Woking: The Oriental University Institute, 1893) is another of the same series of Summaries,—the 3rd published during this quarter. The able pen of the Director of the Colonial School of Paris has treated his subject in the most thorough manner; and all the principal works and writings bearing on it, which have been published from 1886 to 1891, receive due notice in his pamphlet.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

We have to thank the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for having sent us their set of *Chinese Religious Text Books*, forming volumes XVI., XXVII.,

XXVIII, XXXIX. and XL. of the Series of the Sacred Books of the East, edited by Prof. Max Müller, and the *Book of Enoch*, translated from Prof. Dilmann's text, and edited by R. H. Charles (1893). We have received these valuable books too late to give, in this issue, as full a review as their importance deserves; but we hope to do them justice next quarter.

We have before us a *fasciculus* of Messrs. Funk and Wagnall's (New York, London and Toronto) *Standard Dictionary of the English Language*, consisting of specimen pages culled from the work. It is in three columns on each page,—size, and type similar to Messrs. George Bell and Sons' *Webster's Dictionary*. On comparison we find p. 309. of the latter corresponds to p. 384 of the former, which shows how much more matter has been incorporated in the later work. The illustrations are very good; and under its very efficient staff of Editors, including a great number of names well known on both sides of the Atlantic, it promises to be a very useful adjunct to all good libraries.

We have to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of: 1. *The Contemporary Review* (Isbister and Co.); 2. *El Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid* (1st Quarter of 1893), which contains a good article on the Cabots; 3. *La Minerva* (Roma, Società Lazzale), a good monthly specilegium from many English and other reviews; 4. *The Polybiblion* (Paris: Rue St. Simon); 5. *Biblia*, a New York monthly magazine of Biblical and Oriental research; 6. *The Review of Reviews*; 7. *The Strand Magazine*, always fresh and interesting; 8. and *The Picture Magazine*, the beautiful companion of *The Strand*; 9. *The Religious Review of Reviews*; 10. *The Missionary Review of Reviews* (Funk and Wagnall's, New York); 11. *La Revue des Revues* (Paris); 12. *La Revue Générale* (Bruxelles: Société Belge de Librairie); 13. *The Library Review* (Hutchinson and Co.); 14. *The Indian Magazine and Review* (Archibald Constable); 15. *Tung Pao*, the bimonthly publication of the learned Professors G. Schlegel and H. Cordier (E. J. Brill); 16. *Journal of the East India Association*; 17. *La Civiltà Cattolica*, which maintains its reputation as the leading Catholic Periodical—occasionally rather bitter in tone (Rome, A. Belfani); 18. *Comptes-Rendus de la Société de Géographie de Paris*; 19. *Lucifer*; 20. *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*; 21. *The Antiquary* (Elliot Stock); 22. *The American Journal of Philology* (Baltimore, U.S.A.); 23. *The Scottish Geographical Society's Magazine* (Edinburgh); 24. *Le Bulletin des Sommaires*; 25. *The Journal of the Society of Arts*; 26. *Public Opinion* (Washington and New York); 26. *Ueber Land und Meer*; 27. *India*, the organ of the Indian National Congress.

THE IMPERIAL
AND
Asiatic Quarterly Review,
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

OCTOBER, 1893.

THE DEFENCE OF INDIA.

PART II—ALSO A REPLY TO CRITICISM.

BY GENERAL THE RIGHT HON. LORD CHELMSFORD, G.C.B.

IN my article on "the Defence of India" which appeared in the July number of the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, and in letters of mine which have been lately published in the *Times*, I pointed out that India possesses on her north, and north-west, frontier a natural defensive strategical position, exceptionally strong, admirably adapted to the present condition of our Indian military and financial resources, and capable of the highest artificial development. I asserted that it would be the height of folly, not to use a stronger term, to ignore the advantages which that position affords; and to endeavour, by an advance beyond that position, to try and find another, which must necessarily be a weaker one.

I also drew attention to the fact that if, as Mr. George Curzon most positively asserts, we have pledged to the Amir of Afghanistan the integrity of Herat, Maimana, and Andkui, (which are situated in the extreme north of his dominions, the nearest point, Herat, being 784 miles distant from the Indus,) the serious military question must necessarily arise:—How are we to fulfil those obligations?

Mr. George Curzon has given no answer to that question, and I doubt his ability to do so. To my mind there is

but one safe course to adopt, in order to ensure that integrity, to safeguard the interests of our Indian Empire, and to prevent its resources being squandered in, what Mr. George Curzon has so aptly described as, "a wild goose chase over Afghanistan."

That course must be what I faintly sketched out in the concluding portion of my article; viz.—a firm attitude on the part of our Home Government; a fixed determination to make any infraction of the integrity of Afghanistan by Russia a "*casus belli*"; and the certainty that, in such a case, our fleets would be sent into Russian waters.

The views expressed in that article, and in those letters, produced a goodly crop of criticism, some of which was not couched in the most courteous terms. Sarcasm and ridicule however are not argument, and should not have found a place in a discussion which was dealing with so important a subject as the best means of defending our Indian Empire from attack by a European Power. Not one of those, moreover, who find fault with my scheme of Indian frontier defence, has ventured to recommend in lieu of it any definite scheme of his own. Mr. George Curzon in his reply to my letter of the 19th August, says—"I am as much against embarking upon a wild goose chase over Afghanistan, at an immense distance from our own base, as is Lord Chelmsford, and have argued strongly against it in my book on Central Asia. But I know of no strategist who now recommends such a rash proceeding, or who advocates what Lord Chelmsford calls—"pushing forward our own frontier some 700 miles."

What then does Mr. George Curzon, and those who support his somewhat hazy views on this important subject, consider ought to be done, in the event of an infraction by Russia of our treaties regarding the boundaries of Afghanistan? They are one and all silent on this point; or only venture upon vague generalities, which are no solution of this very difficult question. Mr. George Curzon when asked point-blank by an interviewer of the "*Pall Mall*

THE IMPERIAL
AND
Asiatic Quarterly Review
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD,
WOKING, 1st October, 1893.



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THE MANAGER,

"Asiatic Quarterly Review,"

WOKING.

Gazette"—"Where do you think the battlefield will be"? is reported to have replied—"It's hazardous work predicting a battlefield, when one still hopes to avoid the necessity of a conflict; but the exact locality of the battlefield would depend on whether the Russians adopted the northern or southern line of advance." "And if the southern line?" says the interviewer—"I don't think they'll be in a hurry to hurl themselves upon the almost impregnable position of Quetta."

Why then, if such are the views of Mr. George Curzon, is he so astonished that I should have seriously advocated a scheme of defence for India in which the intrenched camp at Quetta plays so prominent a part; and in which I recommend that two similar camps should be formed at Peshawur and on the road from Ghazni to the Indus. If Quetta can be made impregnable, why should not the other two be made equally so? and if the Russians, according to Mr. George Curzon, would hesitate "to hurl themselves" upon the one; why should they not be equally reluctant to "hurl themselves" upon the others?

The advantage of the position, which I have advocated, must be patent to the meanest capacity. It must either be regarded by the Russians as so strong that they would "hesitate to hurl themselves upon it"; in which case it has fulfilled its purpose; or, if they determine to advance towards the Indus, they must either first make a direct attack upon the intrenched camps, and endeavour to capture one or more of them; or they must pass them by. In either case we should be able to come to close quarters with our enemy, which of course would be the object of any other plan of campaign that might be adopted. In the one scheme however we should be fighting on our own selected ground, within comfortable distance of our supplies and reserves; which would not be the case in any more "forward" scheme. Now the above scheme of defence which I have just described, is identical with that which was recommended most strongly in 1878 by our great

English strategist, Sir Edward Hamley; who again in 1888, in the House of Commons, pointed out the advantages of it.

In the face of this fact however Mr. George Curzon, for the sake of a little smart writing, in his letter to the "Times," of the 25th August has caricatured that scheme in the following terms:

"Meanwhile the British are to fortify Peshawur, as they have done Quetta, and are to sit still, . . . twiddling their thumbs, until at some time in the next century, Russia sees fit to step down to the Indus."

It would be absurd to take notice of such criticism, were the question not one of such moment. The safety of India however is involved.

Assuming therefore, for the sake of argument, that it would be dangerous to await an advance of Russia towards India in the strong defensive position just described; what is to be the alternative scheme?

Mr. George Curzon deprecates "a wild goose chase over Afghanistan," and considers any pushing forward of our frontier some 700 miles would be "a rash proceeding" which no strategist of his acquaintance now advocates.

If we accept such an opinion as sensible and sound, which I believe it to be, then the idea of occupying Herat, in the interests of the Amir, or of recapturing it, in the event of Russia taking possession of that fortress, must be abandoned, for it is, as I have already pointed out, 784 miles distant from the Indus.

How then, again I ask, does Mr. George Curzon intend to secure the integrity of Herat, Maimana, and Andkui?

He has stated that the non-fulfilment of our promise to do so "would signify a gross breach of faith to the Amir, who relying upon our pledges, has subordinated his foreign relations to our control, and who will, undoubtedly, call upon us to defend him from unprovoked attack." It is surely not unreasonable that he should be asked to make his meanings clear.

An advance towards Herat being abandoned, what other defensive positions are to be found on the Indian side of that fortress? I know of none other but Kandahar and Kabul. Let us see then what advantages these two cities possess as defensive positions.

In 1881 General Sir Donald Stewart, than whom no more competent authority could be found, wrote a memorandum "on the strategical and political value of Kandahar as a position."

"Covering as it does," he says, "the roads from Eastern Persia and Herat, as well as that from Kabul and Ghazni, Kandahar is no doubt a position of much importance. The features of the country in the immediate vicinity of the city are favourable for defence; but its occupation by us would entail the establishment of strong posts on the Helmand and at Kelat-i-Ghilzai *at least*, bringing the intervening districts under our control" (I may here mention that the distance from Kandahar to the Helmand is 76 miles; and to Kelat-i-Ghilzai 88 miles)—"Assuming however the retention of the country embraced within the limits here indicated, we do not thereby obtain a satisfactory frontier, because it would be impossible to guard such a long and exposed line without a series of military or police posts as connecting links." "The political objection to the retention of Kandahar in opposition to the wishes of the Afghans seem to me to be very strong." The occupation of Kandahar therefore, either from a political, or from a military point of view, would clearly not be a strengthening of our military position, and it would seem therefore clearly desirable to remain in, what Mr. George Curzon admits to be, "the almost impregnable position of Quetta."

The position at Kabul was found to be an exceedingly weak one during the time that it was occupied by the force under Sir Frederick, now Lord, Roberts, in 1879-80. The intrenched camp at Sherpur was so situated as to command nothing but the actual ground on which it was placed.

The spurs of the Pagman range on the West, and of the Hindu Kush on the North and East, close it in on three sides and render extended reconnoissances difficult and practically useless. It is separated from the road to Jellalabad by the Kabul river, and does not therefore cover the line of communications along which the supplies and reinforcements from India must come. It does not command the town of Kabul, nor practically any of the roads leading to that town. It is difficult to conceive a weaker position. This was so fully recognised that after the successful repulse of the attack made upon the camp, a scheme of defence, which had been long prepared, was commenced. Captain Hoskyns, Royal Engineers, in a lecture delivered at the Royal United Service Institution May 5, 1882, gives an interesting account of what that scheme was. It consisted of the building of 10 Forts; 15 detached works; 3 large trestle bridges; numerous small ones; 4000 yards of defence; 45 miles of road; 2 posts; also quarters for 8000 men, followers and baggage animals. It must also be borne in mind that on the 30 June 1880 there were 14,854 men keeping open the line of communications between Peshawur and Kabul, a distance of only 173 miles. A position which requires such a scattering of the defending force, and such a number of troops to keep open its communications, is clearly not a desirable one to occupy. There would be evidently no advantage in going beyond the Peshawur valley for such a poor result.

I have studiously avoided thus far mixing up political with military considerations. What I have been all along anxious to bring home to the minds of my readers is the extraordinary military strength of, what I must call, our *natural* line of defence on the North-West frontier of India, and the serious weakness of those defensive positions which are to be found beyond it. Mr. George Curzon however has in his letter of 19 August, summarised his objections, political as well as military, to my policy, which policy, he says, "cannot be, and never will be adopted." I feel bound therefore to answer them seriatim.

1st. "It would signify a gross breach of faith to the Amir."

As Mr. George Curzon does not advocate any advance upon Herat, Maimana, or Andkui, in the event of an occupation of those places by Russia, I do not see where his policy differs from mine—which is, as I have already said, to avoid any forward movement of troops into Afghanistan, and to look to the Home Government as the "*Deus ex machina*" to help the Amir out of his difficulties.

2nd. "It would alienate from all possible alliance with us the entire Afghan people."

I must repeat, assuming that statement to be correct, that Mr. George Curzon's abstention from advancing to Herat would have precisely similar effects. Our experience however of the Afghan people in the past has been that they are always inclined to resent, very forcibly, any occupation of their country by our troops.

3rd. "It would turn against us the whole of the Border tribes."

I cannot admit this assertion; as we should be in direct communication with all those on the line of a Russian advance; and actually living amongst a large number of them.

4th. "It would hand over gratis to Russia a priceless base of operations."

The value of this priceless base of operations is seriously discounted, by the line of operations, leading from it, being blocked by intrenched camps, practically impregnable, and which could not be passed by, without serious risk to an invading army.

5th. "It would give her the finest recruiting-ground in Asia."

The Afghans are a most insubordinate people. The Indian official report of the Anglo-Afghan war of 1879-80 gives a list of 48 different tribes, into which they are divided, some of whom in religion are Shiah, and some Sunni; they are

consequently bitterly opposed one towards the other. The Afghan is, as a rule, reluctant to leave his own part of the country, and, if enlisted, would prove himself very unreliable, and probably more dangerous to the Russians than he would be to ourselves.*

6th. "It would enable her to threaten the long and vulnerable line of passes through the Suleimans."

Threatened men, it is said, live long; and considering that *before* a Russian army could reach the Suleiman range it would have to reckon with the whole strength of our defending force, supported by two strongly intrenched camps, I do not think that the objection in question can be considered a strong one!

7th. "It would entail upon India an entirely new and enormously expensive scheme of military fortification."

This is a statement not borne out by facts. One intrenched camp situated on a selected spot, somewhere on the Gomal or Tochi passes, between Ghazni and the Indus, would be required; and one somewhere between Peshawur and the Khyber pass. The expense of these would not be large.

8th. "It would involve a corresponding addition to the frontier garrisons."

I do not consider that one extra man would be required, until it was ascertained along which line the Russians were advancing. With our present border railway lines, reinforcements, supplies, and material, could be furnished in very short time wherever required.

* Durānis are opposed to Ghilzais; Turis have perpetual feuds with Waziris; Waziris raid upon the Povindahs; Khostwals, being half Sunnis and half Shiah, are constantly fighting among themselves. The north of Afghanistan is the stronghold of heterodoxy. The Hazaras are bigoted Shiah; and the inhabitants of Badakhshan and Wakhan are divided among themselves, those residing in the hill country being Shiah, and those in the valleys being Sunnis. The first Afghan recruits would be consequently Shiah, and this fact would be sufficient to render all Sunnis bitterly hostile. These initial difficulties may possibly be overcome; but the serious consideration must always remain that, in case of any reverse, these Afghan recruits will, most undoubtedly, to a man, prove broken reeds, which will pierce the hand of Russia.

9th. "It would secure for us the well deserved contempt of the Indian Princes, and would provoke an ultimate, if not an immediate, rising in our rear."

With regard to this allegation, Mr. George Curzon has, in the concluding paragraph of his letter, so far forgotten the ordinary courtesy of controversial correspondence, as to accuse me of recommending, what he is pleased to designate, "the inestimable advantage of the white feather"! Putting on one side however the personal aspect of such a charge, it is to be regretted that the loyalty and good faith of the Princes of India should have been so seriously called in question. If, as Mr. George Curzon suggests, the plan for the defence of India is not one that meets with their approval, he assumes, most gratuitously and offensively, that they would ultimately, if not immediately, rise against our rule. I feel sure that the Princes would repudiate with indignation so unjust a slur upon their honesty.

I have thus far replied to the several objections by Mr. George Curzon to my scheme for the defence of India. The scheme is supported by the highest strategical authority, and is one which, in my opinion, would effectually checkmate any attempt to invade India from the North West.

It now rests with Mr. George Curzon, and those who advocate a "Forward Policy," to submit an alternative scheme, and to show, by something better than a negative criticism, that they have really thought out to some logical conclusion the very intricate and difficult question of "The Defence of India."

THE ALLIANCE OF CHINA AND INDIA.

BY ALEXANDER MICHIE.

SINCE writing on this subject (See *A. Q. R.* Jan. 1892) the natural relationship between the two great Eastern Empires has been rendered clearer by the course of events. It is no longer a speculative opinion that the interests of the two greatest human aggregations on the earth are, for practical political purposes, identical. To educe from this community of interest harmony of sentiment, and from that, unity of action, would be a work worthy of all the statesmanship and all the political genius of England. The welfare of 600 millions of men and the future progress of the world, in its deepest sense, are perhaps more closely wrapped up in the "policy" which Great Britain may follow in the Far East than in any other of the many questions which now clamour for attention. For although the interests not of Great Britain only, but of the race in other quarters of the globe are vast and vital, yet in the American and Australasian continents these interests are in the safe keeping of men of our own blood whose instincts may be trusted to guide the course of events aright. In the midst of passing aberrations, the general direction of the affairs of Greater Britain is forward and upward;—whether with or without formal leadership. The federation of the English-speaking world progresses steadily, and, in any case, our prospects in the West may be discharged from the burden of our anxieties.

In the East the case is different. There the two great nations whose permanent interest and common safety are to stand shoulder to shoulder are absolutely dependent on the skill of their respective rulers to effect the alliance which is so essential to their joint welfare. India and China are being rapidly hemmed in by two aggressive Powers, Russia on the North and France on the South; and these two Powers, whether in official alliance or not, are drawn towards common action by what they conceive

to be common interests. This alliance may never bear a serious strain, but it will nevertheless serve a temporary purpose, so long as the two Powers have no points of contact with each other. The German and Austrian States form convenient buffers in Europe, while India and China answer the same purpose in Asia, and while Russian and French projects are thus kept far from the risk of clashing it is an obvious game for the two to play into each other's hands to the prejudice of third parties. A simultaneous attack, for example, on the Northern and the Southern frontiers of China might seriously embarrass that country; and the renewed activity of France in South-eastern Asia brings the possibility of such concerted movement within very measurable distance. Both the French and the Russian Press were eagerly calling attention to their opportunities of helping each other during the Siamese crisis, and the call was a warning to all whom it concerned. India and China occupy the same position between the upper and the nether millstone, and the question which of them shall, at any given time, feel the pressure, will depend solely on the amount of resistance which may be expected from them respectively. The statesmen who rule the destinies of the two Eastern Empires have now, if they never had before, a clear case. The problem is simplicity itself—in principle—for the movement of both France and Russia is now a factor that can be absolutely reckoned on. Their forward pressure, though fluctuating in degree, will be constant in direction. Their rate of advance will be simply a balance between the amount of force, moral and material, which they are able to throw into the movement and the solidity of the obstacles they may encounter.

India and China are in this matter but one country, different halves of the same body. Their business, therefore, in view of the approach of the two invading Powers, is simply to place, if they can, impassable obstacles in their way, and this they would do with the greatest effect if they could work on a mutual understanding. A combined

defence would be both cheaper and stronger than any separate defence could possibly be. In short, the offensive alliance, or whatever it may be called, between France and Russia ought in reason to be met by a corresponding defensive alliance between India and China.

There are men in China who see this, as there are men in India and England who see it, but they do not see one another, eye to eye, and so the fruitful interaction of the two currents of thought remains in the condition of pious aspiration. On which side the fault chiefly lies might be difficult to say; but we suspect that India has, so far, proved the more backward of the two. China has at least done something to cultivate relations with India, but if there has ever been any reciprocation of friendly advances from the Indian side the fact has been skilfully concealed. No doubt, through our large commerce in China, and the specially trained Consular staff which supervises it, a considerable amount of more or less friendly intercourse has been kept up. But it is of a commonplace order, and whenever we get above the modest level of clearing ships, registering land, New Year dinners, and the like, the intimacy ceases. In the higher diplomatic sphere the case is virtually the same, for the very structure of Chinese society and the status of the Foreign Ministers preclude confidential relations. In acquiring general information the British Government has no doubt done a good deal by facilitating the travels of Consular officials who explore and write books, etc.; while even the routine commercial reports which the Consuls compile every year are full of carefully collected notes on a variety of practical subjects, varying of course in interest according to the personal equations of the writers. It is nevertheless a question whether in matters concerning the inner machinery and motives of Government, the methods employed by other Powers do not yield fuller results. On that obscure subject, the military resources of China, for example, we allow ourselves to be satisfied with such undigested information as may be picked

up by any clever traveller, while France and Russia both maintain trained agents to keep their intelligence departments carefully posted on these subjects. The military attachés of both Powers are men of high professional attainments, with a roving commission to see and learn everything that is possible, and to make confidential reports to their Governments. By this means the War Offices of the two Governments in question possess details concerning the Chinese militant capacity more exact and authentic than, perhaps, even the Chinese Government itself. Since the journey of Colonel Mark Bell some six years ago through North China and Turkestan, and that of Captain Younghusband later, it is doubtful whether the Indian or British Government have obtained anything more authoritative than what is to be found by attentive reading of the newspapers. It cannot be deemed a satisfactory state of things that the natural foes of the Chinese empire should have all the information while the natural friends have none. The lack of interest thus shown by England and India cannot but impress the Chinese unfavourably as to the intelligence of our governing men.

The events of the past two years in the Pamirs and in Siam, have brought Great Britain and China into line without pre-arrangement, by the sheer force of circumstances. Finding themselves twice on the same spot, at the same time, remonstrating against the same aggression, the fact of their possessing common interests at opposite extremities of the two empires was made plain to themselves and to all the world. The anxiety of Russia at one end of the line and of France at the other to exclude third parties, *i.e.*, England, from their discussion with China and Siam respectively, proved conclusively the importance they attached to an Anglo-Chinese understanding. Were it not wise to accept this object-lesson as a basis of action? What all the world knows it would be useless affectation to ignore, and a scheme of policy so much in harmony with actualities would seem to be justified by the legitimacy of its origin.

It is no ingenious contrivance of the brain of man, but a combination existing already in fact and only waiting for shape to be given to it. How?

Of course, the value of China in any such combination is sufficiently uncertain to be perplexing. In one sense, her resources for defence are unlimited, as she has got the men, and the money, if she has not got the ships, but the action of her Government will always be more or less incalculable in any given case. Her haste to conclude peace with France at the moment when M. Jules Ferry withdrew from the negotiations because he thought that her military successes would render her impracticable may be cited as an instance of China doing just the opposite of what might be reasonably expected. We should need to be more behind the scenes before attributing even such a sudden move as that to mere caprice.

A noteworthy re-awakening of China during the past twelve months should not escape our attention. After seeming to allow her interests in the Pamirs to lapse by default, leading the Russian agents to believe that she was in truth "the negligible quantity" which she had been mistakenly affirmed to be by a French statesman, she has asserted her rights in the Pamirs in a way that has caused considerable annoyance in St. Petersburg, where it seems a diplomatic campaign has commenced over a matter which Russia supposed the Cossacks had already disposed of.

The steadiness with which China has been pushing forward her strategic railway in the direction of Manchuria also indicates her distinct recognition of the requirements of national defence in that direction; and it is interesting to see that the easternmost section of the Siberian railway has been opened to traffic in the same year that witnesses the completion of the Chinese line as far as the Great Wall.

The most unexpected evidence, however, of Chinese national vitality, has been given in connection with the recent French proceedings in Siam. It is evident that the

French Government and its agents abroad were reckoning without their host in proceeding to the dismemberment of Siam under the belief that both China and Great Britain were negligible. Small blame indeed to the French, for when China began to emit signs of solicitude on the subject her pretensions were pooh-poohed even by those sections of the English press that thought the matter worthy of notice at all. Yet it appears to have been the attitude taken up by China that caused the French to pause in mid career, and to listen to reason. No doubt it is more politic of the French to put their sudden access of moderation on the diplomatic ground of deferring to English feeling and of respecting English interests; but there was no thought of either until China showed her teeth and brought up unpleasant reminders of the campaign of 1884-5.

But divide the honours how we please, the broad facts stand out clear enough that Great Britain and China are at this very moment engaged in a common effort to save a friendly kingdom from being broken up; and that their interest in its preservation is one and the same,—that it keeps a restless Power at a distance from their own frontiers, and is a profitable outlet for their commerce.

One would imagine that out of a condition of affairs like that it would not exhaust the resources of statesmanship on either side to bring to a definition that which is at present shapeless. But when one comes to study the said statesmanship in the concrete, the road which seemed plain, when seen from a distant height, is found at close quarters to be broken and fissured. On the Chinese side there has been for many years a conscious looking towards India, but with no one to take hold of the outstretched hand, or make reciprocal advances. There have been troublesome questions on the frontiers of Sikkim and Burmah, if not also at Hunza, which served to keep up irritation; and there are sources of irritation within China itself, where the room of the foreign residents would be at any time preferred to their company. But what would probably constitute the greatest

obstacle to a practical, operative friendship between the two Empires is the personal policy of the leading statesmen. The only man that we know much about at the present time in China who deserves the name of statesman, Li Hung-Chang, is undoubtedly alive to the value of an Anglo-Indian friendship, and he would probably sacrifice petty concerns to consolidate it. But the prevailing anti-foreign, and of course anti-English, feeling among Chinese officials is very strong, and it leads some of the most influential among them into such extravagances of action and utterance as not only spread hatred of foreigners all round them, but seem also to react on themselves, causing their feelings to become intensified into passion. The most conspicuous example of a fanatical foreigner-hater among the higher officials in China is the present Viceroy of the Hu Kwang, the two large central provinces. Chang Chih-tung who for some years occupied the corresponding high office in the Kwang provinces (Canton) is a brilliant and trenchant writer, and it is to his literary force that he owes his rapid promotion. There is no reason to doubt the honesty of the feeling, which he shares with the whole official class, that the foreigner in the country is a danger and a curse. It is the common error of literary men in all ages and countries, when placed in positions of authority, to try to put their book-born theories into immediate execution without regard to practical conditions. That is the pit into which this distinguished man seems to have fallen. The regret that foreigners should ever have got a footing in their country, and the desire to get them out again is natural and probably universal among the Chinese; it would be hard indeed to conceive a Chinaman with a true sense of patriotism who did not share to some extent these sentiments. Wise men, however, acquiesce in the irrevocable, and try to take what advantage they can out of the actual state of things, while the fanatics, like caged animals, beat themselves to death against the bars. The Viceroy, Chang, who seems to

be one of those fanatics, is resolved on making an effort to get rid of foreigners.

The Chinese usually divide all foreigners into the two classes, merchants and missionaries, and Chang had his methods of expulsion appropriate to both. The merchants, he thought, might be starved out by China's making herself independent of them. It is a favourite notion of Chinese, and Japanese, and one to be commended, that they should make their country self-supporting. Chang sought to combine the gratification of this ambition with the national defence by manufacturing iron and cotton cloth. He plunged headlong into schemes of this kind and spent vast sums of money, of course without the most elementary knowledge, and he has exhausted his resources without having produced a bar of iron. So much for the suppression of foreign traders.

The missionaries occupied a quite different position, and could not be subverted by any law of supply and demand, nor induced by any other considerations to leave the country alone. They must therefore be worried, persecuted, and, if necessary, murdered until they evacuated the sacred soil. Such is the truculent scheme attributed to Chang under which it is supposed the rioters within his government have been encouraged during the past two years to carry on their plan of campaign, being assured of immunity from the consequences by the ultimate protection of the Viceroy. While Chang was in Canton, the persecution of Christians within his government was rampant. When he was removed to the Hu provinces the persecutions ceased in Canton, and commenced in Hupeh. The coincidence is at least remarkable. It is now reported from China that there was a combination between the two Viceroys who together hold sway over the whole Yangtze Valley having for its object the expulsion of the missionaries from their governments, and that it was under this arrangement that the riots of 1891 were fomented; and that the success of these led to a repetition, on a scale of yet greater

atrocities, in 1893. It is, moreover, announced by one of the newspapers that Chang has actually presented a petition to the Throne recommending the slaughter of all foreigners, especially the English, to prevent the partition of China among the foreign powers. Such a suicidal conception would be quite in keeping with the perverted ideas of this fierce and conceited bookworm. It would appear as if these high Chinese officials, blind to all the remoter—and yet not very remote—consequences of their proceedings, were bent on bringing about a state of things in China which will not only justify, but compel, the intervention of foreign Powers in the mere interests of humanity, treating China as they would Dahomey.

Now, with men of that stamp occupying the highest positions in the land, the constitutional advisers of the Throne, it may well seem hopeless for any Western nation to cultivate relations of real intimacy with China. But, influential though they be, these Viceroys are not omnipotent, and Chang Chih-tung himself has had recent monitions from the Throne, based on certain Memorials reflecting on his inordinate conceit and glaring mismanagement, that he had better mend his ways.

If we turn now to the other side, do the personalities which make up the British or Indian governments afford much greater hope of a comprehensive grasp of international affairs? What do we find, what would any stranger find who came to study the present English government? An old man, strong as Samson, as desperate, and as blind—to all that he does not wish to see—laying hold of the two middle pillars of his own house, bowing himself with all his might to bring the structure about his ears, making sport for the Philistines of the civilized world; and by his side that same Chinese element of philosophic pedantry, so fatal to sane government, palliating outrages in the spirit of the mandarins, and, like the great Chang, resolute in putting crude theories in force, regardless of consequences. No reasonable outlook on the affairs of the world—largely

British affairs—is to be expected from such a quarter. The Dictator, moreover, as we know on the authority of the great interpreter, has an instinctive partiality for sleek headed men, who sleep o' nights; and anything sleeker than the Foreign Office, in its parliamentary aspect at least, it would be difficult to discover in any organized government in the world. The capacity for taking things easy is undoubtedly a valuable one,—the incapacity to do so was insisted on by Mr. Bagehot as the cause of much financial disaster. But it is not the quality which conquers new worlds, or that may be implicitly trusted even to preserve the old. Real or affected ignorance of what is going on, the ready wit which flouts pertinent enquiries with a gibe, admirable in the placeman or political rope-dancer, are by no means so admirable in the patriot who is expected to place his country before himself. To give everyone his due, however, it would be manifestly too much to expect of any Foreign Secretary representing a Cabinet wholly engrossed in problems of destruction or re-construction, of the United Kingdom, to give effective attention to the vital interests of the Empire. A Foreign Minister must speak and act with more than his own individual authority, and where is the authority which strengthens the hands of Lord Rosebery? True, he got out a strong and admirable despatch about Egypt in the beginning of the year, before the Government was immersed in the Serbonian bog, from which it has had to extricate itself by violent and unnatural means, but the Siamese negotiations have not, so far as is known of them, redounded to the credit of either the Foreign Office or the Government. English statesmen under the circumstances before us seem to have too great a resemblance to Chinese statesmen in losing sight of the great in the small, and the remote in the near, and more particularly in thinking more highly of themselves and their interests than they ought. It is hardly out of such material that you can hope to evolve a national policy that will resist wind and weather.

FACTS ABOUT THE ALLEGED AFGHAN TREATY.

BY AN EX-PANJAB OFFICIAL.

INTRODUCTION.

As it has been asserted by several ex-officials, that there is a Treaty between England and the Amir of Afghanistan, or pledges equivalent to a Treaty, obliging us to defend Herát, Maimena and Andkui against Russian aggression and obliging the Amir to subordinate his foreign policy to us, I beg leave to state that, up to this date, the 19th September 1893, there exist no such Treaty and pledges. No British Government, whether Conservative or Liberal, has entangled this country in any arrangement from which it cannot in honour withdraw and Sir Henry Norman (like any other Viceroy) has neither to undo the policy of his predecessors nor to carry out any new or old policy of his own or of the present Administration that has so wisely appointed him.* What exists is "the wish" that is "father to the thought," according to personal predilections or interests, either to fight or to avoid Russia on the studiously vague, conditional and "open" negotiations that have ever left us free to force ourselves on, or to disappoint, the Amirs of Kabul, according to the dictates of the policy of the moment, as influenced by the ambition or cautiousness of a Viceroy or of his "Foreign Department."† No text of Scripture has ever lent itself to wider interpretations than our correspondence with Kabul. Personally I am in favour of attacking Russia in Europe on her first aggression, however excused, on Afghanistan, believing that her power, like the supposed granite-walls of Bomarsund at the

* Since this was written, Sir Henry Norman appears to have been worried into withdrawing his acceptance of the Viceroyalty of India, for which, in the present state of things, he was a good selection.

† Lord Hartington observes in a Despatch of November 1880: "The question is one on which those who are responsible for the government of India must form their own judgment upon two absolutely conflicting lines of policy, between which there is no room for compromise."

first shot of the Allied French and English Navies in 1854, will vanish for, at all events, offensive purposes and that long before she can come to an effective aid of her then enemy France, that country runs a serious risk of being dismembered by Germany and England, should the latter join the Triple Alliance even without pledging herself to all its obligations. I also believe that it is to the manifest interest of France and Russia to involve us in distant and costly operations in Asia in order to have a free hand in Europe. I submit, however, that, so far as the question before us is concerned, neither the honour of England nor the interests of India are in any way affected by the capture of Herát, Andkui and Maimena, deeply as the seizures may be deplored. Further, knowing the native Indian feeling better than the alluded-to ex-officials, I maintain that it is precisely service in Afghanistan and increased taxation for military or political objects which will alienate it from us, whatever certain demonstrative Chiefs may proclaim to the contrary. Finally, I hold that our prestige in India has never, in the native mind, been associated with the defence of Afghanistan, its hereditary foe, except in so far as *any* failure of whatever scheme—home or foreign—on which the Indian Government may set its heart is, in a sense, a loss of prestige.* We now keep India more by her weakness than

* It is *going* to Kabul that is looked upon by natives as an act of folly and fear and it gratuitously advertises Russia. If our numerous past disasters in Kabul have not destroyed our prestige in India, our non-interference in Afghan affairs will certainly not do so. Even in 1880, in spite of Lord Roberts' march from Kabul to Kandahar, for which the far more glorious march of our Bayard, Sir Donald Stewart, from Kandahar to Kabul, had prepared the way, we had to evacuate Afghanistan after we had deported its King, Ya'kûb Khan, and the country was in a process of dismemberment. We then preferred rather to incur the political fiasco of recognizing the Russian nominee, Abdurrahman Khan, than an inevitable military fiasco with our discontented native troops in the midst of a fanatical population "bravely struggling to be free." Our native soldiers, pining for their homes, complained of our gross neglect of them, especially as regards food and clothing. I knew Post Office Vans returning empty from the Frontier rather than take with them weary and wounded Sepoys on leave struggling to get home and imploring in vain to be taken in the

by our strength or ability, but we should keep her by our and her united virtue, if we were to administer her on Oriental lines, including the reduction of our expenditure to an Oriental, or a Russian, scale of payments to public servants. That the pendulum of opinion among Indian and British authorities, when it does not stand still, now swings more to this or that interpretation of our Afghan obligations has already been implied, but it may be well to quote their actual TEXT, premising that the confusion on the subject in the public mind has been "worse confounded" by mixing up three different policies with a purely strategical scheme :

(a) The truly "masterly inactivity" of Sir John Lawrence* which stood aloof from all interference in Afghan affairs, welcoming with gifts of arms and money whoever happened to be the *de facto* ruler of Afghanistan, provided he was not unfriendly to us. This policy, in my humble opinion, can alone establish a strong and independent native Government in that country, suited alike to the genius of its peoples and to its physical conditions—

(b) The "scientific frontier" *pis-aller*, as initiated by Lord Lytton, which includes, but, unfortunately, does not

Vans. How can we expect recruiting for Afghanistan to be popular under these circumstances? It has ever been most unpopular. In every Bazar in Northern India the show is performed of the Monkey Marôr Khan who, dressed in a red coat with a general's hat, struts up to Kabul, but totters back from it with his tail between his legs, lame and utterly crestfallen—a variation on our "went up like a rocket and came down like a stick." Another common joke is the Afghan beating the Hindu. At every blow the latter says: "*Ab mârâ, to mârâ; ab mârê, to jânun*"—"You have struck me, well you have struck me (once); do so (again) and I will take notice (know it)." But the blows go on all the same and are followed by the same remonstrance, like our "one step more and you will rouse the British lion."

* Even when we were in possession of Kandahâr, Her Majesty's Government (Nov. 1880) were "of the opinion that recent experience has done nothing to strengthen the arguments of those who desire, as a military measure, to advance the Indian frontier, and much to verify the forebodings of those who were opposed to that policy. The advances of the Russian frontier which have taken place in recent years were foreseen, and their influence upon our position in India was deliberately considered, by Lord Lawrence and other Indian statesmen on whose advice the Home Government repeatedly declined to permit itself to be committed to a policy of military extension."

stop, at the present truly scientific, because purely strategical, line of "the Defence of India," which has been so irrefutably defined by Lord Chelmsford in the last *Asiatic Quarterly Review*.*

(c) The "Forward Policy" which, with few exceptions, is the last refuge of those patriots, who, having no other line of defence to suggest, as, indeed, no other exists, vapour about pledges which they misunderstand in order to further their personal interests in the general wreck of India. This so-called "policy" is, in the vaguest way, a "Defence of the Afghan Frontiers" as distinguished from that of India, which, whatever its outposts, is on the Indus.

I have already pointed out how, by small steps at a time, the ambition of our military and political frontier officers has drawn Russia out of the attitude of reserve which she imposed on herself in consequence of the Granville-Gortschakoff arrangement; how the intervention in Kashmir, first nibbled at by Sir Henry Durand, the father of the present Sir Mortimer, led to a corresponding move on the part of Russia; how the degradation of Kashmir from the position of an independent Frontier Ally to that of a dependent Indian Feudatory drew Russia's attention to that quarter and, finally, how Colonel Grombcheffsky's tour in Ladák, thwarted by our Kashmir Resident, enabled him to involve us and the Tham of Hunza in a campaign under a third Durand, which has broken down one of the barriers of India and has *inter alia* left the Baroghil pass "OPEN" to a Russian incursion of Chitral. I will now address myself to the larger question of the so-called "pledges" to defend the Afghan Frontier:

OUR AFGHAN POLICY.

Our Afghan policy, whether Conservative or Liberal, is based on "the assurances which were offered in 1873

* In his Minute, Afghanistan (1881), No. 2, C—2811 Lord Lytton was, to a certain extent, satisfied with our present Quetta position, but he also advocated the occupation of "Kabul, Ghazni, Jelalabad, with the possession of the passes over the Hindukush" and in one place deprecated, whilst in another he proposed, the occupation of Herat.

by Lord Northbrook to the Amir" Sher Ali, who had in vain asked that Viceroy to give him positive pledges against external attack. Sher Ali had similarly failed with the Conservative Lord Mayo, though the latter's personal influence kept him from seeking a Russian alliance. What he wanted, and the present Amir wants, is to be guaranteed by *treaty* the integrity of his dominions and this is precisely what we did *not* give him. It was mainly this failure, coupled with a vexatious interference *quand même*, which drove Sher Ali into the arms of Russia and it is a similar failure that must compel the present Amir, or his successor, to ally himself with whatever other power gives him the desired guarantee. Whether Sir Mortimer Durand has the long-looked for treaty in his pocket is a matter of doubt. The constitution of his mission would rather indicate that he is only commissioned to give explanations as to the minor matters of stealthy surveys, of the Zhob Valley, Kurum and Chaman encroachments, the abandonment of the Amir as regards the Pamir outposts, if not also of Shignan and Raushan, the interference with Chitral and the formal recognition of the Amir's son and heir as his successor to the throne. Till then the existing pledge, such as it is, is the following *statement on our side*, which, like every other one-sided promise, has not the binding nature of a treaty or contract on both parties, if indeed it has any on either of them, say even only on us, considering how we have fenced round our position by all sorts of conjectural conditions in the following diplomatic communication of what is merely *our* "pious desire":

THE SO-CALLED PLEDGE* OF 1873 (REPEATED IN LORD HARTINGTON'S NO. 23 OF MAY 1880).

"The British Government does not share the Amir's apprehensions (about Russian aggression), but it would be the duty of the Amir, in case of any actual or threatened aggression, to refer the question to that Government,

* Webster defines a pledge (apart from hypothecation, law uses or a teetotaler's "pledge") as: "Anything given or considered as a security for the performance of an act; a guarantee, as *mutual* interest is the best pledge for the performance of treaties."

who would endeavour by negotiation and by every means in their power to settle the matter and avert hostilities. It was not intended, by insisting on such previous reference, to restrict or interfere with the power of the Amir as an independent ruler to take such steps as might be necessary to repel any aggression on his territories, but such reference was a preliminary and essential condition of the British Government assisting him. In such event, should their endeavours to bring about an amicable settlement prove fruitless, the British Government were prepared to assure the Amir that they would afford him assistance in the shape of arms and money, and would also, in case of necessity, aid him with troops. The British Government held itself perfectly free to decide as to the occasion when such assistance should be rendered, and also as to its nature and extent; moreover, the assistance would be conditional upon the Amir himself abstaining from aggression, and on his unreserved acceptance of the advice of the British Government in regard to his external relations." (The italics are mine.)

Sher Ali naturally considered this to be insufficient. He wanted a Treaty, as also did the present Amir Abdurrahman, to whom an equally vague assurance was given by Lord Lytton in July 1880 in a letter* through Mr., now Sir, Lepel Griffin, which was confirmed by Lord Hartington in his Despatch of December of the same year:

PRESENT SO-CALLED PLEDGE.

"Your Highness has requested that the views and intentions of the British Government with regard to the position of the ruler at Kabul in relation to foreign powers, should be placed on record for your Highness' information. The Viceroy and Governor General in Council authorizes me to declare to you that since the British Government admits no right of interference by foreign powers within Afghanistan, and since both Russia and Persia are pledged to abstain from all interference with the affairs of Afghanistan, it is plain that your Highness can have no political relations with any foreign power except with the British Government. If any foreign power should attempt to interfere in Afghanistan, and if such interference should lead to unprovoked aggression on the dominions of your Highness, in that event the British Government would be prepared to aid you, to such extent and in such manner as may appear to the British Government necessary, in repelling it; provided that your Highness follows unreservedly the advice of the British Government in regard to your external relations."† (The italics are mine.)

* Mr. Griffin himself defines the letter in his official Report of the 4th October 1880 as "the document was not an agreement between two States, but merely a memorandum of obligation granted to the Amir by the British Government."

† In his "interview" in the "Pall Mall Gazette," Sir Lepel Griffin stated: "So no treaty was made and I do not think that any formal agree-

Can such a letter be called "a *pledge*" and what is an "unprovoked aggression" in dealing with Russia? The Amir very soon discovered of what interpretation the above "pledges" were capable. He resisted the unprovoked Russian aggression at Pandjeh, and was defeated with heavy loss. The Sarik and Salor Turkomans became Russian. The Amir came to Rawalpindi in March 1885 to consult Lord Dufferin and there "THE POOR AMIR" was made to swallow his resentment, but he was told the old story, which follows on every successive British failure and will, we fear, ever continue to do so that "ONE STEP MORE and you will rouse the British Lion." He there, in my hearing, offered in public Durbar to place his sword at our service in order to fight our enemies and not, as Sir Charles Dilke states in his "Problems of Greater Britain": "The Amir was told by Lord Dufferin that as long as he conformed to our advice his enemies would be ours," which is a different thing, for, it might be replied, that, as this promise can only refer to external enemies, if the Amir does *not* conform to our advice, Russia will not be his enemy and, therefore, Russia is our friend, which is arguing in a vicious circle.

No doubt the demarcation of his frontier by our Commission gives the Amir a *claim on our good offices* in times of need, but this and other acts of an *amicus curiæ* have not the effect of a contract or Treaty signed both by our Government and the Amir. Indeed, the latter is not held to any reciprocal engagement as long as he avoids the error attributed to the Amir Sher Ali of receiving at Kabul a *distinctly hostile* mission to England. In 1885, as in 1873 and as in 1880 "the Government of India required no

ment has since been concluded." He considers, however, that the above letter pledges the honor of England as fully as a Treaty and adds: "This engagement the Amir, in default of a treaty, freely and fully accepted. It has been enforced ever since. It was confirmed in Rawal Pindi in 1885 by Lord Dufferin, and the demarcation of the northern frontier was arranged in accordance with it."

pledges, concessions or reciprocal engagements" from the Amir. Mansion House speeches by Lord Dufferin or newspaper articles by Sir L. Griffin merely express their convictions as to what *we* are bound to do, but they have obviously not the effect of a Treaty. Sir C. Dilke unconsciously puts the matter very well, when he says: "The Amir *understands us to have promised him* to see that the Russians do not take his country." There is not much virtue in a "pledge" which does not promise, but is "*only understood to promise.*" Indeed, the Amir Abdurrahman's peculiar obligation to Russia has been recognized by us from the beginning. He was sent to try his fortune for the Throne of Kabul by General Kaufmann, the famous Governor of Russian Turkistan, where he had enjoyed Russian hospitality. He was also supplied with that *minimum* of arms and money by Russia, which she ever finds sufficient to involve us into endless expenditure and complications. When we asked him his intentions in advancing towards Kabul and showed our willingness to recognize him as Amir, he replied (15th April 1880):

THE AMIR'S ORIGINAL VIEWS.

"Now, therefore, that you seek to learn my hopes and wishes, they are these:—That as long as your Empire and that of Russia exist, my countrymen, the tribes of Afghanistan, should live quietly in ease and peace; that these *two States* should find us true and faithful, and that we should rest at peace between them (England and Russia), for my tribesmen are unable to struggle with empires, and are ruined by want of commerce; and we hope of your friendship that, sympathizing with and assisting the people of Afghanistan, you will place them under the honourable protection of the *two powers*. This would redound to the credit of both, would give peace to Afghanistan, and quiet and comfort to God's people." (The italics are mine.)

Without "entertaining or discussing this suggestion," Lord Lytton fully recognized the honorable feeling which had dictated the above frank reply, and whilst impressing on the Amir that he could hold no relations, except such as were unavoidable with a neighbouring power, reminded him that *Russia was pledged to Great Britain* to regard Afghanistan as "entirely beyond the sphere of its action."

Here we have a statement that refers to the pledge of Russia to England, but it surely is not a pledge of the Amir to us; on the contrary, Lord Lytton says :

"This Government has never ceased to impress on them (the rulers of Kabul) the international duty of scrupulously respecting all the recognized rights and interests of their Russian neighbour, refraining from every act calculated to afford the Russian authorities in Central Asia any just cause of umbrage or complaint."

As for the Russian Government, it had

"Repeatedly, and under every recent change of circumstances in Afghanistan, renewed the assurances solemnly given to the British Government that 'Russia considers Afghanistan as entirely beyond the sphere of her influence.'"

Indeed,

"Not even when forced into hostilities by the late Amir Sher Ali Khan's espousal of a Russian alliance proposed by Russia in contemplation of a rupture with the British Government, did we relinquish our desire for the renewal of relations with a strong and friendly Afghan power."

(I do not believe that this alleged Russian proposal can be produced.)

How is the cleverest Asiatic to understand the intricacies of such diplomacy, or of Parliamentary tortuousness in explaining, or explaining away, a fact or a statement? It is bad enough that *we* have not produced the *ipsissima verba* in Persian of our letters to the Amir and of his letters to us. I remember how Sher Ali was puzzled with what our Foreign Department deemed to be extreme righteousness when it at one time recognized him as the *de jure* ruler of Afghanistan and simultaneously his then temporarily successful opponent, as the *de facto* ruler.

He looked upon this as a sign of duplicity or weakness. He said to me that Afghanistan was "the shield of India," and when I ventured to point out that India had always trusted to her own sword for her defence he replied to the effect: at any rate, let her not "perforate the shield." This is precisely the attitude which every truly friendly ruler of Kabul must wish us to assume, for, if he is not independent, he ceases to be strong with his people, and the moment our interference is suspected, the tenure of his Throne is en-



CARTE DU ROYAUME DE SIAM

dangered. This is why we have "*pledged*" ourselves not to station a British Resident in any part of his dominions.* It is, therefore, that the Amir was careful in explaining to his people that he owed his Throne neither to Russia nor to England, but that it was ever "*Khudâdd*," or "given by God." This is why a recent Persian pamphlet, which was republished in part in the "*Asiatic Quarterly*," explained that he had every right to enter into relations with Russia if he chose to do so, as he was perfectly independent. This is why, after his outpost at Somatash had been shot down by Yanoff's Kossacks, whilst he was loyally giving us a *quid pro quo* for our subsidy, he proclaimed his intention to "call in the English in order to avenge him on the Russian infidels" (we there neglected a great opportunity); this is, however, also why, when we again left him in the lurch as after Pandjeh, he refused to meet our Commander-in-Chief with a large BRITISH escort at Jelalabad and that Commander-in-Chief being, moreover, Lord Roberts, who was identified in Afghan opinion with the Kabul executions, and who had actually proscribed the very Afghan Generalissimo, Ghulam Hyder Khan, who had to meet him. This is why again he only too gladly welcomed Col. Yate

* This is the *only* clear "pledge" that we have given to the Amir and it is the only one that the advocates of a "Forward Policy" to nowhere in particular would like to break. These self-constituted defenders of Afghanistan against Russian aggression, which *their* interference alone provokes, would station British Residents at Kabul, Kandahar and Herat; they would compel the Amir to construct Railways and Telegraphs in his dominions where they could not be protected, and to allow us to occupy certain places in them by British troops, as also to regulate his commercial imposts for him better than this shrewd prince can do for himself; they would generally render it impossible for him to administer Afghanistan as an independent Prince and thus to keep it out of embroilment with Russia. Yet "the pledge" is clear and runs as follows (letter to Amir Abdurrahman July 1880): "The British Government has no desire to interfere in the internal government of the territories in the possession of your Highness, and has no wish that an English Resident should be stationed anywhere within those territories. For the convenience of ordinary friendly intercourse, such as is maintained between two adjoining States, it may be advisable that a Muhammedan Agent of the British Government should reside, by agreement, at Kabul."

to delimitate the Khushk boundary between him and Russia, a matter which has now been so admirably settled to the apparent satisfaction of all concerned. This is why also he is ready enough to meet *anyone*, even if it be the Foreign Secretary of the Government of India, provided he comes under the protection of an *Afghan* escort. I only hope that Sir Mortimer Durand will have the wisdom to protect the Amir against any sacrifice of independence that he may be ready to make in order to secure the succession of his son. He must be defended alike against himself and against British interference, for the moment he ceases to be really independent, his rule among a people like the Afghans must come to an end. On the contrary, it is to be desired that our Envoy will remove any misconception regarding our encroachments in the South in order that the Amir may be all the stronger to fight, if need be, our battle in the North. "The maintenance of an independent and united Afghan Kingdom under a friendly ruler" and the avoidance of "territorial annexation and of the further extension of our administrative responsibilities" (Lord Lytton to Viscount Cranbrook: January 1880) has been the key-note of the avowed policy of every Government, Conservative or Liberal, that has had to do with Afghanistan, whatever may have been the latitude or narrowness of interpretation of the various Governments of India.

When it, however, comes to the positive assertion that we guaranteed to the Amir Abdurrahman the possession of Herât, Andkui and Maimana, I deny it *IN TOTO*. As regards these places, we are only bound by the general promise of defending him against "unprovoked aggression" by such means as we may think fit at the time. The Amir therefore, wisely leaves *no* troops in these places, so as to remove even the shadow of a suspicion of aggression on his part, and he will similarly, no doubt, retire from his Pamir outpost unless we defend him there by force of arms. As long as he was not made responsible for depredations on the Pamir except to undefended Kirghiz, Wakhs and the like,

he could trust to "*Kismet*" never to pay any indemnity at all. The case is very different when Russia stands behind her so-called Kirghiz subjects and I have no doubt that he will give up the profitless possession of Panja and leave the Baroghil pass open to a Russian incursion of Chitral, especially if Russia permits him to retain the more productive parts of Shighnan and Raushan in return for his retirement from the Pamir which he had only fringed in our interests.

Now to come to Herat, as a matter of fact we *could* not have guaranteed it to him at the time of his accession to the Throne, for it was then in possession of an unfriendly cousin and we even thought "to make over Herat" "unconditionally" "to Persia" and even "to recommend a revision of the Seistan boundary, also in favor of Persia" in the event of certain events happening. Indeed, we had already, in the most formal manner, announced at public Durbars at Kandahar and Kabul the separation of Kandahar under Sirdar Wali Muhammad Khan from Kabul, and it was only due to Abdurrahman's determination not to have Kabul without Kandahar and to the above Sirdar's inability to maintain himself without British troops, that Kandahar is now re-united under the present Amir of Kabul. Kandahar is the store-house of Kabul, without which the ruler of the latter could not pay the expenses of its administration, whereas Herat is more of a "sentiment" for the maintenance of Kabul prestige, though not of its actual power. Our good friends, the Hazaras, whom we abandoned to the tender mercies of the Amir, will require many more decimations before they cease to give trouble. What applies to Herat, also applies to Andkui and Maimana.

The following extract from a despatch to Lord Cranbrook in 1880 as regards the Oxus provinces of Afghanistan may still be read with advantage:

"That country is divided from Kabul by a strong natural boundary, and our interests, whether strategical or political, in these Districts are comparatively of minor and less pressing importance. So long, therefore, as

Russia observes the engagements which place all Afghan-Turkestan beyond the sphere of her political action, we should deprecate interference with these provinces, which might remain *nominally* subject to the Kabul Governor, though enjoying *practical independence*." (The italics are mine.)

So much for the alleged guarantees on *our* side. As for those of the Amir there is no pledge signed by him "to subordinate his foreign policy to us in return for our guarantee to defend his territories with our troops" as is now alleged by an extreme Jingo out of office.

There *is*, however, a country with which we *have* a Treaty and that we have broken on the flimsiest of pretences. I refer to Kashmir, which was ceded by us "*in independent sovereignty for ever*" to Maharaja Ghulab Singh and his descendants, in return for a sum of 90 lakhs which he paid us when we were hard up and wished to have a counterpoise to the Sikhs of the Panjab. The present prince, since created a K.C.S.I. !!!, was accused of plotting the murder of the British Resident and this it was sought to prove by a *correspondence* between himself and an utterly illiterate body-servant, who was *in constant attendance* on him!* Kashmir was on the footing of an independent Trans-frontier ally, like Kabul, not that of a dependent Indian feudatory, with the only difference that we had a Treaty with Kashmir defining its status and boundaries and none with Kabul. Was all this done to facilitate *inter alia* the advance of a Durand *frère* on Hunza-Nagyr under the pretext of these States being subject to Kashmir, whereas they were nothing of the kind? If any power had a shadowy right to Hunza it was China and, although we sought to soothe Chinese susceptibilities *after* the *coup monté* of provoking Hunza and Nagyr into self-defence, we never consulted China *before* our most wanton war or rather "raid" took place. Who invented the "treacherous" *correspondence* (found *unopened* in the Hunza Library) between its perfectly independent Chief and the Russian Colonel Grombcheffsky; and why is that correspondence not pub-

* See in "Papers relating to Kashmir" (1890), letter from Maharaja to Lord Lansdowne, and the latter's reply.

lished or what was "found at Kabul?" I assert that Grombcheffsky's own account, published in the *Asiatic Quarterly* of October 1891, itself disproves his statement of having visited Hunza. Be that as it may, we there broke down one of the insurmountable barriers to a Russian advance and we must now leave another Durand to break down another.

Sir Lepel Griffin in his "Pall Mall Gazette" "interview" when asked, whether English Frontier Officers did not "intrigue much the same as those of Russia," replied: "They do; but the difference is that intrigue is discouraged by the English Government, who are as nervous at a forward policy as the Russian Government applauds and rewards it. I think that most of our frontier complications are caused by the excessive zeal of political and military officers, whom the Central Government cannot keep in hand." I fear, however, that even a Viceroy, or a Foreign Secretary occasionally gets out of hand.

As for the supposed evil results which Mr. Curzon anticipates from our announcing to the Chiefs and people of India our determination not, on any account, to advance beyond our frontier, this can only have the effect of convincing them that we have at last come to our senses; that we are going to keep our money and our men to preserve order in India, to develop her resources and to give her the best possible administration.* Everybody then,

* Lord Hartington in his Despatch of Nov. 1880 understood the natives of India better than some of the present clamourers regarding British prestige: "Apprehensions are entertained by some that the retirement from Kandahar would be regarded by the people of Afghanistan and of India as a confession of weakness. But in their opinion (Her Majesty's advisers), convincing proof given to the people and princes of India that the British Government have no desire for further annexation of territory, could not fail to produce a most salutary effect in removing the apprehensions and strengthening the attachment of our Native allies throughout India and on our frontiers." Lord Hartington then shows that the occupation of Kandahar would only lead to a still more extended system of Frontier Defence and would not "satisfy those who are now disposed to apprehend danger from foreign invasion." "The Government are convinced of the grave evils which result from this cause, and from its

European or Native, Chief or ryot, will be put into his proper place and attend to his own business instead of obtaining the good will of the *Sirkâr* and a cheap reputation for loyalty by fooling us to the top of our bent and by helping himself to plunder and position at the expense of the already exhausted public purse. With any further extension of our frontier or of our engagements, there will be intrigue, if not sedition, all over India and within the newly annexed territories, whereas if there is no further advance, our military expenditure may be reduced and prosperity, with every prospect of peace for many years to come, will strengthen India against any possible attack that Russia may be foolish enough to deliver against the united millions of our free and contented Indian fellow-subjects. There will be fewer K.C.S.I.'s and K.C.B.'s, fewer "saviours of India," fewer "only Generals," less promotion, less fishing in troubled waters, but there will be more roads, more railways, more education, more justice, more trade, a greater revenue, less taxation, better agriculture and a concentration, instead of a scattering, of our strength. With the probable reduction of our income from Opium, the disaffection created by "cow-killing" and other internal anxieties, we have enough to do at home without setting everything wrong abroad. This does not mean that we are not to help the Amir with arms and money, as hitherto, or with men, should *he* ask for them, but it means that we are not to increase our present responsibilities.

tendency to distract the minds of those who are engaged in the administration of the Government of India from the important questions of internal policy, of finance, of the construction of necessary public works, and, above all, of the agrarian condition of the people, which are so closely connected with the prosperity, and even the security, of our Indian empire. Nor can they feel any confidence that the experience which has been gained during the last two years will have any more lasting effect than that which had been acquired 40 years ago, or that a similar combination of circumstances may not again lead the Government of India into a similar policy and be attended with similar results."

THE SPOILIATION OF THE LANDLORDS AND TENANTS OF BEHAR:

THE CADASTRAL CORVEE.

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

THE real "inwardness" of the Behar Cadastral Survey is now at length fully disclosed. Under the pretext of a Survey mainly for administrative purposes, Sir Charles Elliott and his little band of followers are determined to impose on Behar, and ultimately on the whole of the Lower Provinces of Bengal, the Irish Land League system of "Fair Rents" or "Judicial Rents"—that is, Rents forced down the throats of zemindar and ryot alike, by the *amla* of the Revenue Officer—in defiance of the feelings and interests of the whole agricultural community that utterly abhors and dreads these pestilent modern heresies. In this paper I propose to show, out of the mouths of the defenders of the Survey, that while it professes to be a beneficent measure, useful to the zemindar and a protection to the ryot, in reality it is an ingeniously-contrived device to place both zemindars and ryots under the official heel. I shall show that while it puts the ryots at the mercy of the most corrupt body of official underlings in the world, it robs and insults the zemindars, with the result of undermining and ultimately breaking down the Permanent Settlement to which British faith has been solemnly pledged, and of flooding the peaceful districts of Behar with a sea of litigation, extortion, and strife.

I trust it is unnecessary for me to premise that I do not for a moment suggest that Sir Charles Elliott and his little following, who run the Survey—any more than the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, who appear to have sanctioned it with a light heart—are in the least conscious of its dishonest and mischievous character. That the Government is an earthly Providence, able to arrange men's affairs for them

much better than they can do it for themselves—and that every official, provided he is paid ten rupees a month or more by the State, has *ipso facto* a divine right to poke his nose into everybody else's business, even if some of the weaker brethren feather their own nest in the process—is a bureaucratic notion that is not confined to Bengal, and that is held in perfect good faith by many worthy people in Downing Street, Dublin Castle, and elsewhere. Sir Charles Elliott sincerely pitied Mr. Halliday, and the bulk of the Bengal Civil Service, for clinging to the prejudices, in regard to this land question, incidental to a Bengal training. The Bengal Civil Service, and the landholders and tenants of Behar, can well afford to be equally magnanimous in their estimate of Sir Charles Elliott's motives: and only regret that His Honour had not had the advantage of a longer acquaintance with, and consequently more sympathy for the feelings of, the people committed to his care, before he became practically the supreme arbiter of their destinies.

But it cannot be expected that either ryots or zemindars will submit to this cruel persecution, and to the loss of honour, the loss of peace, and the loss of livelihood involved in it, without attempting to make their wrongs known. The forcible articles of the *Indian Mirror*, and the telegrams to the *Daily News* of the Indian Association, show clearly how strong is the feeling of resentment against Sir Charles Elliott and the Bengal Government aroused among the ryots of Bengal by this Survey, which is denounced by the *Mirror* as "an act of pure oppression." I suppose no one will deny that, if we can get at the feelings of the ryots at all, it must be through the two channels I have named; and if they speak and write strongly of this oppressive measure and its chief author, it is not because they have (as Mr. Tweedie writes to the *Times*) "an intense desire . . . to strike a blow at Government on any pretence whatever," but because they truly reflect the bitter feeling that is universal among the tenant-farmers of Behar. And if it is so among the tenant-farmers, can Sir Charles Elliott and Mr.

Tweedie be surprised if the same or even greater bitterness is expressed by the organs and the Associations that represent the landowners of the Province? For the measure plunders them as much as it does the ryots; but in addition to the great and even ruinous pecuniary injury, it "blackens their faces" in the country, it stirs up hatred and strife between them and their tenants, it lowers their authority and destroys their popularity among their own people, and it hands them over as helpless victims to those whom "Ali Baba" calls "the Pindarries of modern India"—the black-mailing underlings of our paternal despotism.

It is a fortunate thing for those who would know the rights and the wrongs of this miserable business, that the question has been taken up with great vigour in both Houses of Parliament, and by a great many Members of a standing that enforces attention to their enquiries. For it is a remarkable fact, and one not very creditable to our system of government in India, that the sanction of the Secretary of State was obtained for the Survey under a shroud of mysterious secrecy, that made it impossible for that responsible Minister to hear a single objection to the measure from the general public, or a single criticism from any living soul except the little official coterie in the swim. As the *Indian Mirror* puts it, "The ryots and zemindars of Behar did not know anything about his (Sir Charles Elliott's) intentions till after the Secretary of State (Lord Cross) had sanctioned the Survey; such a despotic proceeding could be justified only by the exigencies of a given case, but no such exigency had arisen in Behar, the relations between the zemindars and ryots in that province were on the whole excellent." Now, however, this veil of secrecy has been rent asunder. The motion of Lord Stanley of Alderley in the House of Lords, the powerful letter of "an Indian gentleman of high position" sent to the *Times* with the approval and endorsement of Lord Randolph Churchill, and the questions in the House of Commons by Sir John Gorst, Sir Herbert Maxwell, Sir William Wedder-

burn, Mr. Henniker Heaton, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen, Mr. Jeffreys, the Hon. George Kenyon, Mr. Bartley, Colonel Waring, Mr. Webster, and the other members of Parliament who have taken up the subject, have now, at the last hour, elicited a considerable amount of interesting information about this dark and mysterious affair. For we have now, not only the carefully-compiled correspondence that was squeezed out of the India Office in May, 1892, by the determined efforts of Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen; not only the carefully-guarded replies of the Under-Secretary of State in the House of Commons; not only a pronouncement by Sir Charles Elliott himself, in the shape of a letter to the *Times* avowedly to answer Lord Randolph; but also a lengthy defence of the scheme in a letter to the *Times* by the Civil and Sessions Judge of Patna.

Mr. Tweedie deserves the credit of being an Abdiel; for he is, I believe, the only Bengal Civilian who has ever ventured to emerge into print in defence of Sir Charles Elliott's eccentricities. His letter unquestionably says all that can possibly be said in favour of the Survey—which amounts to this: (a) that there is only one estate in Behar that has a true or trustworthy rent-roll, and that one belongs to English proprietors—which is flatly contradicted by Sir Charles Elliott in the *Times*, who refers to the Mahārājâ of Darbhanga's estate as a proof of the contrary; (b) that the districts of Behar are in a frightful state of bloodshed, anarchy, and riot, all for lack of measurements and Fair Rents; and (c) that all Natives, landlords and tenants alike, have a double dose of original sin, and object to the Survey, not because it will ruin them, but because it will prevent them from breaking each other's heads either physically or in the Law Courts—also because objecting to the Survey is their way of striking at the Government.

One other argument Mr. Tweedie elaborates at great length. It is, that the holdings of the Behar tenants are so minute and patchy—often in patches no bigger than "a gentleman's drawing-room"—that neither the tenants them-

selves nor anybody else can ascertain "whose is whose," without the aid of the Government and its *amins*. But surely, for anyone who has the most elementary acquaintance with field-surveying and its cost, a sufficient answer to this argument is that suggested by Mr. Kenyon's question in the House of Commons, founded on the experience of the Soane Irrigation Surveys; which is, that the cost of an elaborate Cadastral Survey of such holdings—with all its paraphernalia of maps, records, and so forth, as indicated in the Director's *Note* quoted below—is by no means unlikely to mean something like the fee-simple value of the land!

For what, I ask, is this Cadastral Survey, of which the cost is to be defrayed almost entirely by the unhappy landlords and tenants? Everyone can realize that it means, in the first place, the descent on a peaceful district, of a Revenue officer with his swarm of surveyors, assistant-surveyors, chainmen, and coolies, his Assistant Settlement officer's *Peshkar*, his *munsarims*, his *mohurrirs*, his peons, his clerks, his *nazirs*, his bench-*mohurrirs*, his record-keepers, his *dustries*, his *kanungoes*, and all the noble army of the "Pindarries of modern India." This is all set forth in the Blue-book, with the Government pay of each, to be provided by the said landlords and tenants in the form of a cess payable to the Government. Of course, no count is taken of any other more direct, or indirect, contributions. But what are these gentlemen to do, to justify their raid? Let Sir Charles Elliott's Director of Surveys answer, in the words of the official memorandum of last February. The operations are to consist officially of eight stages. These be they :—

First stage.—Demarcation of boundaries of *Mouzas*.

Second stage.—Traverse Survey.

Third stage.—Cadastral Survey, and record-writing, or *Khanapuri*. The principal (*sic*) records are the map, *Khasara*, *parchas*, *Khatians*, and *Kheuwats*.

Fourth stage.—Check of the Survey and *Khanapuri*; the preliminary attestation; and calculation and insertion of areas in the records.

Fifth stage.—The attestation by the Revenue officers, and settlement of

objections and disputes which could not be disposed of at *Khanapuri*; the ascertaining by the Settlement Officer of existing rents; and when application is made, the settlement of FAIR RENTS.

Sixth stage.—The first publication of the draft record-of-rights (*Khewats* and *Khatians*).

Seventh stage.—The settlement of objections and disputes, after publication of the draft record-of-rights.

Eighth stage.—The final publication of the record-of-rights (*Khewats* and *Khatians*).

Now, let us consider what these eight stages will mean, when applied to land divided into Mr. Tweedie's patches as big as "a gentleman's drawing-room"—and Mr. Tweedie is not far out in this, for the Soane Irrigation Surveys reports showed that the average size of the "rice-*khets*" is '05 to '08 of an acre in these Behar districts, that is, from 12 to 20 in an acre.

We need say nothing about the second stage, the Traverse Survey, for this is the work the expense of which is supposed to be covered by Sir Charles Elliott's contribution of one anna per acre from Government. But we ought to observe that in the third stage, the Cadastral Survey itself and the preparation of the records, we are only told in a lordly way that the "principal" records are the Map, *Khasara*, *parchas*, *Khatians*, and *Khewats*. We do not hear, in this stage, about the costly "scientific mathematical instruments," which Sir Charles Elliott assured the Bhagalpur zemindars would, *mirabile dictu*, check the fraud of the people who used them, and would re-assure the terrified ryots. And the brain really whirls when one wonders, since the Map, *Khasara*, *parchas*, *Khatians*, and *Khewats* are only the "principal" records of these drawing-room holdings, what are the other records, for which the owner of the said "drawing-room" and the cultivator thereof are each to pay half the cost.

And I think we ought to note also the numerous and not unimportant sub-divisions of the Fifth Stage. One of these sub-divisions is a modest order—"the attestation by the Revenue officers." But what shall we say for such a sub-division as the "settlement of Fair Rents" when

application is made, or as "the ascertaining by the Settlement Officer of existing rents," or as "the settlement of objections and disputes"? It is impossible not to admire the amplitude of the ideas of a Government that makes these little trifles—all done at the cost of the landlords and tenants—minor sub-divisions of one stage out of eight in this tremendous business.

It will be observed, too, that the "settlement of Fair Rents," though it is nominally to take place only "when application is made," is to follow "the ascertaining by the Settlement Officer of existing rents." In other words, the Settlement Officer fixes a Judicial Rent to begin with, by "ascertaining the existing rent"; and if either or both of the parties object to the Judicial Rent, then he is to settle—what is the same thing—a "Fair Rent." Or again in other words, henceforward landlords and tenants are not to be allowed to settle their rents for themselves, but a paternal despotism will do it for them. And Mr. Tweedie in the *Times* tells us why:—"Both parties" [landlords and tenants alike] "are standing offenders against the body politic, and must be made to mend their ways, whether they like it or not. This answer is final if the ruling power is any longer to govern in these parts."

Now Mr. Tweedie is a distinguished Judicial Officer, and I am sure does not dispense Jedburgh justice, hanging first and hearing afterwards. So I ask him, how does he know that the landlords and tenants of Behar "are standing offenders against the body politic"? It is true that he draws a most horrible picture, as I have said, of the most atrocious agrarian crimes, murders, and riots, and forgeries—which he says are "here" (that is, presumably, in Behar, for he writes from Bankipur) "of constant occurrence." But I venture to say that Mr. Tweedie, if these statements were made by a witness to him in his judicial capacity, would want to know a good deal more about these alleged horrors than such loose and general talk as this. Here is a challenge to him. I defy

him to produce one single district officer in Behar who will confess that the state of things in his district even remotely or in the slightest degree resembles the terrible picture calmly presented by Mr. Tweedie in cold blood, for the perusal and sympathy of the British public in the columns of the *Times*, as an accurate representation of the general state of Behar, and his first and foremost reason for supporting the Survey. Mr. Tweedie knows quite well that the description would be indignantly repudiated by every district officer, and by every Police officer, in Behar.

For what are the facts? If the Board of Revenue is to be believed—if Behar officers are to be believed—if the Indian Press is to be believed—if the correspondent for whom Lord Randolph Churchill vouches in the *Times* is to be believed—if there is one word of truth in any one of the numerous reports that have been made public in the *Blue Book* of May, 1892, on this subject—the truth is the exact opposite of Mr. Tweedie's picture of rampant bloodshed and crime. In fact, until now no hint of such a state of affairs has ever been offered even by the most furious of the supporters of the Survey. The Board of Revenue, in their letter of 28th May 1891, examined very carefully the allegations that in some estates there were disputes between the landlord and the tenants, that might be mitigated by official intervention and an official Survey: and they pointed out: (a) that the worst allegations amounted to no more than "a state of tension" in a few places, such as must exist everywhere sometimes—and even this not half as serious as in Backergunge and other districts of Eastern Bengal—(b) that litigation and strife were very slight, and would be stirred up rather than mitigated by a Survey—(c) that, if disputes existed anywhere, the Bengal Tenancy Act enabled the aggrieved parties to make application, and empowered the Government to apply the necessary remedies *within the affected local areas*—and (d) that hardly any such applications were made, so satisfactory in general were the relations

between landlord and tenant. Lord Randolph Churchill's correspondent states categorically: 'There are no agrarian disputes; neither the landlords nor the ryots have asked for the Survey; why cannot we be left alone?' The *Indian Mirror* (the Calcutta Radical organ of the ryots) says—"The relations between the zemindars and ryots in that province were, on the whole, excellent; neither of the two classes required it" (the Survey), "and they have energetically protested against it." And I could multiply such quotations *ad libitum*.

The fact is, so long as the zemindars and the ryots can be made to pay the cost, the thing must be done—because it must. *Sic volo sic jubeo*. And consider the cost of all the eight stages mentioned above, with their prodigious sub-divisions, when applied to the "nests of rice-khets," each as big as "a gentleman's drawing-room." For each there must be the "principal" records, already detailed, not to mention the less important records. And these must be drawn out in duplicate, so Mr. Tweedie informs us, for copies are to be given to both landlord and tenant; and a third series of these records must be made for official use. All this is one part of one-eighth of the whole procedure. And if Sir Charles Elliott's estimate of 8 annas per acre as the total cost of the Survey be accepted, since the average size of each patch is '05 to '08 of an acre, the cost of all the above proceedings, and of seven other sets of proceedings, and the salaries of the Directors and Surveyors and Settlement Officers and all their "Pindarri" host, will vary from 4'8 pies to 7'68 pies for each patch for which separate records have to be made, say about a halfpenny to about three farthings! This is the estimate of the cost that is boldly put forward by the Bengal Government; and Sir Charles Elliott thinks the poor Behar landowners and farmers quite unreasonable, because they venture to doubt whether this estimate—itsself imposing on them an initial taxation of about a million sterling for the four districts of North Behar—

will not be largely exceeded when they come to pay the bill.

And then, there is the annual cost for ever of maintaining the record-of-rights. This is to be paid—so it was stated at the recent Muzaffarpur Conference—by an annual cess of $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of an anna on every Rupee of rent; say a tax of nearly 5 per cent. on every landholder's gross rental. And yet, the following are the words of Sir Charles Elliott on this subject, when appealing to the sympathies of the British public through the *Times*:—"He [Lord Randolph's correspondent] "next asserts that Government proposes to levy an annual cess of one anna in the rupee in order to keep the record up to date. He may have heard unauthorised tattle to this effect. . . . I do not believe that the project of imposing such a cess as that mentioned (amounting to $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on income from land) would gain the assent of any responsible official. It certainly has never entered my mind to propose it." Well, what does Sir Charles say to the proposal of his Government, that was undeniably put forth at Muzaffarpur about a week before he wrote these words, to levy a cess of $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of an anna in the Rupee (amounting to nearly 5 per cent. on income from land)? Does the difference between $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. and 5 per cent. differentiate an utterly outrageous demand that "never entered" his mind, from one that is just and equitable, and worthy of a British Government solemnly pledged by the Permanent Settlement never to add one farthing to the Government demand on "income from land"—mark, Sir Charles's own words—in these Provinces?

What is the excuse of the Government for this obvious and flagrant breach of one of the most solemn obligations that ever any Government entered into? The Under-Secretary of State for India, condemned by an unhappy fate to be the official apologist for this iniquity, said on August 24th, in reply to a question from Mr. Henniker Heaton, that "the Survey of Behar is an outcome of the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885, and any questions respect-

ing the Permanent Settlement must be considered to have been determined by the passing of this latter Act."

What is the meaning of this extraordinary statement, put into the mouth of the representative of the Government? It seems to me that the honour of the Government, and British faith itself, are so deeply involved in this question, that it ought to be repeated again and again, until a full explanation is obtained. Was Mr. George Russell made to declare that the passing of the Bengal Tenancy Act did, or could in honour or in decency, absolve the British Government from the obligations of the Permanent Settlement? It seems to me that the statement, if it did not lay down this astounding doctrine of immorality, had no meaning whatever.

The ryots' organ in Calcutta bluntly declares: "We say, that this Cadastral Survey was instituted for the maintenance of the Agricultural Department, and it is iniquitous that the zemindars and ryots of Behar should be made to pay the costs of such maintenance." It is, of course, true that the measure, if persisted in, will provide abundance of work, for a long time, not only for the officials of Mr. Finucane's Department, but also for all the Law courts of the country and more. But Mr. Finucane himself supplies another *raison d'être* for the measure, which I will take leave to quote from the *Blue-Book*, as I believe it lets the cat out of the bag in the most candid manner possible. The Board of Revenue had written—

"*Zemindari* management in this country is marked by elasticity. The full rental which is entered in the *zemindari* books may be paid in occasionally, but, as a rule, the zemindar is willing to receive and be satisfied with less than this. The raiyat pays the full rental when he can afford to do so. The zemindar realizes from him as much as he can, in favourable years a large amount; in unfavourable years he has to be content with little. In the Court of Wards an altogether different system is enforced. The Court's demand is unbending, and a fixed amount is realized by a rigorous procedure. It is obvious that for the efficient administration of the Court of Wards' system, a Survey-settlement and record-of-rights are useful preliminaries; while it is equally obvious that for the native system of management, the Survey and record-of-rights is comparatively of little use."

On which deliverance Mr. Finucane, apparently incensed at the unfavourable view taken of the value of his and Sir Charles Elliott's panacea, retorts (in § 51 of his great Memorandum on the subject, dated December 24th, 1888)—

"I have had experience of the collection of rents and of the actual working of both of the systems described in the passage quoted above, and the Board are mistaken in supposing that I do not sufficiently appreciate the difference between them. It is because I am firmly convinced of the evils, I might say the iniquity, of the former system, and of the expediency and justice of changing it, so far as this is possible, that I would, as suggested in Mr. Nolan's No. 2419—913, dated December 1st, paragraph 6, 'take every legitimate means to break up the system' of zemindari management as described by the Board."

Now that is fair and straight; and I believe it really discloses the true intentions and wishes of those who are so passionately insisting on this "breaking up" of the Native land-system. It agrees with Mr. Tweedie's estimate of the Survey, that it will force these "standing offenders against the body politic," the landlords and tenants of Behar, "to mend their ways whether they like it or not." And I must in fairness admit that it is not incompatible with Sir Charles Elliott's own description of the Survey in the *Times*, where he says it will give the zemindars "a *lawful* rent-roll . . . to the great relief and benefit of all parties concerned"—implying that their former rent-rolls, unhallowed by the *imprimatur* of the Government inquisitors, have been anything but "lawful."

But here again—as in the declarations of the Government in the House of Commons as to the abrogation of the Permanent Settlement by the passing of the Bengal Tenancy Act—would it not be fairer and more honourable, if the intentions of the Government were clearly and explicitly declared in language understood of the people?

And once more. Sir William Wedderburn and Sir

Herbert Maxwell have, by their questions in the House, exposed the remarkable manipulation of the Bengal Tenancy Act that has been necessary, to make it even ostensibly cover the odious imposition of the costs of this Survey and its record-of-rights as a tax on "income from land." Mr. Russell, speaking for the Government, had informed Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen that these powers had been obtained for the Government under Clause 114 of that Act; and he has quite recently repeated the statement in answer to questions by Sir Herbert Maxwell and Mr. Webster. Will it be believed that in the official draft of the Bengal Tenancy Bill, circulated in the Vernacular in 1883, no powers whatever of the kind were given? Clause 114 did not then exist, except in a form authorising the Government to charge on the landlords and tenants the costs of certain proceedings undertaken either at their request or to settle existing disputes in local areas! Moreover, no reference whatever to the conferment of any such powers—nor indeed to any Survey whatever of the kind proposed—occurred in the "Statement of Objects and Reasons" for the Tenancy Bill, signed by Mr. Ilbert. Now, in March 1885, shortly before the passing of the Bill, Sir Herbert Maxwell in the House of Commons, and I think Lord Wemyss in the House of Lords, pressed the Government to *circulate in the Vernacular* the Bill as amended by the desultory alterations in the Legislative Council; and then, absolutely incredible as it may seem, the Government refused to republish the Bill in the Vernacular on the ground—the words were actually admitted by Mr. George Russell in reply to Sir William Wedderburn on the 7th of August last—that "the alterations were for the most part excisions in favour of the zemindar."

And now, as Sir Herbert Maxwell well put it in his question, the Government, on the strength of one of these very alterations—and that one very obscurely and uncertainly worded, for it still limits any permitted Surveys to "local areas," with no word of general or provincial Surveys

—positively claims to have acquired the power to impose enormous fresh taxation on the zemindars, in addition to a new charge of nearly 5 per cent. for ever on all "income from land." And further it claims that these secret and furtive alterations have "determined any questions respecting the Permanent Settlement" itself in this connexion! I hope I shall be forgiven the phrase, if I say that this seems to me to take the cake.

And when, on the 8th of this month, Mr. Russell was pressed by Mr. Webster to state explicitly "whether, under the Bengal Tenancy Act, any limits were imposed as to the area"—referring, of course, to the limitation imposed by the words 'in a *local* area' that occur in the Act as it now stands—"within which the Government was empowered to make a compulsory survey at the expense of the landlords and tenants," he was made to evade the obvious point of the question by the remarkable statement that the Act does so empower the local Government, "in a local area without any limitation." Yes; but do not the very words "in a local area" themselves impose a most important limitation? And is not the Government of Bengal flagrantly transgressing this limitation, when it makes, under this authority only, a compulsory survey at the cost of the landlords and tenants for the whole of North Behar?

Is it possible that the Secretary of State, is it possible that the India Council, is it possible that the Viceroy—nay, is it possible that Sir Charles Elliott himself—can any longer countenance a mischievous and cruelly oppressive measure, that has had to be engineered by such methods as these?

Carlton Club, Sept. 12, 1893.

THE EVILS OF THE SALT MONOPOLY IN INDIA, AND THE AGITATION AGAINST OPIUM, GANJA AND ALCOHOL.

By J. B. PENNINGTON, MADRAS C.S. (RETIRED).

Now that the revenue from opium is being thoroughly overhauled it seems a good opportunity for discussing the practice of extracting revenue by means of a monopoly of salt: in fact I think it essential for all those who look upon the Salt Tax as infinitely more injurious to the country than that on opium, (or even Hemp,) to state their case now, or for ever hold their peace. The people of this country should consider the salt monopoly very carefully before they think of sacrificing the revenue we now get from opium.*

I have not a word to say in defence of "Hemp" (Ganja). After the discussion before the East India Association in April last it seems clear that, if its consumption is so productive of insanity as would appear from the figures, it probably causes a greater expenditure on lunatic asylums than it yields in revenue; so that it may be bad finance, as well as bad morality, to permit its cultivation at all.

Everyone however seemed inclined to admit that exactly the same arguments could not be urged against the cultivation and sale of opium; and very properly, because, however much opium may be (and is) abused, it is pretty evident, even from Surgeon-Major Pringle's own figures that it is, compared with "ganja" and alcohol, comparatively innocuous; and every candid person at all acquainted with the facts must also admit that, as a common medicine for constant use it is absolutely invaluable not only in India and China, but also in the Fen country everywhere, as a

* Sir John Strachey, in his evidence on the 14th September, 1893, before the Royal Opium Commission, incidentally observed: "The *Inland Customs* line which was formerly in existence for the taxation of SALT and which was abolished by Lord Lytton, was one of the greatest disgraces of our Indian administration, and it was quite impossible that any one acquainted with the facts would wish to see anything of the kind restored."

preservative against ague and other kindred ailments, and probably does not do one-tenth as much harm as even the drinking of beer, let alone spirits. It is reasonable enough therefore, (as their Secretary very candidly admitted,) to ask the anti-opium agitators to show exactly how they propose to make good the loss of revenue which would result from the prohibition of the sale of opium, because it is the abuse of opium alone that is injurious, whilst its judicious use seems to be more certainly beneficial than that of any of the common stimulants and narcotics, not even excepting tobacco. Now it is not easy to see how the revenue could be recouped for such a loss except by reduction of expenditure, because it would surely be unreasonable to tax people who never use opium in order to make up the deficit, and I am of opinion that any such fresh taxation must be kept in reserve for the time when the Government of India finds itself compelled, (as I hope it soon will be,) to turn its attention to what is, I believe, a much more universally injurious tax than that upon drugs and spirituous liquors—I mean the *monopoly of salt*.

The tax on salt in India has scarcely any compensating advantage that a tax can have, except that it produces a large revenue at a not very excessive cost; though it is not a light responsibility to spend about $\frac{1}{2}$ a million sterling a year in harassing the very poorest of the poor so as to secure a revenue of even 8 millions. Scarcely anyone, except perhaps the enthusiastic Salt official, has a good word to say for the Salt Tax; all the Government can say is that it is an indispensable necessity for which no substitute can be found; and it might therefore be sufficient for me to explain how I propose to get over this difficulty. But to make this paper at all complete it seems necessary to enumerate some of the evils inseparable from any tax upon Salt, and to show in that way why I think the total abolition of the salt monopoly should precede the prohibition of the sale of opium.

My great objection to the salt monopoly has always

been, (and I am now only quoting from letters and papers written so long ago as 1875—1884,) that we do not know how much mischief it causes to the people and the cattle of India, that we are in fact entirely in the dark on the subject. We only know that a large quantity of salt is even more necessary to life in India both for men and cattle than it is in Europe, and we have very good reason to suspect that the want of an abundant supply of salt may be one of the main predisposing causes of the virulence of cholera and cattle disease. It is at any rate a very significant fact that cholera is characterised by a deficiency of salt in the blood, and if it should turn out to be a fact that the want of unlimited salt is really a cause of mortality, (as I firmly believe it will,) the case for the prosecution is simple enough: we destroy untold millions of the wealth of the people in order to gain an annual revenue of about 8,600,000 Rs. That is certainly not good economy even from a pecuniary point of view; but when we consider the mortality and sickness due, in all human probability, to the want of a sufficiency of salt in the diet of a vegetarian people the responsibility becomes quite appalling and the urgency very great. And it will be observed that my objection is not to the weight of the tax, but to the monopoly *on any terms*. Whether the tax is 1 or 2 Rs. a maund makes really very little difference to anyone, as will readily be seen if it is considered that, whatever the rate may be, no poor cooly will ever use more than 8 or 10 lbs. a year, costing at the most from 2 to 4 annas. *If there were no tax at all* the same cooly would consume perhaps 4 or 5 times as much at least, and double or treble the quantity would go to the cattle; whilst the amount that might usefully be employed in agriculture and manufactures is as incalculable as the benefit to the country that would probably result from its extended consumption.

It is so much the fashion of the non-official European in India to ignore the objections to the Salt Tax and devote all his energies to the abolition of taxation which affects

himself that, at the risk of repeating myself, I must fortify my argument by giving extracts from certain articles which appeared in the *Indian Spectator* in 1884 for which I am responsible. My text on that occasion was a remark in the *Madras Mail* to the following effect :—

"Were he" (Sir George Balfour) "as thoroughly acquainted with the natives of India as he is with columns of figures, he would be aware that the abolition of the License Tax and of the export duty upon rice would be hailed with greater delight than even the extinction of the salt duty which has been a burden to nobody."

Now I think it desirable to contradict the two statements made in the above extract in the most unqualified manner. The people who are affected by the License Tax do all the talking in India, and the Minister who wishes for popularity in the newspapers would consult his own comfort by repealing the License Tax. But any statesman who has insight enough to see that it is most just to tax the well-to-do classes, who contribute nothing otherwise to the revenue (unless they choose to indulge in stimulants), and most immoral and short-sighted to reduce the consumption of an article like salt amongst a nation of vegetarians, will never reduce, though he may equalise and adjust, the License Tax; and will, on the contrary, make it his constant endeavour to reduce and ultimately abolish the unrighteous tax on salt.

The new anonymous historian of "Ancient India" says that "earth salt, which was very cheap" (he might almost have said dirt cheap), "and which was largely used for domestic purposes and for cattle in ancient times, has now, by the selfish policy of Government, disappeared from the land; so that what could be had for one anna now costs one rupee."

As pointed out in a letter which appeared in the *London Times* :

"It is the unknown injury that is done to agriculture, commerce, and to the health of the country by stinting the supply of salt, and the terrible demoralization that is caused among the poorer classes by the clandestine manufacture of earthsalt that afford the strongest arguments against the continuation of the tax."

Nor does it matter much whether the tax is 1,000 per cent. or only 100. Dr. Ratten indeed contends that the complete abolition of the tax in Russia did not benefit the consumer in a corresponding degree; but he fails (apparently) to observe that in India, at any rate, the poorest classes, who alone are injuriously affected by the salt tax, would get their salt for *nothing at all* if the tax were abolished, and that unlimited quantities would become available for cattle and for use in agriculture and manufactures.

Since 1875 the Salt Department in Madras has been reorganized and many changes have been made: all in the direction of increased stringency. But the more rigorously it is worked the more sure it is to be abolished. Many valuable opinions have been expressed in favour of total abolition since 1875. We have Dr. Hunter's authority, among others, for saying that one sixth of the people never have enough to eat, and

"To expect such people to buy salt at the rate of even a penny a pound when they can scrape it for nothing is absurd. Nor is it reasonable to expect that conviction for offences under the salt laws will ever put a stop to the traffic. Imprisonment with regular meals and abundance of salt is no punishment to the poor old women who are

principally engaged in it, and to fine them is useless as they have no property at all. It is a positive fact that the salt laws, especially as administered by the present energetic Commissioner, are a terror rather to the Police and Magistracy who have to administer them than to the criminals who are affected by them. Even when a case is brought forward, the Magistrate is at his wits' end to know what to do with the culprits, for he can no more bring himself to deal with them as ordinary criminals than the people can be brought to regard their miserable traffic as a crime. In fact, the salt laws are opposed to the instincts of the people."

And their enforcement must necessarily cause wide-spread discontent and frequently even riots, as it actually does.

Though so popular as a means of raising a revenue, every writer on the subject is opposed to the salt tax. Dr. Rattou himself, though officially bound to apologise for it, only does so on the distinct understanding that salt is allowed free for cattle, for salting fish and for use in agriculture and in manufactures.

"There is nothing to say in favour of the tax where it exists in its worst form, as for example in British India—except that an alteration of the salt laws in favour of manufacturers (and farmers) would purge the tax in a great measure of its objectionable character."

But though much has been written on the subject since Dr. Rattou published his last edition, nothing whatever has been done to provide for the issue of duty-free salt for consumption by cattle and for use in agriculture, whilst it would even appear that the Commissioner is already inclined to put a stop to its use in curing fish. The public would hardly believe, yet it is literally true, that he attempted to put a stop to the use of black cotton soil and tank mud *as manure* because they contain a considerable proportion of common salt! Fortunately in that case the people secured the protection of the High Court. As to cattle he has succeeded in getting one member of the medical profession to say that salt is quite unnecessary for them, and now has the audacity to contend that they get as much as they want in spite of all Dr. Rattou's evidence to the contrary. Such theories, like those of Dr. Howard, who contended that salt was the "abomination of desolation" and bred worms and vermin of all kinds, are really unworthy of notice. Mr. Mills, Inspector of Cattle disease, has proved the value of salt for cattle in a paper which was published by the Madras Board of Revenue (with cruel irony) for the information of all cattle-owners in this Presidency. But what is the use of pointing out the benefit to be derived from a liberal use of salt when its cost is made prohibitory by the same authority?

The bountiful ocean is constantly rolling up millions of tons of salt all round the shores of India which, utilised in the agriculture and manufactures of the country, might literally be turned into gold. But a short-sighted Government lay violent hands on it, and spend lacs of rupees in preventing the people from utilising it as they otherwise would in defending themselves and their cattle from the most horrible diseases. Hear what the Sanitary Commissioner says on this point in his Report for 1880:

"The great source of mortality among the population from diarrhoea and allied diseases arises from worms (lunbrici) and this in a great measure depends on their ability or otherwise to obtain salt."

Dr. Ratton is evidently of the same opinion though he says (p. 411):

"There is no proof that the poor are deprived of a sufficiency of salt and therefore no proof that the worms are caused by the want of it."

In the *Nineteenth Century* (No. 77, July, '83, pp. 16-19) Mr. Keay presents to the reader a conspectus of opinions against the salt tax from authorities like the late Lord Lawrence, Dr. Wilson, Mr. Pedder, and Dr. Hunter, as well as from well-known native gentlemen, to which he adds his own experience.

Dr. Day's opinion as the effect of the monopoly on the Fisheries of India is well-known:

"A long investigation" (he says) "led to the conclusion that they were in a depressed condition wherever salt was expensive or the employment of untaxed earth-salt prohibited as in Bombay, along the Coromandel coast of Madras and the Bay of Bengal; that they were flourishing where salt was cheap or the use of earth-salt was permitted as in Sind, the Western coast of Madras and Burma; that where untaxed earth-salt could be obtained the superior quality of salt was rarely purchased for fish-curing; that where the use of salt-earth was prohibited, the fish-curer had to dry his fish in the sun or purchase monopoly salt, while the sole way to keep down the cost of the latter description of cured fish was to pay the very lowest possible price for the fishermen's captures and employ a minimum amount of salt."

Some facilities are now being given to the salting of fish in Madras; but the Government of India are already anxious to abolish this poor indulgence in favour of a struggling and most valuable industry. The art of curing fish is not generally practised owing to the exigencies of the salt monopoly (1). That people in India would consume much more salt than they do, if they could afford it, is pretty clear from the example of Ceylon where it is said that 1,000 persons consume nearly 7 tons, whereas in India, the consumption is only $3\frac{1}{4}$ tons for the same number. The *Lancet* deserves to be quoted on this subject:

"In tropical regions diseases associated with the introduction of organisms into the body are exceedingly rife. The bacillus of cholera has been discovered in a tank at Calcutta and the *filaria sanguinis hominis* are introduced into the circulation through the stomach from the ingestion of water, while the carbuncular affections, of which the Delhi boil is a type, are generally supposed to result from the introduction of micro-organisms. Now, the abundant use of common salt has been shown to be a most efficient prophylactic against the development of intestinal parasites. Sheep which have free access to salt rarely, if ever, become victims to the fluke, although the parasites from which it is developed may abound in their pastures, as is shown by the fact that other sheep which have not had access to salt develop the disease if they graze in the same field. But besides its effect in checking parasitic disease, common salt is required not only to supply the blood with a neutral salt, but also for many other physiological purposes too well known to need stating here. The necessity for the use of salt is more imperative with a vegetable than with an animal dietary since the former contains less of this element than the latter. As the diet of the Hindoo is almost entirely farinaceous and vegetable, it is a cruel injustice to impose a tax that renders a physiological necessary a high priced luxury. The fact that the consumption of salt should have increased 10 per cent. since the last reduction shows that it is not at all improbable that a further reduction of the salt tax would lead again to an increased consumption, and thus no loss to the revenue would be incurred."

There is also some reason to believe that taken abundantly it is a prophylactic against cholera. This view was strongly urged by Mr. Gilbert S. De Silva. In 1877-78, he says, an epidemic of cholera broke out in

the lines of the 13th Regiment at Royapuram, which was soon put down when the men took larger quantities of salt with their food. The same result followed the same treatment in the Jail at Hosungabad in 1857. Mr. De Silva adds that from much personal experience he is satisfied that the saline treatment is the best of all, and assures us that in Singapore the prisoners receive "nearly 300 grains of salt more than in India" (probably he means 300 grains altogether as against 20 in India). The immense value of salt and saltpetre to the agriculture of this country is also fully admitted by Dr. Ratton. In France, says the *Madras Mail*,

"Salt is a commodity next to a necessity for French farmers; yet it is so heavily taxed, and surrounded with so many irritating conditions, as to limit its use. You cannot cart a barrel of sea water to your home without permission of the authorities. You would be suspected of wanting to cheat the revenue, perhaps, by manufacturing your own salt. The tax brings in over three millions of francs annually to the exchequer. Better reduce that and make up the deficiency on drink licences. Mixed with lime, salt is beneficial for all crops. It is generally applied at the rate of 3 to 4 cwts. per acre, and is most efficacious, according to Boussingault, when mixed with two-thirds of its weight of lime or marl. Salt exercises a most favourable influence on the formation of the ear of wheat, barley, and oats, and adds to the weight of the grain itself. In the case of potatoes the action is marked, the soda replacing the potash in that plant; but it is in coals that salt tells with most benefit. For feeding mangolds salt is excellent, but it is detrimental when beet is cultivated for sugar. It was Davy who first directed attention to the value of salt in the agricultural point of view. It augments the appetite of stock, and enables the latter to consume acid or inferior herbage. The famous *pres sales* sheep, that command the highest price with the butcher, are fed on the salt marshes of Lower Normandy and the coast of Charente Inferieure. Mixed with guano and urine, salt prevents the escape of ammoniacal fumes. M. Vetter concluded that the ultimate action of salt was to convert organic matters into nitrate of soda.

It is evident from that account how little hope there is of salt being utilised in the agriculture of India whilst the monopoly is in force.

As to saltpetre—fiscal restraints have

"Tended to limit its manufacture, and the industry is almost killed in Southern India partly owing to the fall in price and partly to the restrictions imposed by the Salt Preventive Department" (Dr. Hunter's India).

Then consider the actual saving that would be effected by the dismissal of a whole army of preventive officials whose lives are now spent in harassing the very poorest of their fellow-creatures, and in haling them before a reluctant and almost mutinous magistracy! Think of the time that would be saved if the unfortunate magistrates were relieved of perhaps the most painful duty at present imposed on them, and were no longer obliged to send miserable starving old women to jail for boiling a little salt earth to mix with their scanty meals. Think of the saving of expense in the Jail Department which is never debited, (as it ought to be,) to the Salt Department. No one who has not had some experience can appreciate the unpleasant friction involved

in these miserable revenue prosecutions: the High Court Reports teem, (at least they did in my time,) with the most glaringly iniquitous cases referred for their orders by justly incensed District Magistrates—"quorum (at one time) pars parva fui"!

But I cannot think that anyone has really any doubt about the evils inseparable from the Salt Tax: its advocates only say that we cannot do without it. Now the great difference between the Tax on Salt and that on drugs like Opium and on Liquor is that *it cannot be evaded except by breaking the Law*, whereas no one is obliged to take either opium or liquor except medicinally in very minute quantities; and part of the object of the Government in taxing either is to make it more difficult to get either opium or liquor clandestinely: so that the Abkari Department may fairly claim to do an immense deal of good (for which its enemies seldom give it any credit,) both in providing more wholesome liquor, and in making it as expensive as it can be without encouraging illicit sales, whereas to stop the clandestine manufacture of salt does very little good to anyone except the Government.

What then is my substitute for the Salt Tax? I have at various times suggested several, such as a house tax, a tax on tobacco and betel—it is not many years since the model State of Travancore raised nearly as much from tobacco alone as from salt, namely 16 or 17 % of its gross revenue—a tax on marriages and on succession; but none of these are perhaps sufficiently inevitable to be a thoroughly reliable substitute, and I have long since come to the conclusion that the best in every way would be a *Poll Tax*, which could be levied by the existing land revenue establishments at a very trifling extra cost. Obvious objections may of course be found to a Poll Tax, but it answers very well, I believe, in Ceylon, and

"Who e'er expects a faultless tax to see
Expects what neither is nor e'er shall be."

THE GRADUAL EXTINCTION OF THE BURMESE RACE.

BY G. H. LE MAISTRE.

THE Prince of easy-going fellows is the Burman. He has the good fortune to dwell in a land where, even in this stirring nineteenth century, life can be supported with a minimum of toil. Rich soil, on which with but little hard labour he can raise crops far in excess of his actual wants, is everywhere plentiful; * pliable bamboos to build himself a hut to live in are easily obtained; and his wife slaves for him while he sits beneath the village banyan tree, chatting to his neighbours or puffing at his long green cheroot. His lot is cast in pleasant places, and is indeed a happy one compared to that of thousands of English men and women of the present day, doomed to incessant toil and reaping from their labour nothing but the bare necessities of life.

Short in stature, the Burman possesses a sinewy and well knit frame and carries himself proudly. He inherits the chief characteristics of his Mongolian ancestry,—eyes slightly oblique, a yellow-brown complexion, a broad flat nose, and an almost beardless face. He is gifted with considerable intelligence, and is often extremely witty. Like most easy-going men, he is a pleasant companion and is troubled by no caste prejudices to mar the harmony of intercourse between Europeans and Asiatics. He is of an extremely generous disposition and spends large sums of money on pagodas or other religious edifices, the erection of which he hopes will bring him a rich reward in a future state. The cares of life sit lightly on him; and he bears reverses of fortune with the calmness and fortitude of a

* It is true that his country is subject to occasional drought often entailing much suffering; but this distress is generally confined to small areas and, in the worst of years, the country has been able to spare, for foreign consumption, close on a million tons of its rice crop.

Stoic. In his person he is clean and neat and, when he can afford it, is always smartly dressed. To his good qualities must be added that of sobriety : drunkenness in a Burman is quite exceptional, and, as the Burmese race are inveterate smokers, some think this moderation all the more remarkable.

The Burman, however, has his faults ;—faults so great, that when weighed against his good qualities the balance unfortunately inclines to the wrong side. He is the most conceited and self-satisfied of men ; and any attempt to convince him that his pride in himself was not altogether justifiable would be mere waste of time. He is intensely indolent, and quite unable to appreciate the value or realise the necessity of perseverance. Pain and even death he will face with great calmness and courage ; but he is intolerant of all discipline and so makes but an indifferent soldier. He is fond of gambling, and spends his money very freely, for of thrift he has but the barest conception. Driven by the greed and dishonesty of his own officials in the past to practise deceit in all the ordinary affairs of life, deceit has become, to a certain extent, a habit, and he retains but little genuine love of truth for its own sake. He is superstitious and often cruel in the extreme in spite of the humanizing doctrines of the Buddhist creed. Woman he considers a mere slave born to minister to his wants, and as such he treats her.

The Burman believes that before a woman can even aspire to reach Nirvana,—that mesmeric trance or state of blissful unconsciousness which is the longed-for goal of all true followers of Buddha,—she must first be transformed into a man in some future existence. This naturally leads him to regard woman as a being vastly inferior to himself ; and this inferiority has been so impressed upon the Burmese woman that it has grown into a profound superstition, evidences of which may be traced in many of the customs prevalent in the province. A woman must not cross the shadow of a pagoda or of a man, and it is no uncommon

occurrence to see a woman move out of her path to avoid the commission of this great sin. A wife must not sleep on the right of her husband, lest his right hand lose its power from contact with such inferior clay. These are but instances of the humiliating restrictions which the submissive nature of the Burmese woman has enabled the men of her race to enforce upon her, and the non-observance of which she considers certain to draw down upon her some great calamity or to retard her progress towards Nirvana. The spread of Western civilization is, however, rapidly undermining this belief of the woman in her supposed inferiority; but the Burman does not appear likely to accommodate himself to any new order of things. He is conservative to the backbone; his conviction that the proper place for woman is at his feet is deep-rooted and not to be easily disturbed; and her efforts to free herself from this degrading position he regards as altogether unreasonable and unbecoming.

Although held in no great esteem by the men of their race, the women of Burma have much for which they should be thankful, and are by no means fit subjects for pity. They certainly lead a life of toil; but otherwise they are free to please themselves in most things; free to breathe the pure air of heaven, a gift of nature, it is true, but one which is denied to millions of their less fortunate Eastern sisters. Their power for good or evil is considerable; for in a country where the indolent and happy-go-lucky temperament of the men has thrust the business and burden of life into the hands of the women, it is but natural that the influence of the wife in her household should be practically irresistible. Reared in a hard school, the Burmese are excellent women of business; and, as contractors, rice-merchants or saleswomen in the bazaar, they have few equals. They are exceedingly fond of amusement in any form; they are great smokers; and, like their sex all the world over, they adore jewellery and dress. Their hair is of luxuriant growth and is worn in a massive

knot or coil on the top of the head. Their complexion varies from a pale olive to the deepest brown. They have bright dark eyes; and, though possessing no claim to actual beauty, there is about the better class of Burmese women a certain comeliness, which, added to a lively and good-natured disposition, is by no means without its attractions. In the choice of husbands the women of Burma have long enjoyed great freedom. Divorce under the ancient laws of the country was easily obtained and could never be actually refused. The folly of attempting to force the inclinations of a daughter, under such social conditions, is so evident, that a Burmese girl is generally allowed to please herself in the important matter of marriage.

The exemption hitherto enjoyed by the Burman from any active participation in the great struggle for existence has naturally not been without its drawbacks. It has developed habits of indolence and self-indulgence which totally unfit him for competition with more advanced races. So long as circumstances enabled him to retain his country for himself to the exclusion of foreigners in any number, this want of enterprise affected him in no appreciable degree; but the sudden influx of natives from India and China, which on the overthrow of King Theebaw was the natural sequence to the establishment of British rule, has destroyed this *status*, and has introduced a large element of foreign competition into the country. This alien element is increasing at a rapid rate, and will continue to do so; for the conversion of the present deficit in the revenues of the country into a healthy surplus depends very largely on the promptitude with which agriculturists can be found to take up the numerous acres of rich land which are lying waste in different parts of the province. Immigration,—the only speedy method of bringing about the desired result,—is now engaging the attention of the Government of India, and is likely to meet with every encouragement at their hands. Competition in all branches of trade must in the course of the next few years receive a great

stimulus; and this, though an excellent thing for the coffers of the Indian Government and for the empire at large, is certain to tell heavily against the indolent and lethargic Burman. The probability of his being able to hold his own is small. His descent in the scale of life is practically inevitable, while the exceptional freedom enjoyed by the women in their choice of husbands—to which reference has already been made,—combined with the total absence of caste prejudices or restrictions in the matter of marriage with foreigners, must prove a powerful factor in hastening the ultimate disappearance of the purely Burmese race.

For years past the Burman has derived all the pleasure out of life that a state of semi-civilization can offer, while his wife,—in reality little better than a slave,—has been compelled to toil for him and to do work with her hands that nature intended should fall to the man's share. As might be expected, such conditions of life have been conducive to the development of a strong passion for material prosperity; and in the Burmese women of the present day the hankering after gold—that passport to a life of ease,—is abnormally great. One of the immediate consequences of this is that, in the choice of husbands, mercenary motives prevail; mere money value carries very great weight; and, as the average Burmese girl is without prejudice of race or creed, the preference is often given to the man best endowed with the goods of this world, quite irrespective of any question of religion or nationality. Aliens are now settling in all parts of the country; and as they are almost invariably better able to maintain their wives than Burmans of the same class, it very frequently happens that Burmese suitors are quietly discarded, when any of the former enter the field against them. These aliens, on their part, are quite alive to the value of Burmese women, and have shown themselves very ready to seek them in marriage. It is true that this is with them more or less a case of Hobson's choice. Emigrants, whether

from India or China, are very rarely accompanied by their wives; and as, in consequence, the number of alien women in the country is not large, the choice of wives is practically limited to women of Burmese, or at any rate of partly Burmese nationality. Mixed marriages have become exceedingly numerous; and the women of Burma are beginning to recognise the fact, that besides being more prosperous, these aliens treat them with far greater kindness and consideration than do the men of their own race—a discovery which of itself must tend to increase the number of such marriages. The Burman knows these influences to be at work. He sees the best and fairest of his women become the happy and contented brides of enterprising foreigners; but he is far too indolent to make an effort to hold his own and avert the extinction of his race. Thus the difficulty of obtaining suitable partners of pure descent for his children must grow greater each year; and only time is required for the pure Burman to disappear altogether, and for his place to be taken by a race in whose veins the blood of the Chinaman and of the native of India will mingle with his own.

This disintegrating process has been slowly at work along the seaboard for many years; but it is only since the annexation of Upper Burma, a fertile country with a scanty population, offering many inducements to emigrants, that it can be said to have brought the annihilation of the Burmese race almost within measurable distance. Since the overthrow of King Theebaw, emigrants both from India and China have been flocking hither, in largely increased numbers each year. Not only do these aliens abound in every centre of trade to such an extent that the larger towns are fast losing the impress of their Burmese origin, but there is not a village of any size into which they have not penetrated, and they are quietly but surely monopolizing the entire trade of the country. The land the Burman has so far been enabled to retain in his own possession; but in the lower province at any rate he is now practically

under the thumb of the Chetties or Indian money lenders, and sooner or later the land itself, as well as the trade of the country, must pass into alien hands.

Burma offers a grand field for oriental immigration. The fertility of its soil is unsurpassed; and it possesses vast mineral resources. Add to this, it is suffering from a great lack of population, due chiefly to the innumerable petty wars, internal and external, in which the country was involved in days gone by—perhaps also in some measure to the hard life led by the majority of Burmese women. On the whole, the climate is good:—the winter season is not so long or so cold as that in most parts of India, and, on the other hand, the heat is never so intense.

In the matter of internal communication, Burma promises to be well provided, and it possesses seaports capable of any development likely to be required. The great Irrawaddy and its branch, the Chindwin, form natural highways traversing the country from north to south; and, thanks to the energetic and far-sighted policy now being pursued, communications, by road and rail, are improving at a rapid rate. The country has undoubtedly a fine future before it. All that it requires is population to develop its resources, and unfortunately immigration on a large scale—the only quick method of increasing population—brings in its train a keen competition in every walk of life, and practically means death to the pleasant but lazy Burman.

Up to the present time, the flow of immigration, whether from India or from China, has almost entirely been through the seaports, comparatively few immigrants finding their way across the mountainous tracts by which the frontiers of Burma are surrounded. A project to connect the province by rail with south-western China is now on foot; and no doubt a line of railway from Mandalay, through the northern Shan States,* to the borders of Yunnan would introduce fresh settlers and be, in every way, of immense benefit to Burma; but there can be no question that it is

* See "note," page 465.

to India and not to China that we should turn to make good the deficiency in population, which at present is a bar to the full development of the country. Apart from the fact that it is only natural that we should prefer, if possible, to supply this deficiency from races already subject to our rule, many districts of India are suffering so much from over population that we cannot but welcome any possible outlet; and whatever reluctance we may have to over-running Burma itself with aliens, with the certainty that eventually the Burman must succumb to the demon of competition, must give way to the urgent necessity of finding a fresh field for some of India's surplus millions.

The sea-journey from India with its discomforts and possible dangers has greatly retarded immigration from that quarter, but with the extension of the railway system to connect Burma with the main portion of our Eastern Empire—a work which cannot long be delayed—this obstacle to immigration will entirely disappear. Railway pioneers are now engaged in testing the feasibility of different alignments; and once the iron road penetrates the wild and hilly borderland which divides India* and Burma, it will require no very great inducement on the part of Government to entice emigrants from the congested districts of Bengal to flock by thousands into the country, and in a few years the alien element will have assumed enormous proportions. The last link in the chain of circumstances which has enabled the lazy Burman to maintain the monopoly of a rich and fertile country will thus be broken; and it needs no great insight into the future to predict that, before many generations have past, he must fall a victim to his own folly and inactivity, and by his gradual disappearance furnish one more proof of that universal and inexorable law which provides for the survival of the fittest.

* Regarding the proposed railway communication between India and Burma via the Arracan hills, we learn that Mr. Woods of the P. W. D. has just completed its survey and that his report places the practicability of the line beyond question.—Ed.

THE COW-KILLING RIOTS IN INDIA, THEIR CAUSES AND CURE.

THE main object of this paper is to show that the slaughter of a cow is by no means obligatory on Muhammadans on the occasion of "the great festival of God" which annually commemorates the readiness of Abraham to sacrifice his then "only son"* Ishmael at divine bidding and the substitution by the Almighty of an animal for the human victim at the last moment. In the Bible, where Isaac takes the place of Ishmael, the circumstance is narrated as follows: (Genesis xxiii. 13)

"And Abraham . . . beheld behind him a *ram* caught in a thicket by his horns, and Abraham went and took the ram and offered him for a burnt-offering in the stead of his son."

The Korán in the 37th chapter gives the following account:

"When they [Abraham and Ishmael] had submitted themselves and Abraham had laid his son prostrate on his face, We cried unto him: O Abraham . . . verily this was a manifest trial and we ransomed him with a noble victim."

This "noble victim" is explained by the earliest commentators to mean a large and fat *ram*, the very same that Abel had sacrificed and that had returned for the purpose from Paradise; others state it was a wild-goat. Nowhere does the *Hadith* or Muhammadan "tradition" suggest that it was a cow. The word is ذَبْح = "Zabh" = "a sacrificed victim." The feast is called in Turkey "The feast of the sacrifice," or "Qurbán Bairám," "I'd-i Qurbán" in Persia, referring to the sacrifice of Abraham or, as in Arabia, I'd-ul-Azhiet = or feast of the victims, the most common names being the "I'd-ul-Azha," or popularly, "Id-uz-Zuhá," or "feast of the forenoon,"† or, still more commonly, "I'd-

* So Isaac is called in the Bible, though a whole previous chapter (Gen. xvi.) is devoted to the birth of Abraham's elder and first son Ishmael by Hagar. "The promise of Isaac, a righteous prophet," is mentioned in the 37th chapter of the Korán as a reward *after* "Abraham's sacrifice" of his son, but several Muhammadan commentators (both Sunni and Shiáh) also hold that the son sacrificed was Isaac.

† This is the usual interpretation, but I take the word "Zuhá" as also connected with "morning sacrifice," if not a "sheep sacrificed in the forenoon at about 10 o'clock." It may be mentioned that the word "Azhiet" for "sacrifices" is not used in the Kurán, though it occurs in the *Hadith*.

ul-Akbar" "*the great feast*" or "*the greatest feast*"* and, finally, "I'd-Allah-ul-Akbar" = "*the great feast of God.*" All these are proper, because orthodox, designations, whereas to call a feast by the name of an animal, except in tolerated vulgar parlance, is irreverent.

In India the term "Baqr I'd" is used, though not so often as "I'd-uz-Zuhâ." This term is warranted neither by Arabic nor Persian nor Hindustani construction, but was, I believe, intentionally adopted in consequence of a verbal confusion. "Baqr I'd" is always translated as "*the kine feast*" or "*the feast of the cow,*" a chapter in the Koran being called "Sûrat-ul-Baqrat,"† "*the Chapter on the Cow*" (which led to the discovery of a murder). Were the use of the name orthodox, it would have the Arabic form "I'd-ul-baqr" = *the feast of the ox or cattle*, or were it sanctioned by Shiah usage it would have the Persian form "I'd-i-Baqr," though "Baqr" is not a Persian word, or were "Baqr" a Hindustani word, which it is not, it would be "Baqr-ka-I'd" or "Baqr-ka-I'd."

So important is this enquiry and so pregnant with consequences for the future peace of India, that it is necessary to examine *what* animals are sacrificed in the various Muhammadan countries and why a cow should ever have come to be sacrificed in India.

In Turkey in Europe and Asia I have often been present at the festival. I have never seen, or heard of, any other animal being sacrificed except a sheep or a lamb. Enquiring recently from a Turkish Imâm whether he had personally known of a cow being sacrificed he said "no" and, to a written enquiry, replied that the feast in question was never called: "Baqr I'd" or even "I'd-ul-baqr." The same has

* Or "*the greater feast*" in contradistinction to the "*little I'd.*" (See 3rd note at the end of this paper.)

† It seems to be almost *malice prepense* to translate "Baqr I'd" as "*the cow feast,*" as is done by even careful writers on the subject. "Baqr" is "*ox, bull, cattle, or head of cattle*"; "Baqrat" is "*cow,*" of which the regular plural is "Baqrât." Among the "*broken*" plurals of "Baqrat" there is, no doubt, the collective "Baqr," for "*cattle,*" "*cows,*" and "*oxen,*" but it would be misleading, besides being liable to confusion with "Baqr" = a falsehood or a calamity, which, indeed, the "*cow feast*" has proved to be in India.

been repeated to me by a Persian Maulvi who had never before heard that name. Indeed, to celebrate "the feast of a cow" at all or "to associate" in a festival of God the name of an animal, would be "idolatry," which is defined to be "the association of any other living being with God." The "I'd" is "a festival of God" and "I'd-ul-Baqr" or "the feast of the ox" would really be "I'd-Allah-ul-baqr" or "God's feast of the ox" which is blasphemy.

Now I have already pointed out that the representation of *any* living being by painting, sculpture or theatrical performance is repugnant to Muhammadan orthodoxy. To so represent the Deity or his holy prophet Muhammad is sufficient, at any time, to cause a disturbance in a Muhammadan community. The contemplated play of "Mahomet" on the Paris stage was withdrawn at the remonstrance of the Sultan of Turkey, and in this country a similar outrage on Muhammadan feeling was stopped by the Lord Chamberlain. In Bombay, the portrait of the prophet in a Parsi publication led to the blood-stained riots of 1851; in 1874, a similar publication kept Bombay in a state of panic during four days and nearly brought about a massacre of the Parsis; and in 1893 we have had a commotion which a Muhammadan leader is compelled to ascribe to the ignorance of the lower classes of Muhammadans, who, however provoked, are admitted to have first attacked the Hindus. Why did they do so?

The intended disturbances—apparently, in a sense, announced to, though not prevented by, the authorities—were hinted at in several native newspapers, and had the officials or even the present so-called leaders of the people been in touch with the community, they would, no doubt, have exerted their influence in favour of conciliation and peace. It is only because the Government of India is a foreign government, that its ablest advisers cannot control events or even give an indication of their approach.

Even the East India Company had, at one time, officially accredited Moulvis, Pandits, and Kázis through whom it could ascertain the popular pulse, but in our present

Councils there is no one who represents the learning, the caste-interests and the religions of the country. The intervention of the new class of anglicized natives between the Government and the people still further alienates the former from the latter, whilst the artificial creation of a body of leaders from among the English-educated *nouvelles couches sociales* cripples the influence for good of the natural leaders of the people, the chiefs, the landed proprietors, the higher castes and persons of good birth generally, the priesthood and the indigenous learned men.

Far be it from me to suggest, as have several writers in England and India, that anglicized natives, who have broken their caste, have directly excited the innate Hindu feeling against cow-killing. I have heard Hindus at the Middle Temple clamour for beef when the rest of the mess wished for mutton. Yet I have seen Hindus faint at the sight of beef. The "Babu" caricatures of Europeans who long to return "home" "in order to enjoy a London fog," who send in their visiting card to their old father seated on his haunches in a Dhoti, or who expostulate with their mother at not receiving them "dressed, at least, in a petticoat" are not the men who are likely to head an active movement against cow-killing, or to be acknowledged as leaders by any section of the respectable or orthodox community to whom their ways are an abomination. At the same time, it would be a mistake to underrate the influence of this discontented class in availing itself of already existing elements of disturbance in order to gain power.

The explanations given by Governors and Lieutenant-Governors of a movement which has led to sanguinary conflicts throughout India show how very remote they are from the people. Following immediately on the Muharram disturbances their antecedent events, if not their real cause, might have been, at any rate, *suggested*. Instead of this, we find even police officials speaking of "the proselytizing zeal" of Hindus who never proselytize at all, whereas all the lower and objectionable elements among Muhammadans are derived from converts among outcaste or insubordinate

Hindus, whom the ever-active propaganda of alike Muhammadan and Christian Missionaries unsettles. The reference of Sir Charles Crosthwaite to the mutiny of 1857—*absit omen*—was unfortunate, whilst his avowed suspicion of the connivance of the Hindu gentry in the disorders is not well-founded. As well might English squires be accused of originating strikes in their Districts. Similarly, one could weep with another high official at the alleged obduracy of Hindus in depriving the poor Muhammadans of their ordinary food, which is supposed to be beef, by the purchase of cows intended for slaughter. Such statements should be reserved for Parliament and Exeter Hall.

Comparatively few among Muhammadans eat beef; when they can afford to buy meat, they purchase the flesh of goats, which is about a fourth of the price of beef, which is again much below that of the best mutton. Both goat's flesh and mutton suit curry, the favourite condiment. Now goat being cheapest is within the reach of the poorest for the sacrifice of the I'd, and it is, therefore, that by far the great majority of sacrificial victims are *goats*.

The Hindustani name for goat is "Bakra," but the "K" is a "Kef," whereas the "K" in the Arabic word "Baqr" or "Bakr" is a "qaf," but it makes all the difference to the peace of India if the "Bakra-I'd" is with a "Kef" or a "qaf." "Such dire results from petty causes spring." If it be, as the vulgar call it, and it is in general practice: "a sacrifice of a *goat*" or—"Bakre-ka-I'd" or even "Bakra-I'd" the contention between Hindus and Muhammadans is at an end, but if, as mischief-makers have invented, "Baqr-I'd" is a festival of the *sacrifice of a cow*, then the *Pax Britannica*, which is the main justification of British rule, may, indeed, at any moment, give way to an universal rising among Hindus throughout India. It is, therefore, the most elementary common-sense and good-feeling which would point out to the Muhammadans that the sacrifice of a *cow* is not enjoined by the text or tradition regarding the festival, but that, on the contrary, it is unusual, as it most certainly is seditious in India. In Turkey, Egypt, Syria, and Persia where a cow

might be sacrificed without causing the least offence to anyone, a sheep is preferred; why then should a cow be killed in India where it is a most heinous crime in the eyes of the vast majority of the population and when neither Scripture nor practice require it throughout the Muhammadan world? Even at Malay Johore, the name of "Bakr-id" is unknown and a cow is never sacrificed. At the Mecca celebration, the Indian pilgrims are usually the only ones who sacrifice an ox, but this is because the sheep and goats on that occasion are abnormally dear. In England, an Afghan gentleman with his retinue, sacrificed preferentially goats, when they might as easily have had sheep or a cow. No doubt, on occasions of great ceremonial or ostentation even a camel may be sacrificed,* but the killing of a cow must seem to Hindus to be an act of wanton malice when the slaughter even of an ox or a calf would not create the same indignation and the killing, say, of a buffalo, sheep or goat should cause none at all.†

The fact is that the tardy recognition of Muhammadan claims by Government has caused a revulsion of official feeling in their favour, especially when the vapourings of the so-called Indian National Congress, which is mainly composed of *de-nationalized* Hindus from every part of India, seemed to call for a counter-poise. At the same time, it should not be forgotten that the true interests alike of Hindus and of Muhammadans as also of the Government consist in that friendly co-operation which is the result of knowledge and of the consciousness of strength and righteousness of purpose. This is why it is to be regretted that Societies, like the old Anjuman-i-Punjab, in which European and native officials worked together with the Hindu, Sikh and Muhammadan nobility, gentry and priesthood in matters relating to the public good and to the promotion of learning, should have been displaced by separatist bodies of Hindus and Muhammadans, who abuse

* The 22nd chapter of the Koran v. 37 says: "And the bulky camels have we appointed for you for the sacrifice to God" (or "symbols of God").

† The only animals lawful for sacrifice are the goat, the sheep, the camel, the ox, and the buffalo, but the sheep and the goat come first, having alone prophetic example.

one another out of earshot, whereas, if they met in council, they would learn to respect each other's feelings and come to some understanding. I would, therefore, suggest the revival of joint-societies and encourage officers of Government becoming members of them in their private capacities. Above all, is the co-operation of Pandits and Maulvis to be sought for, because the former alone can guide into peaceful channels the very legitimate solicitude of the Hindus for the protection of the cows, whereas the latter are the proper sources of authoritative "fetwas" or expositions as regards the true doctrine and practice of the great festival of the sacrifice by Abraham, the memory of which is honored by all the "Ahl Kitáb," whether they be Muhammadans, Christians, or Jews; indeed, the latter's "day of atonement" was adapted by Muhammad to the I'd, and also coincided with the sacrifices of animals by the then heathen Meccans.

Finally, and not without some misgivings, would I venture deferentially to suggest that the encouragement given by our own soldiers and officials to the consumption of beef in a hot climate, where it is one of the most fruitful sources of disease, should be minimized as far as possible.* During the whole of my 20 years' residence in India I never allowed either beef or pork on my table for fear of hurting the feelings of a chance Hindu or Muhammadan visitor. I cannot understand why a country that has produced Cromwell's Ironsides, should find it necessary to keep India with troops that have to be protected in any of their presumed gross appetites. That, not *very* far from Patna, the Commissariat cattle should have been attacked by an infuriated mob and that it should have been necessary to kill three of the rioters, is too significant an event to be ignored. It may matter little to our rule if the outskirts of the Empire are agitated and even riots in Bombay and Rangoon may be faced, but any agitation in, or near, the North-West provinces moves the very heart of India, and it is a wretched hand-to-mouth policy, worthy only of the cunning and the weak, to seek a temporary respite by pitting the

* "The roast beef of old England" is ox, *not* cow; the sale of the flesh of the latter is considered to be "a low-class trade" among English butchers.

Muhammadans against the Hindus to their common misfortune and to the loss of our Empire. *Divide et impera* has served its day.

I stood by the bedside of the dying Rai Mul Singh, to whom we owed so much in the acquisition of the Panjab. He was facing death with the equanimity of one for whom the changes of nature had no terror. Divesting himself of all the comforts of his wealth, he lay stretched on a bare Charpay, covered with a single sheet, between two little turrets on the top of his house at Gujranwala. Asking him what he wished me to do he said: "Keep raised the banner (jhandā) of Oriental learning." "Tell me," I said, "from your vast experience, what would render the Government (Sirkār) permanent in this country." "Forbid the killing of cows" was the reply of a SIKH whose sagacity, loyalty and sound counsel, ever a source of strength to the best administrators of the Panjab, invest the above advice with more than ordinary importance.

G. W. LEITNER.

AUTHORITIES (SUNNI AND SHIAH, AND TRAVELLERS) FOR THE SACRIFICE AT THE I'D.

Shafai considers the sacrifice of the I'd laudable, but not obligatory. *Hanifa* thinks it indispensable, whilst his disciples do not. These authorities suffice for Indian Sunnis.

The (Shiah) *Hayāt-ul-Qulūb* says: "God made a white and black *sheep* the substitute for Ishaqel; therefore, every *sheep* sacrificed on Mount Minā is a commemoration of the substitute." Properly speaking, the I'd sacrifice can only be adequately performed in the valley of Minā near Mekka. It is part of a *pilgrim's* duty in the *pilgrim's* month.

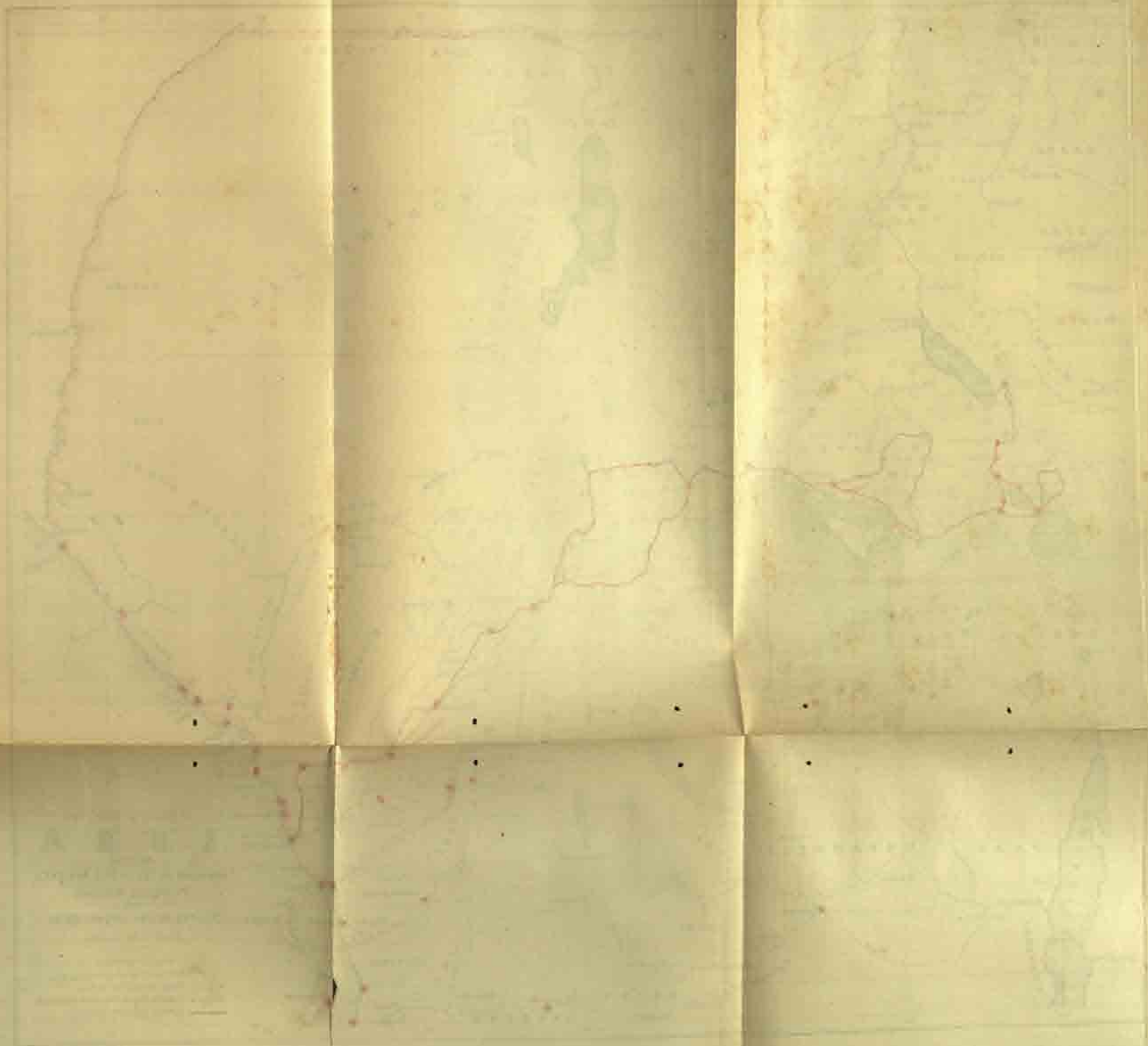
Dr. Hargreave writes from "*Mekka*": "It is praiseworthy to assemble for common prayer on this day (the 10th day of the 12th month, 'Zal-Hidjeh' = the Pilgrimage month), to listen to a festival-sermon and to consume together a SACRIFICIAL RAM (Opfer-lammel). One would have thought that nowhere would 'the great I'd' be more solemnly celebrated than in the valley East of Mekka. This, however, is not so. The Mekkan care far more for 'the little I'd' (the feast at the close of the Ramadan fast).

Barton's "*Mekka*": We debated about the victim, which is *only a Sunnat* = "practice of the Prophet" (not obligatory) . . . considering the meagre condition of my purse, I would not buy a *sheep* . . . so some Indians preferred contributing to buy a lean *ox* . . . parties might be seen contemplating the (slaughtered) *sheep* and *goats* and cut them up without removing them . . . none but the Sherif and the principal dignitaries slaughtered camels. (The italics are mine.)

The only *specific* animal mentioned in the Korān in connection with the "sacrifice" is the *rammel*; the ram and goat are referred to by implication from Abraham's example, Muhammad's practice, and by the usual custom in Muhammadan countries; the "cow," or rather the "ox," is an afterthought, owing to the convenience of its congregational consumption.

Muhammad himself, on instituting the I'd, sacrificed one of two KIDS that were brought before him "for my whole people," . . . "for Muhammad and his family" (thus showing that the excuse of sacrificing an ox for a congregation of 7 persons is not necessary as alleged by some writers quoted in the *Hidaya*).

In the *Mishkāt* (traditions) Anas says: "The prophet sacrificed TWO RAMS, one black and the other white." This is confirmed by Jābir and by Ayesha for the black ram. Ali said "the Prophet prohibited sacrificing a defective ram." Zaid Ibn Arqam reports: "The Prophet said: 'There is a reward annexed to every hair from the sacrifices of CAMELS AND SHEEP that have wool.'"





THE MARQUIS OF LORNE AND THE LAST PROPOSAL OF THE IMPERIAL BRITISH EAST AFRICA COMPANY.

THE readers of Mr. F. Parry's article on "The Capabilities of Eastern Ibea," in our last number, will derive some hope from the spirited words of the noble Marquis who addresses us on the subject of the Imperial British East Africa Company in the present issue of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*. The Company that promised to be to Africa, what the East India Company became to Asia, is still in hands that are worthy to carry out the work initiated by the genius of Sir W. Mackinnon, whose death was undoubtedly hastened by anxiety for the fate of his great enterprise. Although an irreparable loss, the memory of that death and of its indirect cause may act as an additional incentive to all those to whom the extension of British interests and principles is a stimulus to patriotic action.

The Marquis of Lorne has sent us the following "NOTE" on the subject of the Imperial British East Africa Company in connection with the Report of the proceedings of its last meeting:—

"In Elizabeth's reign adventurers were often encouraged; acknowledged if successful in obtaining an advantage for England, and disowned if they got Elizabeth's Government into any difficulty. It has been reserved for our time to see a Company, which in old days would be called one of *adventurers*, not disavowed, but deprived of any advantage for themselves, while their gains are pocketed by their country. A Company has been 'chartered,' or acknowledged as the servant of England in East Africa, has been encouraged to possess itself of fertile regions, expending its resources in doing so, and then has been told that all its endeavour is 'its own look out,' and that it will only be by an accident, and by special favour in using this accident, that the Imperial power in taking from the Company what

the Company has conquered, will pay them anything at all. This is not encouraging for future Companies. No one henceforward will do England's work without a previous express promise of support, if these new methods prevail.

"The accident mentioned happened in this way: Germany paid Zanzibar some money, money which may be now available, and were not it for this accident the East Africa Company would be simply told that they could have nothing for their pains. The British Treasury cannot now be expected to incur 'increased responsibility,' even if that mean only the opening of a new country to British Trade.

"The speeches delivered at the British East Africa Company's meeting are therefore instructive reading for all patriotic or philanthropic 'adventurers'—A chartered British Company, means, according to the present Government interpretation, a Company that the Government are chartered to encourage and desert, after hampering it to the utmost extent in their power by rendering its financial hopes ridiculous. *C'est pour encourager les autres.* 'Stealing away from responsibilities abroad' is the pleasant programme. Had the Company turned a deaf ear to the wishes of the Government it would now be in a good financial state and able to slowly carry on its work of slavery prohibition, and the encouragement of native legitimate trade, but the Company has been taught that it must henceforth stand a warning to any foolish enough to believe that British Governments remember debts of honour either in Ireland or in Africa.

LORNE."

In a letter His Lordship observes that:

"The speeches made at the shareholders' meeting of the Imperial British East Africa Company were full and good, and those delivered by General Sir A. Kemball, Mr. Bishop and Mr. G. Mackenzie should be read by all who care about possessing new markets. An abstract of them would, I think, be of interest to your readers.

"I hope it may not be necessary to repeat the little

platform campaign of last winter to confirm the Government in the belief that East Africa must remain part and parcel of the British Empire.

LORNE."

The need of enlightening the public as to the constitution, aims and operations of the I. B. E. A. Company has been illustrated by the reply which was given by H.M.'s Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to a question put to him by one of his own party. The incident is thus reported:—

"*Mr. Macfarlane* asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether it was competent for the Directors of the British East Africa Company, under the terms of its Charter, to select the best and most profitable portions of the territory ceded to it and abandon the rest.

"*Sir E. Grey* replied:—It is quite true that the policy indicated by the hon. member appears to have been followed of late by the Imperial British East Africa Company. But Her Majesty's Government have also observed this tendency, and I can only assure him that it is receiving their careful and vigilant attention."

It may fairly be inquired here on what grounds *Sir E. Grey* stated that H.M.'s Government had observed a tendency on the part of the Company to retain the best and most profitable portions of the territory ceded to them and abandon the rest, or how he could justify the attribution to the Company of sordid motives in the conduct of its enterprise. The euphemism expressed in the words "ceded to it" is notable. The facts relating to the so-called abandonment of Uganda and Witu were made known to the Shareholders of the Company at their Statutory General Meeting on the 31st July 1893 in the following terms:—

Extract from Address of Sir A. B. Kemball to the Shareholders. "The Appendices to the last Report have explained to you the pressure employed by the Foreign Office to induce the Company to advance to Uganda.

Having taken this step, we found after the lapse of a year that our resources would not bear the strain of permanent administration. The work of effective occupation to counteract the aims and pretensions of foreign rival claimants had been accomplished. Accordingly two years ago we notified that we must retire. This resolution occasioned the utmost concern, not only to Her Majesty's Government on account of the consequences of the rupture that must ensue of the ties and relations that had been contracted with the native communities, but to the British public on account of the national interests involved. It was only from a sense of the responsibilities of the nation, and to give time to Her Majesty's Government to formulate a *modus vivendi* that Sir Wm. Mackinnon and a number of patriotic friends intervened with large contributions of money to enable the Company to prolong its stay at Uganda for a further period of twelve months. The Foreign Office expressed their satisfaction with this result. . . .

"Now as regards Witu, which had been formed into a British Protectorate. The Company certainly desired and accepted the administration of that territory as an integral part of the British sphere; but they, at the same time, expressed their misgivings on the score of the unsettlement consequent upon the punitive expedition undertaken by Her Majesty's Government to avenge the murder of German subjects. Their apprehensions were so far realized, to the knowledge of the Foreign Office, that, failing recourse to further extended and costly military operations, no return was to be expected to the onerous expenditure incurred by the Company in maintaining its tenure of Witu, to which Her Majesty's Government contributed nothing. This fact is worthy of note in connection with the reasoning employed in the Foreign Office letter of 15th June last, which is annexed to the Report.

"Knowing as you do that the customs dues of the islands of Lamu, Manda and Patta, and the station of Kismayu are diverted from what is here declared to be their legiti-

mate purpose and appropriated to the use of the Zanzibar Administration as rent payable to the Sultan, I would ask you to consider where and when the benefit of the natives of East Africa comes in, and why all these years the inauguration of the new era has been postponed? . . .

"The charge that the Company is selecting the best and most profitable portions of the territory ceded to it, and abandoning the rest, is remarkable for its irony. Sir E. Grey had inadvertently confounded our rights and interests under our concession from the Sultan with the liabilities and obligations imposed by the Royal Charter which we maintain we have discharged to the letter."

We need not go into all the details of the protracted correspondence that has ensued between a National company and a government that is said to represent the Nation. Suffice it to say, to our discredit, that this British company was infinitely better off under the native rule of Zanzibar, when it could invoke the distant support of England, than now that the last vestige of the authority of the Sultan of Zanzibar has been destroyed by the British Protectorate that has taken its place. After denying the company its right to levy taxes for purposes of administration, the British Government still insists on the cost of such administration being borne by the company. After minimizing their receipts from customs, the British Protectorate still claims the full yearly payment of the rent which the company agreed to make to the Sultan of Zanzibar for farming the undiminished customs. Under the Sultan of Zanzibar, when he was not yet quite that *nominis umbra* that he is now, the Hindu merchants, because foreigners, contributed nothing in direct taxation to the State, but as soon as they came under the British Protectorate in Zanzibar they were at once taxed; the Company, however, is not allowed by the British Government to tax them for similar purposes. No wonder, that our Government can under such circumstances afford to be generous and abolish export and import duties that do not increase its own revenue, in order to please

foreign European powers. Nor is our Government wanting in professions of a cheap humanitarianism, for it actually accuses the company of wishing to benefit itself at the expense of the natives of the Interior, whom it was the first to free, if not to enrich.

The interesting report from Machakos, which is about 300 miles from the coast on the direct line to Uganda, at once disposes of such accusations, for there already the company have brought under the most beneficent influence a most productive country which is inhabited by a people singularly capable of industrial progress. What the company have already done either for the suppression of the slave trade, or for the modification of any existing status of slavery, the History of Africa will ever record to their lasting honour. That they should be blamed for not protecting districts, which the action of our own or of the German Government had thrown into anarchy is another instance of the tendency of the present Government to be "Liberal" at other people's expense. We do not wish to dwell on the too diplomatic fencing, which characterizes the correspondence regarding the cession by the Company of what was once a German Protectorate and that was proposed to be taken over by our Government, without, of course, the undelimited "Hinterland," which rightly belongs to the Company. We rejoice to be able to reach its conclusion in a most acceptable offer by the Company to our Government to cede all their property, privileges, rights and assets within the coast zone for the ridiculously small sum of £180,000!!! The Company also ask for such additional sum as will bring the total compensation up to 10s. 6d. in the pound, for the exploration and occupation of territories beyond the concession area; in other words, we believe that a sum within £250,000 would suffice for the re-absorption "of the Company's conceded territories by the Protectorate of Zanzibar, and for the transfer to it of all their rights, privileges and assets within the coast zone" and elsewhere in East Africa.

It is difficult to estimate the loss which this generous proposal entails on the patriotic shareholders of the Company. They certainly, in the words of the lamented Sir W. Mackinnon, must mainly look to philanthropy as the chief return for their investment. It seems incredible, however, that Government should hesitate for an instant in accepting such favourable terms for the re-absorption of the Company's interests on the coast and in the interior as far as, and including, Uganda. The German Government has already spent more millions for what is worth infinitely less than the Company offers for fewer hundred thousands. Yet, more than two months have passed since Lord Rosebery acknowledged the receipt of the Company's final proposal, as above stated. We trust that the Directors are justified in believing that His Lordship is "well disposed to assist the Company by bringing about an equitable arrangement, involving compensation for the national ends attained, entirely at the Company's expense, in acquiring and opening up the territory in the interior." If, however, against all hope, justice and reason, the Government should refuse a bargain which would identify the present Liberal Government with the acquisition of an African Empire and a large market for British trade, we would suggest to the company to keep on their own course, feeling assured that the British Nation will enable them to fulfil their task, by insisting on the elimination of all the official obstructions to their progress. They have a right to levy the taxes, if they have to conduct the administration; they have a right to the receipt of customs, as agreed with the Sultan, if they are to pay the stipulated rent. They are *not* concerned with diplomatic arrangements to their detriment made by the British Government above their heads, or behind their backs, and, above all, they are entitled, in Law and in morality, to reasonable compensation for any breach of their contract with the Sultan of Zanzibar which may be due to the action of the British Protectorate.

AUSTRALIA FOR ANGLO-INDIANS.

"A REJOINDER" TO "AN ANGLO-INDIAN COLONIAL."

BY THE HON. J. LANGDON PARSONS,

Late Minister of Education in S. Australia, and Government Resident in the Northern Territory.

THE article of "An Anglo-Indian Colonial," in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April 1893, is amusingly inaccurate, and much stained by prejudice and self-contradictory. It is, therefore, an unreliable guide for those Anglo-Indians who seek information as to the suitability of the Australian Colonies as a field for their settlement on retirement. I beg leave to send a Rejoinder, which is written chiefly from a South Australian standpoint.

There is a certain fitness in my doing so, as I am officially connected with the "South Australian Anglo-Indian Colonization Board," of which the following are the members: Sir S. Davenport, K.C.M.G., Sir E. T. Smith, K.C.M.G., the Hon. J. H. Angus, I. L. Stirling and G. C. Hawker (Members of the Australian Parliaments), and Messrs. I. H. Symon, Q.C., H. C. Muecke (Imperial German Consul), S. Newland, T. Hardy, W. J. Magurey, and T. Miller (Justices of the Peace).

SERVANTS.—The first obstacle presented by "Anglo-Indian Colonial" to Anglo-Indians settling in Australia is the stale one of "the difficulty of getting good servants." Our servants are described as "mostly Irish who are exceedingly rough and uncouth"; whose "knowledge of cookery is absolutely *nil*"; whose "power of breaking crockery is ruinous"; who "tyrannize over their masters and mistresses"; who, "when mildly remonstrated with, overwhelm them with a torrent of shrill abuse"; and who "probably depart without the formality of giving notice." Then follows a slight reservation in favour of "German girls," who are, however, rare, always untrained, and when

trained will leave or get married. He further complains that "wages are very high," £40 to £50 a year, and adds that "up country the difficulty is greatly enhanced."

One wonders where and how "Anglo-Indian Colonial" gathered these doleful details. Where did he reside when in Australia? Who were his hosts? Did he never, anywhere, sit down to a decently cooked dinner to warrant his saying that the culinary ability of Australian domestics is "absolutely nil"? As a matter of fact this servant difficulty is a cause of complaint and a standard subject for joking throughout the civilized world. The cartoons of comic papers and the answers to correspondents in *Ladies' Journals* furnish abundant evidence that from the French *chef*, powdered Jeames, smart Arabella down to "Mariar Hann," very considerable difficulties exist between masters and mistresses and their servants. But to give a clear idea of the real facts, I cannot do better than quote from the pamphlet "South Australia as a Place of Residence for Anglo-Indians," prepared for the above-mentioned Board:

"Domestic Servants.—The Anglo-Indian lady accustomed to a retinue of servants must be prepared for much self-help and personal discharge of household work. The Colonial 'domestic' like the American 'Help' is costly, independent, and often somewhat rough and fond of change. The wages of a general servant range from eight to twelve shillings per week."

In the settled country districts the lower rate prevails, in the city the higher. On bush-stations and in bush-public-houses, one pound a week is often paid, but these positions are usually filled by men. The large majority of servants are not Irish but native born. Any mistress with a "sweet reasonableness" will find herself as well served, and have as much comfort in her domesticities in Australia as in England—the wages however will be higher and the manners not so obsequious.

EDUCATION: SCHOOLS.—Wrong as "Anglo-Indian Colonial" is on Australian servants, he is more so about

Australian Schools. He opens with the astounding statement:—"There are no suitable schools for the sons of gentlemen." Then he goes on to say that the State Schools are free, and grade with the English Board Schools; that there are good grammar schools in the capitals of the Colonies and some of the large towns, but they are "mixed." "Sons of squatters, merchants and bankers attend them, but a certain number who have won a Government Scholarship at an ordinary State School" attend them also. And he adds, "It is for every father to consider whether he would care to have his sons attend such schools."

It is difficult to reply to this caricature in temperate and dignified language. The writer seems unable to bring himself into line with Australian social life. As a part of this Australian nation, there are Judges, professional men, legislators, University men, men of culture and refinement, from the United Kingdom and Australian born. Are they not gentlemen? Where do their sons obtain their education? Are the sons of Anglo-Indians of such fine porcelain, that they would be damaged by contact with the College conditions which are held to be safe and good by Australian fathers? It is but the simple truth to say that while the Collegiate Schools of Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide and Brisbane have not the venerableness and historic splendour of Eton, Harrow and Rugby, they are as sufficing and as well equipped as educational institutions; and they are as pervaded by youthful "sweetness and light" and brave good manners as those time-honoured Colleges. Thirty-six years ago that brilliant scholar, Dr. Woolley, the first Principal of Sydney University, in his "Introductory Lecture at the Sydney School of Arts," said:—"Sydney is behind no English town in her machinery for first-class education."* Since then all the Colonies have been carried by the flowing tide towards culture and refinement. The Principals of Australian Collegiate Schools are mostly Honours men of British Univer-

* "Lectures delivered in Australia," by John Woolley, D.C.L., p. 288.

sities; the *curriculum* in each is stiff enough to enable studious lads to obtain degrees in Australian Universities, the diplomas of which are accepted by Oxford, Cambridge, London and the best Universities of Europe. The manners of the class-rooms and the play-grounds, though rough with the roughness of healthy boyhood, everywhere develop frankness, courage, generosity, and repress vulgarity, cowardice and underbredness.

Now a word or two about those "flies in the ointment"—the Scholarship boys from the State Schools, whose presence is held up as a menace to the "gentility," I suppose, of Anglo-Indian boys. In the years 1881-3 a Royal Commission on Education sat in Adelaide, of which I had the honour to be the Chairman. Among the witnesses called were the Rev. F. Williams, M.A. (Oxon), Acting Head Master of S. Peter's College, and Mr. F. Chapple, B.A., B.Sc. (Lon.), Principal of Prince Alfred College. Mr. Williams in his evidence (Questions 7,538-49) stated:

"S. Peter's College has received seven State Scholars." "I have not found any difficulty in placing them." "One took the Farrell Scholarship and headed the matriculation list for his year." "Our two best Greek and Latin Scholars at this moment are two Government Scholars."

Mr. Chapple in his evidence stated (Questions 7,405-18):

"Twenty-seven State Scholars have come to Prince Alfred College." "They all passed the Primary Examination the first year." "Of seventeen who went up fifteen passed the matriculation examination." "The boys we have had from the Public Schools have nearly all been good boys. Each one has usually been the first of his School."

Neither of these scholarly gentlemen hinted that there was anything of the *mauvais sujet* about these Scholars. On the contrary they referred to them in terms of high commendation. That which is true of South Australia is true of New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland. Some of these State Scholars, after taking their degrees in Adelaide, have had brilliant University careers in Arts, Law, Medicine and Science in Europe. Two or three of them, at the present time, are actually Professors to students training for the Indian Civil Service! This is the very irony of Fate.

The affectation of superiority for Anglo-Indian boys, by "Anglo-Indian Colonial," will doubtless be rejected by most Anglo-Indians. It is intensely ridiculous in the light of history. Contact with even rude, rough boys did not spoil the careers of two of the most illustrious Anglo-Indians. Of Robert, Lord Clive, who laid the foundations of our Indian Empire, Macaulay in his Essay on him says:

"The old people of Market Drayton relate how he formed all the idle lads of the town into a kind of predatory band, and compelled the shopkeepers to submit to a tribute of apples and half-pence, in consideration of which he guaranteed the security of their windows. He was sent from School to School making very little progress in learning, and gaining for himself everywhere the character of an exceedingly naughty boy."

Of his great compeer, Warren Hastings, Macaulay says:

"The child was early sent to the village school, where he learned his letters on the same bench with the sons of the peasantry; nor did anything in his garb or fare indicate that his life was to take a widely different course from that of the young rustics with whom he studied and played."

The fathers of budding Clives and Hastings may, therefore, take heart of grace, even if their boys should have to work at the same desk as an Australian State Scholar!

But are there no sons of the *nouveau riche*—successful soap-boilers, drysalters, brewers, shepherds, miners—even at Eton? Have there been no humble Sizars at Oxford and Cambridge? Nay, more. In the old days of "John Company," before the times of the "Competition Wallah," scions of the "upper classes" and *protégés* of the "Chairs" were thrust into the best positions in India. But now the men who get the highest number of marks at the Indian Civil Service Examinations obtain the best posts. These may be the sons of Highland Crofters, small village shopkeepers, or artizans. Nobody's pedigree counts. There are no marks for gentility. It has been my pleasure to know two or three highly-placed men, who are now occupying responsible positions in India, who sprang from very humble parentage.

"Anglo-Indian Colonial" is equally astray about Australian Girls' Colleges or Schools. "Good Schools for young ladies (*sic*) are very rare indeed," he states. He

doubts whether an "Anglo-Indian official would like his daughters to meet girls of all classes." If "young ladies" mix with "girls of an inferior class they lose refinement and good manners, and pick up all kinds of vulgarity and slang." "The best Schools are the Convent Schools." The Convent Schools are undoubtedly good, but no evidence exists as to their being the best. As to girls' slang there is slang *and* slang—the slang of the schoolroom and the slang of the tennis court and archery ground.

Australian girls of good society are educated in Australian Schools. We see them about us. We meet them abroad and at home and they compare well with our visitors. Aristocratic and very captious people have been in Australia, and most of them have passed very high encomiums not only on their beauty, but on their charming and cultivated manners. "Anglo-Indian Colonial" is evidently ignorant, too, about the mothers and the daughters of the house in Australia.

EMPLOYMENT.—Here again dreary pessimism characterizes "Anglo-Indian Colonial's" deliverance. He says, "Australia is most decidedly not the place for a gentleman without capital." "Competition is as fierce as it is in England." "The ranks of the professional classes are overcrowded." "No Anglo-Indian could make farming pay even with grown-up sons."

For a satisfactory consideration of this important subject it is necessary to ascertain first—"Who retired Anglo-Indians are?" and second—"What can they do anywhere?" The first question, it may be presumed, is answered by the statement that they are for the most part over fifty years of age, that they have lived say thirty years in the enervating climate of India, that they have retired because they are to a certain extent debilitated, and that they enjoy a pension. The second question is probably answered by saying that the majority would not either in England or Australia be equal to manual work on a farm. I remember no single instance of a retired Anglo-Indian becoming either a

tenant-farmer or a working yeoman-farmer in Great Britain. As to Australia not being a place for a gentleman without capital, the opinion may be ventured, that it is as good a place as any other. If the Anglo-Indian be not satisfied with his pension, even in wealthy England he will not find capital poured into his lap. Our pamphlet states :

"Occupation.—The great majority of Anglo-Indians who may retire even upon an ample provision will desire some occupation. For those who determine to settle in the City, Capital would enable them to enter into business partnerships. Those who may prefer to reside in the country can purchase homesteads with gardens, orchards and vineyards already in full bearing, the area varying from a few to many acres. Those who may prefer to take up land, build their own houses, and plant their own properties, have a wide choice of good available land in different parts of the Colony. . . . Increased attention is now paid to what is known as 'intense culture,' fruit and vine growing, and the preparation of olive oil, dried fruits, jams, and the making of wines for the markets of the world. . . . The Vignerons can always command a ready sale for his grapes to the wine-maker at profitable prices. . . . Horticulturists and dairy-farmers who settle in a favourable district can easily form co-operative associations for the disposal of their produce. An internal stimulus to the products of dairy-farming has lately been forthcoming in the shape of a bonus on locally made butter. . . . As to investments, due care being taken, capital can be safely employed at rates of interest considerably in advance of those obtainable in England."

I am glad to find one point of agreement with "Anglo-Indian Colonial." His advice to leave money on sound security for a year or two is thoroughly prudent. At the time of my writing all Australia is under a heavy cloud of financial embarrassment; but with the needed reforms in banking procedure, Australia will advance "surely" in the future, if not by "leaps and bounds" as in the past.

CLIMATE.—Once more the question arises:—"Where could 'Anglo-Indian Colonial' have lived when he was in Australia?" and "In what strangely exceptional years did he form his estimate of its climate?" He refers to the four eastern colonies, but he is inaccurate about them all. The existence of droughts and floods is admitted, with their disastrous consequences; and the occurrence of hot winds and dust storms must be confessed. But these are much less frequent and of much shorter duration now that tillage

has been carried inland. As for being compelled to "shut up houses and not go out at all" because of heat and dust, it is unknown. Only a "dude" very anxious about his clothes, or a vain girl fearful of raising the hue of her complexion would ever dream of voluntary incarceration on this account. There is not a business man in either of the Australian cities, in average health, who ever stopped at home because of either hot winds or dust storms or both combined. It is true the thermometer in Sydney and Melbourne in the heat of summer registers over 90° in the shade, and in Brisbane over 100°. In summer, too, Brisbane and Sydney are "muggy;" but in Melbourne and Adelaide instead of the atmosphere being humid like India, it is intensely dry. I have spent six years at Port Darwin, 12° 30' from the Line, and there is no comparison between the heat in the tropics and the heat in New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia. The one is like a vapour bath; in the two latter there is not a particle of moisture in the hot winds.

"Anglo-Indian Colonial" considers "India in the hot weather far more endurable than Australia," because of the ameliorations of "punkahs, tatties, thermantidotes and plenty of cheap servants." Australians find they can do very well without them. They would only be agreeable in a comparatively few days south of Brisbane, in substantially built houses. "In India," he adds, "ladies and children can always go to the Hills and escape the worst part of the hot weather," whereas, *mirabile dictu*, "in Australia there are no Hill Stations!" Can this be an elaborate jest? Is there no Toowoomba for Brisbane? no Blue Mountains for Sydney? no Dandenong Ranges and Mount Macedon for Melbourne? no Mount Lofty for Adelaide? This misrepresentation is bad enough—meteorology and topography both wrong—but worse remains. Anglo-Indians are informed "It is a curious fact that in Australia

* These queries hardly meet the point of "An Anglo-Indian Colonial's" comparison. Mere hills and villages do not make "Hill Stations."—Ed.

the hottest and coldest winds in the year blow from the same quarter, the West." No overcoat protects from the bitter cold blast, and "the East Wind in London is not to be compared with the July west wind in Sydney and Melbourne." This is a travesty of all official reports! Every schoolboy in Australia knows that when there is any northing in the wind in summer it is warm if not hot; when there is any southing in the wind in winter it is cool if not cold. In the pamphlet the climate of South Australia is authentically described. That description has been approved by the Board, some members of which have been in the Colony over half a century, and most of them have frequently travelled to Europe: it may be accepted as accurate:

"The air is dry, bright, and bracing. In winter time the nights are cold and frequently frosty, but the days are usually sunny, and the weather in winter is very similar to Naples and along the Mediterranean Sea in October. . . . These remarks apply principally to the more settled districts, where the climatic conditions are similar to those of Algiers."

The salubriousness of the climate and the favourable hygienic conditions of South Australia are demonstrated by a comparison of the mortality returns for England and Wales with those of South Australia, for the nine years 1881-9, both inclusive. These are the latest available to me. The death rate in England during that period was 18·353 per 1,000, in South Australia it was only 12·140 per 1,000. The climatic conditions of South Australia appear to be especially favourable to longevity in the case of persons arriving in the Colony after middle age is passed. In the year 1890, out of a total of 3,923 deaths registered, 182 were those of persons over 80 years of age, and in several well authenticated cases the century had been passed. Anglo-Indians, therefore, may rest assured that the climate of South Australia is genial, and that its clear bright atmosphere gives promise of "length of days."

Once more I am glad to concur with the advice given by "Anglo-Indian Colonial," viz., that it is advisable "for anyone who thought of settling in Australia to see for himself and not take anything simply on trust from agents and

interested parties." Nor, I may add, should they be deterred from visiting Australia by the reports of writers who are either too careless to observe, or who, from prejudice, distort and misrepresent what is "plain for all to see."

SOCIAL LIFE.—The subject matter of "Anglo-Indian-Colonial's" article might have been arranged with a special view to furnishing a fine climax for anyone writing a Rejoinder. Having pried into kitchens and criticised the cookery, he proceeds to confide to his Anglo-Indian friends what he thinks of the people of Australia. He first describes them as the kindest-hearted, and most generous and most hospitable people in the world. Then he says, "Another drawback for an Anglo-Indian is, that there is no cultured class in Australia." "No considerable class devotes itself to culture and refinement." "Money-making leaves no time for that sort of thing." "This is trying to the Anglo-Indian" (oh dear!). "Nearly all the wealthy men are self made and very proud of their own handiwork." It is doubtful whether Anglo-Indians can join in their "self-admiration," or "find them pleasant companions." Most of the public men—legislators, magistrates—emigrated years ago "when fortunes were rapidly made." Then, with a smug saving clause that "it is a very delicate point," he hints that some of them are "ticket of leave convicts," or their descendants, who though "justly respected for their many excellent qualities are not quite the sort with whom Anglo-Indians would care to be intimately associated."

These ungracious criticisms will be best dealt with from the root upwards. First the convict *innuendo*. I have been a Member of Parliament nine years, during three years of which I was a Minister of the Crown; and for six years I was Government Resident in the Northern Territory. During these fifteen years I have been brought into contact with most of the public men of Australia, and never, even in the gossip of a club smoking-room, have I heard one of them hinted at as being a felon at large. Nor

do I remember any certain charge of one of them being a descendant of a convict. But even if there were, here and there, such a case, considering the kind of offences which were punished by transportation, and the kind of trial to which the accused were put, a century ago, the veil may be mercifully left over a sorrowful past. Why should the children suffer for the sins of their fathers? The lineal descendants of Dukes and Earls who were executed for High Treason on Tower Hill sit to-day in the House of Lords. Surely the sons of men who may have been convicted—rightly or wrongly—for snaring a hare or even being found in possession of somebody else's sheep may be allowed to live their lives in respect and honour, if they deserve it.

As to the dear old pioneers who have been the architects of their own fortunes, who in the flush of an honest pride may now and then tell of the time when they split rails, or shepherded sheep, or "struck it rich" in some gully where there is now a great town, no one who rightly bears "the grand old name of gentleman," will grudge them the passing reference to the old days, or the natural gratification with which they look around their sumptuously furnished dining-rooms or beautiful gardens. Whatever an "Anglo-Indian-Colonial" may have found them, those who can appreciate sterling worth and true success find them very "pleasant companions."

Now for the "culchah." What sort of an æsthete is he who writes of culture as "that sort of thing?" Mr. Oscar Wilde would repudiate him for certain.

And here comes the crowning instance of self-contradiction. When "Anglo-Indian Colonial" wants to show that Australia is "most decidedly not the place for a gentleman without capital," he says, the ranks of the professional classes are all over-crowded. He mentions barristers, doctors, solicitors, surveyors, engineers. But when he wants to shock the gentility of the genteel Anglo-Indian, he says:—"There is no cultured class in Australia." Most

people would think those enumerated above are necessarily cultured. But if they be not æsthetic enough there are the Governors and their Aides, the Judges, the Professors of the Universities, the Principals of the Colleges, the Editors of the press—second to none in the world, and the *crème de la crème* of the colonists, some of whom have very blue blood in their veins. Out of these a very eclectic member of the cultured class could surely find a circle of "pleasant companions."

The contrast "Anglo-Indian Colonial" draws in favour of New Zealand and Tasmania as against Australia is of no importance, as he states he has not visited those Colonies. Perhaps, however, in his case this may be the needed qualification. I resided for four years in Dunedin, and have visited every city in New Zealand. With the exception of Nelson, and perhaps Napier and Turunaki, I know of no climatic conditions there that are equal to South Australia for Anglo-Indians. The winter in Dunedin is bleak, wet and stormy. Christchurch is swept by parching winds from the Canterbury Plains. Wellington might be situate at the mouth of the "Cave of the Winds." The joke is that you can tell a Wellington man anywhere because immediately he closes the front door he seizes his hat by both brims for fear it should blow away. Auckland, in summer, is humid.

As to the advantages of a Hill Station or Valley in India I can say nothing. I presume, however, that means absolute retirement and no occupation. Probably, too, there would be for the boys few avenues to fortune, and for the girls marriage only, with the risks and disadvantages of life in the East.

I have now completed my Rejoinder to "Anglo-Indian Colonial," and candid readers will, I think, admit that I have answered him fairly. Australians are not thin-skinned; they make no claim to be perfect; they welcome fair criticism; they will follow good advice. But they object to be lampooned, and to be held up to contempt.

THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE AND THE COLONIES.

BY ARTHUR SILVA WHITE.

THE peace of Europe has been undisturbed for so many years, relatively speaking, that the Great Powers have had leisure to enormously increase their armaments. To such an extent have these armaments grown, and so uncertain is the voice of Diplomacy, that at any moment the nations may become involved in war. The unrest of internal politics, from which no great European nation is exempt, greatly enhances the danger of international conflicts. Moreover, within the last decade or two, owing to increased facilities of international communications and the consequent impulse to Colonial acquisition and expansion, the seat of war, should such break out between any two European Powers having Colonial possessions, would be immeasurably widened. Since the Franco-German duel, Germany has become a Colonial Power and a rival of Great Britain in the markets of the world; British and French interests have never ceased to clash in Europe, Asia and Africa; whilst restless Russia has continued to threaten our great Indian Empire. In the event of a renewal of hostilities, the seat of war may not be confined to Europe alone.

This contingency is not the only instance of possible danger to the British Empire, which is vulnerable in both Hemispheres. Precluded as we are, from the vast extent of the Empire and of British interests, from entering into offensive and defensive alliances with European Powers, it becomes all the more necessary that we should be able to stand alone, safe against any probable hostile combination. But the opinion is very generally shared by statesmen, men of peace and men of war alike, that the loosely-knit structure of the British Empire rests on no solid foundation. In theory, that Empire is the greatest, the most powerful, the most peace-loving and industrious that

the world has ever seen. The bond of sentiment that unites it is strong enough to resist any wanton attack; but circumstances are easily conceivable under which this bond may be weakened by an astute enemy. It has not yet passed through the ordeal by fire, which some think is the only process necessary to give it temper and resistance.

In the meantime, the greatest danger to the unity of the Empire—better called British Unity—lies, not so much in the conflict of armed forces as in the disintegrating effect of local ignorance and aggrandizement. Administrative control is falling more and more into the hands of the masses, who are as yet ignorant of what lies beyond the horizon of their own immediate interests. The heritage of a British subject—the accumulated wealth and power of centuries of self-sacrifice and enterprise—is apt to be held, in these days, as of less value than the mess of pottage which platform-orators throw to the mob in order to secure their own advancement. Legislation in the United Kingdom is blocked by a Parliamentary Bill the main provisions of which militate against the integrity of the Empire, as at present constituted; whilst in the Colonies men's minds are so engrossed by the management of parochial affairs that no leisure can be found for the serious consideration of so wide a subject as the consolidation of the Empire itself.

In spite of these disadvantageous conditions, the cause of British Unity has not been overlooked. It has been kept alive by a small body of writers and orators, who, in season and out of season, in the newspaper-press and on the platform, have done their utmost to impress their views on a sceptical generation. The net result of this guerilla-warfare in favour of what is popularly known as "Imperial Federation"—but which I prefer to call "Britannic Confederation"—has been to secure a certain amount of in-

* Under this title I edited a series of papers by Sir John Colomb, the late Professor Freeman, Mr. George Chisholm, Professor Shield Nicholson, Mr. Maurice Hervey, and the Right Hon. Lord Thring. The collected Essays were published last year, and were accompanied by an original map of the Empire. They represent the verdicts of experts on the salient

dulgent attention on the part of the authorities at home and in the Colonies, and to elicit an irregular discussion of the question. But the authorities have persistently shirked the responsibility of action: they have confined themselves to the vaguest expressions of opinion, from which nothing is to be learnt except, that "Imperial Federation" is for the moment an unapproachable ideal. It is true that "Imperial Federation," as propounded by the most advanced school of Federationists, is an ideal incapable of immediate realization, but, because this is so, it affords no adequate reason for condemning the fundamental principle itself. As a matter of fact, this fundamental principle—the need of a closer and more permanent union between the Mother Country and her Colonies—has received universal acknowledgment; but there it has ended. Yet, even a measure of "Imperial Federation," if carried into practice, would be safer than our present blind policy of Drift; out of it might grow the more elaborate structure so ardently desired by Federationists.

My own view of the discussion is, that the Federationists ask too much. Our self-governing Colonies are not yet in a position to enter into a close fiscal union, a *Zollverein*, with the Mother Country; at the same time they are unprepared and, so far as we know, unwilling to risk secession. If, as we are assured and I can readily believe, self-interest will prove stronger than sentiment in any future arrangements between the Mother Country and the Colonies, no re-adjustment of Tariffs can satisfy the complex interests at stake. Nothing but Free Trade, pure and simple, throughout the length and breadth of the Empire, can meet the necessities of the case; and the Colonies are too young, are obviously unprepared, for such a sweeping measure of fiscal reform. Differential Tariffs might be introduced, but as yet we are too much wedded to Free Trade to think of that.

points of the discussion and follow a specific and connected plan of treatment. (*We reviewed this book in our issue of April, 1892.*—ED.)

This being the case, there is only one other point of contact between the Mother Country and the Colonies, and that is combination for defence. With the exception of Canada—by far the most advanced in political growth—the Colonies have practically no choice but to accept their present destiny. Once separated, they would either sink into insignificance, or fall a prey to any enterprising and powerful European enemy.

It is therefore with some confidence that I venture to propose the following scheme of "Britannic Confederation." The subject must be sufficiently familiar to my readers to obviate any necessity on my part to give elaborate explanations. The scheme itself includes measures that for many years have been advocated by Federationists, and it leaves out others; but it embodies all of those which, in my opinion, have met with anything like general and influential support. Its inherent simplicity and relatively slight departure from established relations are the best recommendations for its acceptance, and afford the surest proofs of its feasibility. But in order to make sure of treading on certain ground, it may be desirable to summarise, in seven preliminary paragraphs, what, so far as I am aware, has been elicited by the fragmentary discussion of "Imperial Federation":—

1. That the relations at present existing between the Mother Country and the Colonies, though cordial in sentiment, form the slenderest political ties, liable to be broken on a sudden emergency. This is chiefly due to the fact that, both at home and abroad, Public Opinion is insufficiently educated to appreciate the value of an inviolable political union between the Mother Country and the Colonies.

2. That secession on the part of any one Colony would be detrimental to the interests of the Empire, in which all British subjects have a share.

3. That the Home Government, being unable to take official cognisance of a secession that is only problematical,

or in the event of such secession to prevent it, it rests with all loyal subjects of Her Majesty to themselves secure their heritage as British citizens.

4. That, both at home and in the Colonies, there is a growing tendency in favour of what has been popularly called "Imperial Federation"—now better styled "Britannic Confederation"—but that hitherto the complexity of the problem has prevented the formulation of any practical and well-considered scheme.

5. That, in brief, the consensus of opinion is against the formation of a *Zollverein*, as being at present impossible, owing to the immature development of the Colonies, but that a *Kriegsverein*, or combination for mutual defence in time of war, is not only immediately practicable but is a measure that is urgently needed.

6. That, under these circumstances, no progress towards a closer, safer and more permanent union between the Mother Country and the Colonies can be made until a definite scheme has been drawn up and unanimously adopted, the most essential features of which should be, (a) that it be capable of immediate application, (b) that it be practical, and (c) that it involve as little disturbance as possible of existing relations.

7. That, as the Home Government has refused to take the initiative, and as the Colonies cannot themselves do so, the Imperial Institute, from the nature of its semi-official standing and its complete organization, would afford the best agency for launching the scheme.

The concluding paragraph, I hasten to add, has no official sanction, nor has the Institute ever contemplated taking such action. At the same time, the work of the Institute—when once it enters upon serious work—must inevitably lie in the direction thus indicated. Its very *raison d'être* is to promote intercourse, and to cement the ties, between the Mother Country and her Empire beyond the Seas. Consequently, its functions could not be more usefully employed than in assuming the

initiative in this Imperial movement. How this initiative may be taken will be seen in the clauses of the scheme itself.

SCHEME FOR THE PROMOTION OF BRITISH UNITY.

OBJECT. To promote an inviolable political Union between the Mother Country and the self-governing Colonies at present acknowledging the over-rule of Her Britannic Majesty.

AGENCY. The Governing Body of the Imperial Institute, including as it does Colonial Representatives, shall be the accredited Agency. Sub-agencies, nominated by the Governing Body, shall be formed in the Colonies to act in concert with the Institute and to locally promote the object in view.

SCHEME OF WORK. A Conference shall be summoned by the Imperial Institute, at the instance of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. The Delegates shall be the Representatives on the Governing Body, who shall be aided by specialists. A programme shall be drawn up by a Special Committee and submitted to the Conference. This Programme, after receiving the sanction of the Conference, shall be submitted to the Home Government and the Colonial Legislatures for acceptance in principle.

OUTLINE of a simple and practical Programme likely to receive general support and to lead to a mature and workable scheme of Britannic Confederation.

1. The Contracting Parties shall be the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland on the one hand and the self-governing Colonies on the other hand, including the following groups of political units, namely :—

[1] CANADA ; embracing (a) The Dominion of Canada, (b) Newfoundland, and Labrador.

[2] AUSTRALIA ; embracing (a) New South Wales, (b) Victoria, (c) South Australia, (d) Queensland, (e) Western Australia, and (f) Tasmania.

[3] NEW ZEALAND.

[4] SOUTH AFRICA; embracing (a) Cape Colony, and (b) Natal.

II. [*With the exception of South Africa, whose inclusion in this preliminary scheme may be questioned, the above groups of Colonies are those in which the white or European populations outnumber the indigenous natives, and are therefore at once fitted to take up full citizenship of the Empire. Other portions of the Empire, where special conditions exist—such as India, the West Indies, and the African Colonies and Possessions—may be represented on the Conference, with a consultative voice but without powers to vote; or, in the meantime, to simplify the discussion, they may be entirely excluded. The position of India, in particular, is unique. Our vast Indian Empire is, and must remain, in the strictest sense an Imperial Dependency. As such, its representatives on any Colonial Council or at any conference must be the representatives of the Crown of India. Whilst the immense importance of India in her Imperial connexions may be fittingly represented, as distinct from the United Kingdom and minor British Possessions, it is obvious that she is incapable of taking up an independent position equal to that enjoyed by the great self-governing Colonies.*]

III. The self-governing Colonies, hereinafter called the Colonies, shall continue to enjoy entire freedom of local self-government, as at present, the Crown reserving in all Imperial matters the right of veto now exercised by and through Her Majesty's Representatives in the Colonies.

IV. The Colonies shall be represented in the Mother Country, as at present, by their Agents-General, who shall enjoy the rank and privileges of Ambassadors accredited to the Court of St. James's.

V. The Imperial Navy and Army shall be exclusively responsible, as at present, for the safety and protection of the Empire, with the loyal co-operation of the Colonies. The Colonies shall provide Harbour- and Coast-defences, at their own expense, to ensure safety against surprise by a hostile Power,—such forces to be regarded as a Volunteer

arm of the Imperial Services. Garrisons of Imperial troops shall be maintained, as now, at the chief strategical outposts of the Empire, at the expense of the Home Government: but the Colonies shall increase their Volunteer establishments for exclusive use in their respective Colonies, to be placed in time of war under the command of the Home Government.

VI. A Colonial Council shall be formed, consisting of Her Majesty's Colonial and Indian Advisers and the Agents-General of the Colonies, whose duty it shall be to watch British Colonial interests and to promote and maintain inter-relations between the Mother Country, India and the Colonies.

VII. A Commercial Bureau shall be formed, within the Imperial Institute, to gather and disseminate information concerning Trade and Commerce—British, Indian, Colonial, and Foreign—and to promote in every way closer and more advantageous commercial relations between the Mother Country, India and the Colonies. This Commercial Bureau shall have its headquarters, or at least a Branch, in the City of London, together with agencies in every Colony and in India.

VIII. Exhibitions and Conferences shall be held at stated periods at the Imperial Institute to report progress and compare notes.

IX. Representative Delegations shall visit the Colonies alternately, and India occasionally, as may be hereafter arranged, in order to hold similar Exhibitions and Conferences.

X. The Imperial Government shall guarantee, subsidise or otherwise assist trans-Oceanic communications, the laying of cables, and postal facilities between the Mother Country, India and the Colonies. Armed Cruisers, or mail-boats convertible as such, shall be maintained on the chief highways of British commerce by subsidies from the Home Government conjointly with the Colony or Colonies most interested.

XI. The Public Services shall be open to all duly-qualified British subjects, with the approval of the Crown. A special effort shall be made to enlist British Subjects in the Colonies in the Imperial Army and Navy, on the understanding that they shall be kept on duty in their respective Colonies.

XII. The cost of maintaining all British Dependencies shall fall, as now, unless otherwise arranged—as in the case of India, on the Mother Country.

XIII. The entire cost of the Diplomatic and Consular Services shall be borne, as now,* by the Mother Country; but it shall be allowable for any Colony to maintain a Commercial *Attaché* on the staff of any British Embassy or Legation or Consulate-General.

XIV. The Colonies shall contribute a fixed annual sum of money to a Common Fund for the Defence of the Empire.

XV. The Contracting Parties shall formally recognise the obligation to uphold and maintain the Unity of the Empire as at present constituted.

The above clauses appear to me to embody the very utmost concessions likely to be obtained at the present time, and to sufficiently provide for a close and permanent union between the Mother Country and the Colonies. I forbear to enter into a critical examination of the scheme, clause-by clause; but prefer, in the meantime, to present this rough and general outline, as it stands, for the consideration of my readers.

* India pays for the Persian and Chinese Embassies. In fact, the position of India in this scheme is hardly adequate. We have no doubt that we shall be favoured with comments on the above suggestive article.—En.

THE HISTORY OF TCHAMPA

(THE CYAMBA OF MARCO POLO, NOW ANNAM OR COCHIN CHINA).

BY COMMANDANT E. AYMONIER.*

(Concluded from our last number.)

III.

THE STRUGGLES AGAINST THE ANNAMITES: FROM THE XTH TO THE END OF THE XIIIth CENTURY.

It was not long before war broke out between the two neighbouring nations. A son-in-law of the Annamite king Dinh, called Nhat Khanh, who laid claim to the throne of Annam, fled with his wife to the southern extremity of Tchampa. There cutting his wife on the forehead with a knife, he ignominiously drove her away. On the death of Dinh, about 980, he got the king of Tchampa to aid his pretensions. This king, called in the annals *Ba mi thuê Duong bó an tra loi*, sent more than 1,000 war-vessels to the two mouths of the Dai-An and Tien Khang, to attack Hoa Lu, the king of Annam's capital; but a typhoon sank nearly all his junks. Nhat Khanh and the Tchames were drowned; and the king himself escaped with much difficulty. The great preparations made seem to show that a serious attempt had been contemplated to subject Annam to the yoke of Tchampa. This was promptly revenged. The king of Annam, Le Dai Hanh (Le Hang), invaded Tchampa, in 982, at the head of a large army. The Tchame troops were defeated and many of them massacred in a great battle; and their general was slain. The king, *Xa loi da bang viet hoan* fled precipitately from his capital, which the conqueror sacked and burnt. One hundred dancers or women of the seraglio fell into the hands of Le Hang, together with an Indian *Bonze*. Immense treasures of gold, silver and precious articles formed his spoil, which he took away, as he evacuated the country.

Was the capital thus destroyed in 982 the same which had been taken by the Chinese in 605, that is to say in all probability the city of Shri Banoey in Quang Binh? I am inclined to think so. Le Hang reached it and left it with too much ease to let us suppose that it was situated far to the south. Without trusting too much to even the written traditions of the present Tchames, I should add that there is a passage in a native Manuscript (derived probably from other more ancient manuscripts) which says: "The Annamites reached the Capital Sri Bani (or Shri Banoey) in the

* A paper read on September 9th, 1891, before the Statutory Ninth International Congress of Orientalists in London, to which Commandant E. Aymonier, Principal of the Colonial School at Paris, was the Delegate of the French Government. The importance of this paper, obviously written without any reference to present, or, indeed any possible political complications, cannot be over-estimated. It establishes, from a judicial and academical standpoint, the past extent and relations of Annam and throws an incidental light on the historical claims of Annam, Tonquin, Cambodia, Burma and Siam which are worthy alike of the attention of the Orientalist, the Geographer and the Statesman. The names of places especially given in this paper should be compared with those on the map of the regions in question which we circulate in this issue.

year of the serpent." As the cycle of the serpent recurs every 12 years, and 1893 and 1881 were serpent years, this date would correspond to the year 981 of our era.

I suppose also that it was in consequence of this disaster that the capital of Tchampa was transferred more to the South, to *Bal Hangov*, near *Huê*, the present capital of the Annamite empire.

The relations between the two neighbours did not improve, though the Annamites did not at once renew their great expeditions. In 990, *Le Hang* refused the presents sent by the king of Tchampa. He was engaged in putting down in his own kingdom several rebellions which the annals say were countenanced by Tchampa. In 1005 he died, and was succeeded by one of his sons; but another of the princes flying to Tchampa, the new king in pursuing him was slain by a third brother. In 1010, there came on the throne of Annam the *Ly* dynasty which was to inflict such cruel defeats on Tchampa. In 1028, the *Tchames* took the military post of *Bô Chanh*; but in 1044 the Annamite king, *Ly Thai Tong*, attacked Tchampa with 100 war-junks and a great army. In the battle of *Ngu Bo*, the *Tchames* lost 30,000 men killed; 5,000 prisoners and 30 war elephants fell into the hands of the conquerors. The king of Tchampa had his head cut off by two of his own subjects. The Annamites marched on the capital *Phat Thé*, and seized the seraglio and the dancers. The queen, *Mie*, disdaining to yield to the caprices of the conqueror, threw herself into the river, wrapped in her garments. The *Tchame* prisoners were removed to *Tonquin*, allotted lands to cultivate, and allowed to call their villages by the names of their former abodes. In 1047, king *Ly* established Postal Stations for the convenience of the Cambodian and *Tchampese* embassies.

According to the inscriptions, the *Tchame* king, who reigned in 1050 (that is between this great national disaster of 1044 and another which followed it only too soon) seems to have been the founder of a new dynasty. He assumes the pompous title of *Paramesvara* or "Supreme Lord," and tells us that "shining with prosperity" he makes a donation of vessels and utensils of gold to the goddess *Bhagavati*, to whom he also gives *Tchame*, *Khmêr*, Chinese and Siamese slaves.

Following the example of his father, the Annamite king *Ly Thanh Tong* undertook a great expedition against Tchampa, the king of which (called in the annals *Chê Cu*,—*Chêi*, *Ku*—two princely titles among the *Tchames*) is accused by the Annamites of having insulted Annam by putting its ambassadors in prison. In 1061, after nine months of indecisive warfare, jealousy urged him to end the campaign and to distinguish himself by some glorious deeds, on hearing accidentally the praises which were given to the administration of the Queen, who during his absence had charge of the Government. He fiercely attacked the enemy, seized the *Tchame* king, and took prisoners 50,000 men whom he carried away to *Tonquin*. *Chê Cu*, to regain his freedom and crown, had to part with three provinces—*Dia Ri*, *Ma Linh* and *Bo Chanh*—probably the northern *Quangs* from *Song Giang* to *Huê*, which were inhabited by *Tchames*, and which we shall yet see several times taken and retaken.

A Sanskrit inscription tells us that king *Rudravarman* of the race of king

Paramesvara made a gift of precious objects to the temple of the great goddess in 1064. He is the last king who has left his name in any Sanskrit inscription. From the XIth century, Sanskrit learning, owing to the decline of the kingdom, was not eagerly pursued; and we find little in the learned language except a few simple invocations, sometimes still in verse, but oftener reduced to a few words in prose. The inscriptions in the vernacular or Tchame language become more and more numerous. Though appearing to give a date differing by a few years from that in the Annamite annals, one of these documents, dated 1084, confirms very closely the disaster experienced at this time. It states that the capital of Tchampa was taken, that king Rudravarman was carried away, that anarchy and civil war lasted sixteen years after the disaster, till Tchampa came again under the rule of one king, who took the Buddhist name of Sri Paramabodhisatva. This is the king, who with his family makes, in 1084, to the goddess of the kingdom, gifts, to obtain "glory in this world and the fruits (rewards) in the other world."

For over half a century, the annals are almost silent about Tchampa; and so are the inscriptions as yet known. The former merely say that about 1100, king Ly Nhon Tong overcame a coalition of the Chinese, Tchames and Cambodians, which was, however, dissolved at the first defeat, leaving China alone to prosecute the war. In 1143, king Jaya Indravarman of Tchampa, who had already reigned four years, mentions two of his predecessors, Bhadravarman and Jaya Sinhavarman. It is to this king, who ascended the throne in 1103, that Mr. Bergaigne assigns, as a guess, the last of the Sanskrit inscriptions yet known. After this XIIth century the inflected Sanskrit utterly ceases to be the official language of the inscriptions: "it seeks amends in pouring its vocabulary of plain themes into the Tchame language of the vernacular inscriptions, which already for more than a century have been becoming both numerous and important." Sanskrit culture even when notably declining, had evidently survived its regular employment as the language of epigraphic and religious documents.

King Jaya Indravarman, who ascended the throne in 1139, was a worshipper of Siva, of the Siva-Linga, and of Siva Vishnu. He mentions once more, that the ancient Linga of Kauthara, that is, of the temple of Bhagavati, or of the goddess Po Nagar, was the gift of king Victra Sagara at a singularly fabulous epoch—over 1,700,000 years before!

After this king, the inscriptions mention a Jaya Rudravarman who died in 1145,—two years after the date of the inscription I mention. He had it is said a very short reign. In this connection it is well to bear in mind that as these princes were in the habit of changing their names, they may be mentioned in the inscriptions several times over under divers titles. Jaya Harivarman, who ascended the throne at the death of his father in 1145, has left us very beautiful Epigraphs in the Tchame language, and a two-line verse in the Sanskrit in honour of Yang Pu (or Po) Nagara "the goddess Lady of the kingdom." In 1158-59, he defeated the Cambodian troops with their allies of Vijaya. I have some reasons to think that Vijaya was the name given to the southern extremity of Tchampa, comprising the actual districts of Phan Thiet and Baria. Jaya Harivarman says he de-

feated the allies near Virapura, the chief town of the plain of Panrang or Panduranga—now Phanrang in Binh Thuan. He mentions also the Yavana, "the Annamites," whom he probably beat. His armies were in activity in 1161-1166, and down to 1170, in which year at last he adores the great protecting goddess of the kingdom, makes her right royal gifts, and thanks her for having made him continually victorious over his enemies,—the Cambodians, Yavana (Annamites) the people of Vijaya, the people of Amaravati and of Panduranga, and also the Radé, the Mada, and other barbarous indigenous tribes. Let us see what the annals tell us of this epoch. In 1153, a Tchame pretender having asked king Ly Anh Tong for help, he gave him a general and some troops; but though the king of Tchampa, called by some Chê Ribut and by others Chê Bi, defeated them, he nevertheless sent presents and girls for the royal harem.

In 1183, an inscription tells us that the king of Tchampa, Jayavarman, made donations to the goddess Bhagavati, several princesses adding to his their own gifts. The king mentions his starting, after 1175, for the conquest of Cambodia.

We should note here that some authors state that "about 1180, Parakrama of Ceylon sent an army into Cochín China." (See T. W. Rhys David's *Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, p. 24.)

The period which followed brought great troubles on Tchampa. In 1190, according to the inscriptions, Vrah Pada Sri Jayavarman, king of Cambodia, conquered the country, captured the capital, and removed the lingas and gods. Long wars followed during 32 years, till about 1220 or 1222. The Annamite annals say that in 1197 some Tchame envoys came to ask investiture in the name of the new king from the Annamite court, which was granted the following year, by an Annamite embassy. This probably was a national king who in resisting the Cambodian conqueror, asked the aid of the Ly. A passage in a Tchame inscription shows that the conquering king did not quit the country till 1207, after having appointed a Lieutenant-General who held a tight hand over the indigenous king. The Annamite annals proceed to say that in 1203, Bo Tri (Po Turai?), the nephew of Bo Dien, king of the Tchames, came to the province of Qui La, or Nghé An, to ask aid against his uncle. The Governor wished to secure his person; but the Tchames fell on the Annamites, and after ravaging Nghé An and slaying the Governor, he disappeared.

After 1207, the Cambodian sway still existed over Tchampa where there was a Yuvaraja. The Tchames, the Khmers, the Siamese (whose name had already appeared in the inscriptions of Tchampa) went, under Cambodian leaders, to fight the Annamites. Khmers and Annamites fell in great numbers. The Annamite annals in fact mention an attack on Nghé An, in 1217-1218, by the Cambodians and Tchames. Finally the inscriptions say that the Khmers in 1220 definitely withdrew from Tchampa, the people whereof occupied the land of Vijaya, which I believe is Phanthiet. In 1227, Sri Jaya Paramesvaravarman became king after receiving the private baptism of initiation, and continued to reign in peace, building palaces, repairing the temples of the gods, and bestowing on the various divinities of Tchampa, fields, and Khmér, Siamese,

Chinese or Tchame slaves. We do not find Annamite slaves mentioned among those given by the different kings of Tchampa to their gods. A Tchame inscription of this prince gives us the Sanskrit names of several Buddhist divinities, male and female.

About 1242, according to the Annamite annals, the Tchames demanded the restoration of the provinces formerly seized by the Ly kings—probably those between Huê and Nghé An, which in the XIIIth century still was the true boundary of the Annamite country: perhaps we should more correctly call it the country which had been made Annamite. On this demand, king Tran Thai Tong invaded Tchampa, whence he carried off the queen *Bô Dala*—the Annamite transcription for *Pô Dara*—"young Princess"—probably not the queen herself, but a princess of the royal family. The Annamite king also brought away a part of the Tchame population, which he scattered in Tonquin.

In 1256, during the reign of king Jaya Indravarman, his daughter the Lady Ratnavali and her husband, Ong Rashu Nandana, together made gifts to the goddess Po Nagar. She again made other donations, this time alone, in 1275, under another king Jaya Sinhavarman, who afterwards took the name of Indravarman. This king in fact, who in 1259 held the rank of Yuvaraja, ascended the throne in 1265, under the name of Sri Jaya Sinhavarman; and having been consecrated, in 1277 by the ceremony of private baptism, he took the name of Indravarman. Some remarkable events occurred in his reign.

The Mongols who had already conquered China, now by order of Kublai Khan, invaded Annam, then under king Trần Nhôn Tong. They attempted also to subdue Tchampa, which about this epoch (1278—1280) was also visited by Marco Polo. In 1282, the son of the king organized a resistance which seems to have been successful. In 1285, the Tartar general Toa Do, on his return from the expedition against Tchampa, arrived at Ô Ri, and invaded the provinces of Hoan and Ai (Nghé An), to which the last defenders of the independence of Annam had retreated: we know that the Annamites soon shook off the Mongol yoke. The adjoining provinces, so long and so fiercely contested, returned, not long after, to Annam, in consequence of a passing marriage, which was of more profit than many victories.

The king reigning in 1298-1300 over Tchampa is called Jaya Sinhavarman in the inscriptions, and Chê Man in the Annamite annals. He started negotiations with Annam, in 1300; and in 1302, the Annamite ambassador who came to Tchampa obtained the abolishment of the ancient custom of prostration to the king of the country before speaking to him. The negotiations ended in 1305, in the marriage of the Tchame king with the Annamite princess Huyền Trân—"Pearl of Jet." The king's love must have been very great; for in 1306 he yielded to Annam, as a marriage gift, the provinces of Ô and Ri (Châu Ô and Châu Ri), the names of which were changed into Thuan Châu and Hoa Châu. A king who apparently discarded ancient customs and gave away entire provinces, for love of a stranger cordially detested by his subjects, did not deserve to live long on the throne: he died this same year, 1306. The Annamite Court at once sent an embassy to save the queen from the fate of being

cremated with her husband's corpse, according to Indian usage. This would show that Indian law was then in force in Tchampa, at least at royal funerals. The Tchames yielded the point; and the ambassador took back "Pearl of Jet" to her own country by very short journeys, in order to enjoy, as long as possible, the gratitude of the young and pretty widow, who could refuse nothing to her deliverer.

About this time—the end of the XIIIth Century—was probably built the temple at Panrang now called that of Po Klong Garai. It was dedicated to Siva, under the title of Sri Jaya Sinhavarmalingesvara, by king Sri Jaya Sinhavarman, son of Indravarman. Presumably the kings, when they grew old, used to take the name of Indravarman, leaving the actual government to a son, who then took the name of Jaya Sinhavarman. According to Tchame inscriptions well cut upon granite and in perfect preservation, the royal founder gives to the god a great number of fields, the boundaries of which are minutely described, a host of slaves of both sexes whose names are given, some elephants and utensils for the worship. Here the Tchampa inscriptions cease for nearly two centuries.

IV.

THE LAST WARS—XIVTH AND XVTH CENTURIES.

RETURNING to the Annamite annals, we perceive that the people of the two provinces ceded in 1306 by Chê Man, on the occasion of his marriage, did not accept the Annamite rule without giving trouble. Chê Chi, son and successor of Chê Man, tried to elude the hateful treaty. Three armies, therefore, invaded Tchampa, by sea, by the plains, and over the mountains. They reached the capital in 1311. Chê Chi was taken and died a captive in 1313, his brother having been made king in his stead. This state of dependence and vassalage, into which Tchampa had fallen, was enhanced in 1313, by the reinforcements sent by Annam to defend it against the attacks of the Siamese, who had probably invaded Cambodia, then in absolute decline.

In 1342, Chê a Non, king of Tchampa, dying, his son-in-law Tra Hoa Bo Dê seized the throne, dispossessing Chê Mo, the son of the late king. He announced his accession, but neglected to send any embassy for doing homage or making the usual presents. An Annamite Ambassador, Phan Nguyễn Hang, came to Tchampa to ask an explanation of this neglect. But though the Tcham king sent his ambassador in 1346, he attempted another deceit: the presents were not in accordance with the rites and customs. The relations between the two kingdoms soon became strained though they did not end in an open rupture. In 1352, the dispossessed prince, Chê Mo, formally asked the aid of Annam; and to put an end to the temporizing of the court of Trăn, he recited one of the Apologues which are the common inheritance of the Indo-European races: An adventurer engaged to teach, in three years, a monkey to speak like a man, if the king would give him a monthly stipend of 100 taëls of gold, saying to himself that in three years either the king, or the monkey, or he himself might die.

The Trăns decided, but rather lukewarmly, to help the ingenious pretender. An expedition advanced, in 1353, as far as Co Luy. The fleet

soon returned under pretence of bad weather, and the land army followed its example; while the Tchames, on their side, invaded the coast of Annam. The success of the Tchames was more marked in the following years. In 1361, their war fleet entered Annam waters with impunity and in 1362 they attacked Hoa Châu (*Huê*) but were repulsed. The first day of the Annamite year, 1364, they again appeared before the gates of the city and carried off a number of girls who were celebrating the feast with various sports. In 1365, they unsuccessfully attacked the fort of Iam Binh. In 1367 the Annamites sent a force against Tchampa, but their commander-in-chief was surrounded, defeated, and taken prisoner. In 1370, the mother of an Annamite prince who had been slain took refuge in Tchampa, and urged the country to rise against Annam. By her advice, the Tchames organized another expedition. They came by sea to the port of Dai An; and ascending the river, they at once marched on the capital, which they fired, pillaged, and deluged with blood. The king, Tran Nghi Tong, who had fled across the river, witnessed the destruction of his palaces. On the 27th of the third month of 1371, the Tchames burnt down all that yet remained of the capital, carried off the girls and young lads, and retired with an immense booty.

These daring expeditions, often crowned with success, were doubtless owing to the appearance in this remote corner of Asia, of a man endowed with all the qualities that go to make a great warrior and hero. Tchampa, in fact, defeated and despoiled during centuries, was reduced to its southern provinces from Tourane to Baria,—a country this day with 2,000,000 inhabitants. The central provinces, from Tourane to Song Giang, had for many years been invaded by Annamite immigrants, either preceding or following the Mandarins in crowds; and the Tchame part of their population of these provinces must have become used to the Annamite yoke. In the north, Nghé An and Thanh Hoa had, ages ago, been lost, and had in most part become Annamite. The Northern and Central Tchampa thus definitely lost corresponds to the districts which now number 2,000,000 souls. The Annamites were, moreover, quite at home as masters in Tonquin, which is said now to have 10,000,000 inhabitants. The Tchames were fighting against odds of one to six; and morally the matter was even worse; because for centuries they had been reduced to a merely defensive warfare, and had repeatedly endured terrible disasters. Under these circumstances, he must have been a very remarkable man who succeeded in drawing together and electrifying the miserable remains of the people, and becoming, for 20 years, literally the terror of the Annamites, whom he brought to within an inch of destruction. And yet we know nothing regarding this Tchame Hannibal except from the annals of his implacable enemies. Doubtless while still only a young prince, he inspired or directed the daring expeditions made, between 1361 and 1371, in which he consolidated his genius, while waiting for the throne and for the means which that supreme power would give him, to deal the most terrible blows on the hereditary enemies of his country. The Annamite annals call him Chê Bong Nga. (Chê = Tchê = a Tchame title signifying *Prince*. Bong, perhaps from Pong = a royal title, *Lord*; or perhaps Bong Nga is a transcription of Bonguor = *flower*; we know how much foreign names become

transformed by the Chinese characters. This prince, moreover, had many popular names and a great number of titles.) Most probably our hero was officially called Jaya Sinhavarman in the beginning of his reign, and perhaps Indravarman, later on. These were the usual names of his predecessors; and we shall find them given also to his successors. No inscriptions dating from this period have yet been discovered.

In the fifth month of 1375, according to the Annamite annals, Chê Bong Nga, king of Tchampa, invaded Hoa Châu, (Huê); and in the seventh month king Tran Duc Tong took the field personally, with a great army, to punish the invaders. He forwarded 300,000 kilos of rice to Hoa Châu (Huê) and began his march after a grand review of his army of 120,000 men. Brave though Chê Bong Nga was, he was dismayed at these mighty preparations, and sued for peace, sending as a present ten dishes full of gold. The Annamite general Do Tu Binh, who commanded on the frontier, seized the presents destined for his master, whom he deceitfully irritated by falsely attributing an insulting speech to the king of Tchampa. The expedition held its way, and on the 23rd of the first month of 1377, the fleet and army having reached the ports of Thi Nai (or Cho Gia, the present Qui Nhon) and of Hôn Cang, the troops encamped at a stone bridge over the Y-Mông, near the citadel of Cha Ban, then the capital of the kings of Tchampa. Chê Bong Nga sent out his minister, Thâu Ba Ma, who pretended to give in his submission, saying that his master had fled. The next day, king Tran, neglecting the simplest precautions, dressed himself in black and mounted a black horse, having with him his brother dressed in white on a white horse; and followed by his court, he went to the citadel, his army coming behind him in disorder; for the statement of the Tchampa king's flight was very plausible. At the fort gates, the Tchames arose in arms on all sides; and surrounding the Annamites made a fearful carnage. Their king was slain and his brother Uc taken prisoner; and General Lê Qui Ly led back the shattered remains of the army.

Immediately after their great victory, the Tchames appeared before the port of Dai An. This city being defended, they proceeded to the port of Thien Phu (Than Phu) which was less strongly fortified. In the sixth month of this same year, they again attacked the coasts of Annam, but being repulsed, they took to sea, losing large numbers owing to bad weather.

King Chê Bong Nga gave his daughter in marriage to the captive prince Uc, and made him king over the provinces from Nghê An to Hoa Châu, where he was welcomed by a large party. Though the Annamite General Do Thu Binh gained some success, the Tchames expeditions became so persistent as to compel the Annamite court to bury its treasury in 1381. In the second month of 1382, the Tchames, swelling their columns from the people of Thuan Hoa and Tan Binh (probably from Huê to Quang Binh)—Annamite provinces inhabited in great part by people who were still Tchames by race, once more invaded Nghê An, and penetrated thence into Thanh Hoa, with which they had kept up relations. The Annamite General Lê Qui Ly met Chê Bong Nga with a numerous fleet on the River Ngo Giang. At the beginning of the battle, a frightened Annamite Mandarin with several junks turned round to fly; but Lê Qui

Ly seized and beheaded him in the presence of the whole army. This energetic action restored their courage and decided the victory. Notwithstanding all his talents and bravery, Chê Bong Nga was compelled to fly. The Tchames took refuge in their hills. But after the following year, 1383, they returned to the attack along all the coasts and borders of Annam. The second month of 1384 saw them in the province of Thanh Hoa, which they pillaged. Lê Qui Ly at the head of an Annamite army encamped at Mount Long Dai, while another Annamite general, Nguyễn Đa Phương, guarded the port of Than Dau. The latter was lucky enough to destroy the Tchame fleet which he pursued beyond Nghê An. In 1385, Lê Qui Ly started with a fleet, but was forced back by the damage from storms which he sustained. Then Chê Bong Nga aided by the best of his generals, La Khai, overran the province of Quang Oai and Khong Muc, and reached the gates of the capital. The king of Annam fled. The Tchames, unable to storm the citadel, ravaged the country for six months, continually harassed with skirmishes by the general Nguyễn Đa Phương. Having exhausted all the resources of these provinces, king Chê Bong Nga led back his army to Tchampa, in the twelfth month of 1385.

About 1388, a Chinese embassy crossed Annam to demand 50 elephants from Tchampa.

In 1390, Chê Bong Nga again led his army into Thanh Hoa and attacked Co-ro, where he defeated Lê Qui Ly, the Annamite prince Nguyễn Diêu passing over to the enemy. In 1392, the indefatigable king of Tchampa made his last attack. On the 23rd of the first month, he appeared near the river at Lai Trien, with the Annamite prince Nguyễn Diêu, outstripping his fleet of 100 junks. One of the inferior officers under him, Ba Lau Kê, whom he had had to reprove, being in fear of his life, passed over to the Annamites and betrayed the fact that the royal barge was painted blue. The whole fleet of the enemy thereupon concentrated its projectiles against it. One of them pierced the king Chê Bong Nga. The fugitive traitor prince Nguyễn Diêu cut off his head, and carried it to the enemy, who, however, slew him too. The panic stricken Tchames fled under La Khai, who to slacken the pursuit, cast away large quantities of silver ingots and pieces of silk. The head of their implacable enemy was carried to the capital and publicly exposed. "Thus perished," says the Abbé Launay, "a man who for over 20 years had made Annam tremble, and had repeatedly brought it to the brink of destruction. At length believing itself safe from all danger, the court for several months gave itself up to daily feasts. In the midst of these rejoicings, there arrived the sons of king Chê Bong Nga, driven from their throne and their country by the ambition of La Khai. Where the father had swept, sowing dismay and death, the sons passed in their turn, fugitives and proscribed, hastening to seek an asylum in the land which the soldiers of their country had so often trampled as conquerors." In fact, in the seventh month of the year 1392 La Khai had seized the throne, and the legitimate heirs, Chê Ma No Chinan and Chê San Nô, sons of the late king, had to fly to Annam, where they were well received.

In 1393, Lê Qui Ly, now all powerful in Annam (of which he afterwards seized the throne) returned to Hoa Châu, whence he sent a military ex-

pedition to Tchampa, which was defeated. In the eighth month of 1398, a Tchame general, Bo Dong, who had been taken prisoner in a battle by the Annamite troops, was loaded with honours by Lê Qui Ly, in order to secure his services. In the eleventh month of the same year, the Annamites received at Thanh Hoa, the submission of Chê da Biet, a Tchame general who came with his son Chê gia Diep, and his brother Chê Mo Hoa. Titles of honour were conferred upon them, and they were sent to Hoa Châu to prevent a Tchame invasion which seemed imminent. All these defections show that anarchy reigned in Tchampa.

King La Khai died in 1403, leaving the crown to his son Ba Dich Lai. For over a year, Lê Qui Ly had reigned over Annam, having changed his name to Hồ Qui Ly on usurping the throne. He determined to use the change of Government in Tchampa to aggrandize himself at the expense of that kingdom. In the seventh month of the year 1403, he marched on Tchampa at the head of 150,000 men. The terrified Ba Dich Lai sued for peace; but he obtained it only at the cost of giving numerous presents and of yielding the territory of Co Luy. This was divided into two provinces—Thang Hoa (Quang Nam) and Tu Nghia (Quang Ngãi); and to facilitate the incorporation of the new provinces, they were placed under the immediate government of Chê Ma No Dinan, a Tchame chief devoted to the court of Annam. The Hồ dynasty at once gave all their care to organize this great conquest, which had carried their frontiers from the mountains of Tourane to the north of the present Binh Dinh. A great number of Tonquinese emigrants were poured into this territory, but the women and children who were sent to join them, later on, perished in a tempest. This caused a great irritation against the Hồ dynasty.

Exhausted and wounded to death by the defeat of Chê Bong Nga, Tchampa was unable to offer any serious defence against the Annamite attacks. Nevertheless the many provinces torn from her by Annam were not assimilated without difficulty; and they were repeatedly in insurrection, from one end to another. Annam, once started on the career of violent and swift conquests, hastened to finish what remained of independence in Tchampa; for these, though small, were the *seeds* of rebellions against her authority. In 1404, old Hồ Qui Ly, believing the time favourable, invaded Tchampa at the head of 200,000 men, whom he had himself assembled in Châu and Huyen (prefectorates and sub-prefectorates). But the capital Cha Ban successfully resisted all his attacks; and he had to retreat owing to the threats of China, which sent 9 war-junks to the Annamite fleet, with an order to retire.

The temporary conquest of Annam by China afforded Tchampa a few years of respite, during the wars of independence which the Annamite hero, Lê Loi, waged against the Chinese rule, from 1412 to 1428. In fact, in 1427 there was an exchange of embassies and presents between Annam and Tchampa; nor did any difficulties arise during the remainder of his peaceful reign, from 1428 to 1434. When he was dead, however, quarrels began afresh and violations of the frontiers. The last inscription goes back to this epoch—1436—in which the king has the name of Jaya Sinhavarman, son of Indravarman, of the Brashu race.

In 1446, while Lê Thanh Tong, the grandson and second successor of Lê Loi, was yet a minor, an army of 60,000 Annamites entered Tchampa, and pushing on to the port of Thi nai in the present Binh Dinh district, took the capital by assault on the 25th day of the fourth month. The king Bi Cai became a prisoner, and was at first replaced by Mahaquilai, nephew of the former king Chêdê, but was eventually restored, on the intervention of China. Tchampa, however, remained at the mercy of the court of Annam, which treated it very harshly. The country was also a prey to the most violent disorders, its princes assassinating one another and succeeding each other rapidly on the throne. At length, in 1470, one of these usurpers having invaded the frontier which had been brought up to Hoa Châu (Huê) the Annamite king Lê Thanh Tong made this incursion the pretext for putting an end to Tchampa. At the head of an army which the Annamite Annals put at the extravagant number of 700,000 men and 1,000 war-junks, he systematically attacked Tchampa, and surrounded the capital, which he stormed on the 1st of the third month of 1471. Forty thousand Tchames were put to the sword, and 30,000 were made prisoners, including the usurper Ban La Tra Toan. He soon died in captivity, and Lê Thanh Tong had the head of the last king of Tchampa exposed at the prow of a junk, and placed above it a white banner with the words: "The head of Tra Toan, the cause of the misery of Tchampa." The body was burnt and the ashes cast into the waters. The day after the sack of the Tchame capital, Lê Thanh Tong reunited Quang Nam and Quang Nghia to his kingdom; and dividing the rest of Tchampa into three principalities, he placed over them Tchame chiefs under the authority of Annamite Mandarins.

V.

THE PRESENT TCHAMES: FROM THE XVIIth CENTURY TO THE PRESENT DAY.

UNDER the yoke of the Annamite Mandarins, Tchampa was rapidly assimilated by Annam. The slightest attempt at rebellion was quenched in blood. The Tchames were soon changed into Annamites, owing to the combined action of political rule, administrative organization, and social laws regarding concubinage and adoption,—thus extending to the south of Tourane the change which had already been going on for centuries in the north of Huê. Thenceforth no further resistance was possible. A hundred years after this conquest, this absorption had proceeded so far, at the end of XVIth century, that the family of Nguyễns, founder of the present dynasty, formed for itself an almost independent principality out of the very centre of the now vanished Tchampa, with Huê as its capital. Strange event! Under the order of these Nguyễns, the Tchame-Annamites recommenced their centuries-old struggle against Tonquin where the rival family of the Trịnh reigned under the nominal suzerainty of the Lê kings.

The first European missionaries who penetrated into these countries gave the name of Cochin China to the northern part of ancient Tchampa

already absorbed by the Annamites, and applied the name of Tchampa only to the poor remains of that kingdom in the south.

In the first half of the XVIIth century, the Nguyens had no difficulty in adding to their dominions the present provinces of Binh Dinh and Phu yen; as the way for their assimilation had already been prepared by their mandarins. Since then Tchampa was restricted to the present Khanh Hoa and Binh Thuan, among the mountains of Cape Varela and the Donai. About 1650, the ruler Hien Vuong imprisoned in a cage, where he soon died, the kinglet of Tchampa who had thought of rebelling. He seized Khanh Hoa, and left to the widow only the shadow of a government over Binh Thuan; but even this little authority left to the Tchame chiefs was gradually destroyed in the XVIIIth century. At last, about 1820, the last Tchampa chief emigrated to Cambodia. At present this is the only province out of all that formerly made up Tchampa, where there are any Tchames left, who have not become Annamites. They are mere local cantonal or communal authorities, that convey the orders of the Annamite prefects to a Tchame population of about 20,000 souls, scattered over seven cantons and eighty wretched hamlets. Tchampa no longer exists—it has become Cochin China, to-day Annam. The greater part of its inhabitants has become fused with the conquering race, which it must have considerably modified by the union. The chiefs, and the Mussulmans who did not resign themselves to this merciless yoke, retreated southward before the conquerors and finally emigrated into Cambodia.

Islam must have penetrated early into Tchampa, though there are no traces of this, in either the inscriptions or the Annamite annals. Since the VIIIth and IXth centuries, Arab navigators, merchants and missionaries visited in ever increasing numbers, the Malay and Indo Chinese coasts, and reached even China. Raffles and Veth, though differing as to the dates, both mention a Tchame princess of great beauty, who was married to Angka Vijaya king of Java, in the second half of the XIIIth century, whose elder sister had been married, in Tchampa, to an Arab by whom she had a son called Rahmet. From another quarter we learn, through Father Tachard, that about 1688 some Mussulman princes of Tchampa who had taken refuge in Siam, had there raised disturbances which were suppressed by Constance Falkon. At present, of the 20,000 Tchames, who, as I have stated, dwell in the valleys of Binh Thuan, the southern province of Annam, one-third are Muhammadans; while two-thirds are pagans professing a degenerated Brahminism. Outside of the ancient Tchampa, that is to say, in French Cochin China, Cambodia and Siam, the Tchame emigrants—all Mussulmans—number from 80,000 to 100,000 souls.

In general, Europeans very wrongly call them Malays. They are fairly orthodox in their religion, and are quite free from the idolatry of the ancient Tchames. They have a Mufti, nominated by the king of Cambodia; Hakems or chiefs of Mosques; and a great number of Imams all of whom dress in white robes. So do the Katibs or Readers and the Bilals or Censors, who form the lower orders of the hierarchy. Under these again, the Lebei or Hearers, laymen who carry out the orders of the Censors.

Besides the Ramadan these Mussulmans celebrate two other shorter fasts at stated times. They pay great respect to the young men who have acquired a complete knowledge of the Koran. They have a ceremony for washing away the sins of the old. After burials, they observe at fixed times, seven *Pudhis* or funeral feasts, with prayers and a family repast. They are not, however, entirely free from all superstition. They believe in love philtres, in practices for conferring invulnerability, and in witches who cause weakness and death.

The agriculturists cultivate rice. Those who dwell near streams, employ themselves in fishing, and in cultivating rich crops of cotton, indigo, tobacco and mulberry trees. As merchants, they are very industrious and enterprising, and undertake long voyages. They make the pilgrimage to Mecca. Their women are able weavers of silk. Their rich men have as many as four lawful wives, besides many concubines. They differ but little from the Cambodians in the construction and furniture of their dwelling, or in their games or food, except that they, of course, abstain from the use of pork. Generally speaking, they are more proud, prosperous and rich than the other subjects of France in Indo-China. Among themselves they evince a certain spirit of union; they help each other in their work, and lend money to each other at a relatively moderate interest. Practising domesticity or servitude for debts, they increase their race by the adoption of the children of their Annamite debtors, whom they bring up as Tchames, in the Mussulman religion.

The Tchames of Binh Thuan are very different from their brethren of Cambodia. Poor and wretched, they are bowed down under the yoke of Annamite Mandarins, and present to the ethnographer as strange a study as can be found. We have seen that one third, or about 8,000, of these Tchames are Mussulmans. But though the headmen of their Mosques, there called Ong Grou, are selected from the Imams, and they have their Katibs (Readers) and their Medouones (Censors) and all these dress in white and have their heads shaved;—though on Fridays they adore Allah in their mosques, fast during the Ramadan, practise circumcision and do not eat pork—yet the religious beliefs of these Mussulmans, owing to their isolation from the rest of Islam, have become much adulterated. Ablutions and daily prayers have fallen out of practice. The study of the Koran is neglected. In adoring Allah and venerating Muhammad, they think it no harm to adore likewise their ancestors, and the Tchame deities, just the same as their pagan brethren. Girls on attaining their fifteenth year go through a long and very important ceremony which does not seem at all Muhammadan. The Imams are invited to a feast, with the relatives and friends of the girls, who, dressed in bright clothes and covered with ornaments, present themselves before the priests to have a lock cut from their hair. Then in a simpler dress they return to make a ceremonious salutation to the Imams, and to hear announced the presents, often very considerable, which their female relatives and friends make to them on the occasion. The ceremony ends with a feast. According to different valleys, the marriage negotiations are begun by either the girl or the young man. The marriage ceremonies, which may take place either before or

after cohabitation, vary very much. They are very lengthy, and take place with the assistance of the Imams. At burials they observe *Padhis* or commemorative services, generally seven in number. But they add to these a peculiar usage, which consists in exhuming the corpse before the anniversary of its death, in order to unite the bones of all the faithful, in certain fixed spots which are considered as holy places.

They have periodical great feasts, of unknown origin, called *Radja*, which have in them nothing Islamic at least. In some places, the feast lasts three days. A shed serves as the temple, and a kind of trough forms the altar. Wooden platters surrounded by candles with cotton wicks, and bearing flowers and *betel* leaves, represent the divinities. A woman, who like the feast itself is called *Radja*, is the priestess of this worship of ancestors, dancing in honour of the divinities to the sound of an orchestra. The Medouone (Censor), the chief male actor, beats a flat drum and calls on the ancestors and numerous divinities to come and taste the viands placed in the shed. The priestess lies down and is covered with a shroud; and after appearing to be much agitated, she rises again. She dances on, for three nights without sleeping, only resting herself balanced on a swing. After the invocations, dancing and banquets, the feast ends in launching on the waters the image of a boat.

Besides these periodical *Radjas*, there are others on special occasions, as for instance in cases of sickness. The details of the rites vary not only in different villages, but even in different families; still in every case we find the little shed, the trough, the platters of *betel*, the dancing priestess who is often the mistress of the house and the player on the flat drum who chants and invokes the divinities. It is more rare to find men alone as actors who dance all night before these *betel* platters.

Other practices of an exclusively pagan character, are observed in a Massulman village that by tradition has the office of gathering in the eaglewood, which constitutes a tax from the province of Binh Thuan. The "Master of the Eaglewood," the hereditary chief of the village, when entering on his duties at the death of his father, goes to a kind of holy hill, to adore the divinities of the Eaglewood. He slays some goats, dances on a few husks of rice spread on a white cloth, invokes the gods, and feasts with his lieutenants, whom he afterwards sends to find out, in the forests of the hill, the eagle wood which, however, they are not to gather. Having entered thus on his duties, he goes twice a year to the hills. During the rainy season, he sacrifices a buffalo in thanksgiving to the divinities. In the dry season, he sends out his lieutenants in groups at the head of the inhabitants of the mountains, who have charge of collecting this wood. Some buffaloes and goats are sacrificed to the deities, and are then eaten by the explorers with minutely laid down observances, which they have also recommended to their wives at home to observe. These groups returning to their chief give themselves up to more feasting; and the Eaglewood which has been gathered is carried in triumph to the village on the plains, where the women give it a solemn welcome.

Yet more strange are the pagan Tchames of Binh Thuan, from whom we may gather who are the divinities thus frequently worshipped by their

Mussulman brethren. Among a host of divinities recognized in this very degenerate Brahminism, three hold the chief place. Of these, two, Pô Romé and Pô Klong garai, are deified legendary kings, who are probably confounded with Siva—they are represented in fact by statues of Siva, or as Lingas with faces engraved on them. The third is Po Nagar, "the Lady of the kingdom," the great goddess Bhagavati, whose worship, already predominant during the middle ages, continues to this day among the people. She has now become the goddess of the fields and of agriculture. Muhammadan influence has even confounded her with Eve. Then come a host of other gods and goddesses, who are often nothing but local genii, and sometimes legendary personages, kings and princes, who have been deified and whose tombs are honoured. The pagan Tchames of Binh Thuan, like true Indians, reject no deity. Their contact with Muhammadanism has imported into their pantheon, not only Eve, but Allah, Muhammad, the archangel Gabriel, the angels and saints of the Koran, Adam, Moses and other biblical prophets, and even Jesus Christ himself.

Several castes take part in the worship of these divinities. Of these, the highest is that of the Bashêh, descendants probably of the Brahmins of Tchampa, who are to be found all over Binh Thuan, more especially in the valley of Panrang. They have three chiefs, called Pothéa, who are also the high priests of the three chief divinities. Under the Bashêh, the Tchamenei, another caste of priests, keep the keys of the temples and the ornaments of the deities, and officiate in certain circumstances. The Kadhar play on the violin and chant invocations. The Padjao are inspired priestesses, possessed, or to use the energetic Indian expression, "stamped upon," by the divinities during the ceremonies; who among other matters of abstinence, are bound to absolute continence, lest they should excite the jealousy and anger of their gods. We may add that their call does not begin till about the age of thirty or forty years. The Radja women, whom we spoke of among the Mussulmans, are also found among the pagans, as also are the men, called Medouones or Podouones. Finally the Ong Banœk, the religious heads of the dams and irrigation works for the fields, form a special caste.

The consecration of the Bashêh and the Pothéa gives occasion to long and important ceremonies, which I briefly sum up here. The Tchame population crowd to the feast. A temporary temple of wood and straw is made in the shape of a millstone, and raised in the fields; and opposite to it is a little toilet shed, where the newly promoted go to put on their coloured sacerdotal garments. The officiating priests, dressed in white, go towards them, to the sound of an orchestra, bearing the sacred fire—two wax candles lighted in a sort of high basket covered with a white cotton cloth. The whole cortège then issues from the shed and returns to the temple. The newly promoted, sheltered under canopies, are fanned by little girls dressed in robes of ceremony. The people spread cloths under the footsteps of the priests. In the temple, a basket full of husked rice serves as the seat of the new Pothéa—the other promoted Bashêh get rice in the husks. The promoted Bashêh go thrice in solemn state around

this seat, and then sit down to a pretended repast comprising all kinds of food. The new Pôthéa performs a hieratic dance before the now uncovered sacred fire. The divinities are then worshipped; and the ceremony ends in a general feasting.

Their temples maintained according to the traditions are sometimes ancient Tchame towers of brick. The gods are worshipped there at two great feasts each year. The priests, the caste men, and all the population meet together on these occasions. Other occasional adorations may be performed for any special reason—some event or some sickness. Goats and even buffaloes are slaughtered, the Tchamenei adores the deity, and opens the door of his temple, cleans and washes with lustral waters the representation of the god,—a linga, a statue, or a mere stone. He lights candles, burns eagle wood in a pan, and offers the food prepared, while the musicians, to the accompaniment of their instruments, invoke the divinity. The Tchamenei then arranges the ornaments and sacred cloths and when necessary places a new mask of paste over the face of the god. Then he moves about his hands, holding lighted candles, with vessels of lustral waters, and bowls of spirits. In her turn, the Padjao or pythoness, till now a simple spectator, prays and makes passes with eggs and cups of spirits, she becomes agitated and trembles, while all the assistants adore the god who has taken possession of her. When tired out she yawns, breaks the eggs, and communicates the answer of the god. The comestibles offered to the divinities are afterwards eaten by the worshippers and the assistants.

With ceremonies far more simple and without any gathering of priests, the Tchames worship their minor deities, for all kinds of purposes, with offerings of food and spirits; but the appetite of the gods never does any injury to that of the human beings.

The funeral ceremonies are important and costly, and take place with a great gathering of priests and caste men. The corpse, wrapped in cotton cloths, is kept in a shed near the house for nearly a month. The relatives, friends, neighbours and acquaintances come, in turn, to keep him joyful company and to feast at the expense of the family. Night and day the priests offer food to him. At the time fixed for the cremation, a numerous cortège forms around the hearse which is carried violently through turns and twists, to cause the dead to forget the road to his house. At the burning place, they offer him a last repast, and then burn him with his precious things. Those who are present at the ceremony avail themselves of the occasion to cast into the fire a lot of things which they wish to send to their dead relations. The cremation being over, they collect the bones of the forehead, in a small metal casket, which is kept in the house till the anniversary. These various ceremonies, with other commemorative services, form their seven traditional *Padhis*. At the last Padhi, on the occasion of the anniversary, the casket containing the remains is interred at the foot of the gravestones of the family, where rest the other caskets of his ancestors, which their descendants come at the great annual feasts to adore.

Special occasions for the worship of ancestors are any events of im-

portance—a vow, a sickness, etc. Priests are called in, and offerings of food are made. The priests dress up the gravestones, and spread and offer food, and invoke with the sound of musical instruments the *manes* to come and inspire the Pythoness, and to accept from her mouth the homage of their posterity. The family prostrate themselves. Afterwards, the priests and those present consume the food.

Almost the sole industry of the Tchames of Binh Thuan is the cultivation of the rice-field. Their agricultural rites are very important. These rites must have played a great part in the life of the inhabitants of ancient Tchampa who were well skilled in the art of watering their rice fields, and have left in Annam numerous vestiges of their irrigation works. Their conquerors, the Annamites, have everywhere abandoned these works, nor are any now found in use, except in Binh Thuan, where the Tchames tap their rivers for the supply of water, as that which they receive from the heavens is not sufficient for their wants.

Every year, when the rains begin, the canals are examined and repaired by the proprietors, who likewise collect and convey the materials for the dams. The Ong Bancks, the religious chiefs of these dams and weirs then go to the water locks, adore the divinities, according to the rites, and begin the construction of the dam, by laying down some materials. The work is then continued by the people; but the Ong Banck continues to stay there, retired, during these operations. Returning home, he has again to adore the deities. This religious worship is repeated when the rice begins to flower, and when it is reaped. The Tchames have several kinds of holy rice-fields. Some, called "Ricefields of furtive labour," are the first to be prepared. To tear this earth in order to render it more fruitful being considered a crime, an offence against the deities, each proprietor of a sacred field sends, before dawn, to have three furrows made in his field, in silence and furtively. When it is daylight he goes thither as if by accident, pretends to be surprised, and then asks permission of the deities to continue the work. He offers them food, rubs the plough with oil, washes the team of oxen with lustral waters, and sows consecrated grain in the three furrows; and having eaten the food, continues to work the field. He makes other offerings when the rice flowers and when it is cut. This sacred field must also be the first to be harvested, the proprietor himself cutting a few handfuls of rice, as first-fruits offered to Po Nagar, the goddess of Agriculture. He takes this rice home, and sets aside some of its ears for sowing next year the three furrows of furtive labor. The remainder he beats out and husks, and has a part cooked, which he at once eats. After this he continues the harvesting of the rest.

Here I conclude this brief account of the present state of the Tchames, their manners and customs. I have only inserted it, in order to make clear and to complete the few historical notices which we possess regarding their ancestors. A full enquiry into the usages and practices of this interesting people was published in the *Revue de L'Histoire des Religions*, after the reading of this paper in the Congress of 1891.

THE RED RAJPUTS.

BY CHARLES JOHNSTON, M.R.A.S., B. C.S. (RETIRED).

"It is well known that, from the point of view of the colouring, human races can be divided into four principal groups: white, yellow, black, and red races."—*De Quatrefages*.

"The colour of the Brahmins is white; of the Kshatriyas red; of the Vaishyas yellow; of the Shudras black."—*Mahābhārata*.

It is strange but true, that, though we have been in contact with Rajputana for over a hundred years, absolutely no material yet exists for the exact study of its ethnology. Much has been put on record for the historian, the student of literature, of myths and traditions; much has been written that is exceedingly picturesque and valuable, beginning with Colonel Tod's incomparable Annals, and ending with the latest gazetteer; but the scientific student of ethnology has been unaccountably left out in the cold.

Nor can we quite wonder at this; for even in Europe exact ethnology is a young science, not long past its nonage, and we know that India is, in all matters of advanced scientific investigation, nearly a generation behind us. This is not in any way a reproach, for considering the tremendous difficulties arising from diversity of tongues, natural impediments, and climatic conditions; and taking into account also the vastness of the field of research, and the almost total absence of trained observers whose whole attention can be given up to ethnical investigations, it could hardly be otherwise. But the fact remains that Rajputana's page in the history of ethnology is still a blank, though the Rajputs are one of the most notable races in the whole of history, and can look back to a splendid past extending over not centuries only but millenniums.

Unfortunately, the perception of a want does not always carry with it the power to supply it; and though it is easy enough to show what is needed as a foundation for the ethnology of Rajputana, I cannot here claim to do more

than supply a few essentials, and point to the direction in which ample material may be sought by future observers in Rajputana itself.

And yet, as far as exact investigation is concerned, one might almost say that Rajputana had been opened up too soon ; for as the earliest workers entered it before scientific ethnology had been more than dreamed of, even in Europe, it was only to be expected that, in the absence of a sound method, a crop of fanciful notions should spring up, and myths be engendered, and endowed with that tough vitality which myths are well known to possess.

For the Rajputs, the crowning myth has unquestionably been the idea of their Scythian origin, first suggested, I believe, by Colonel Tod. This matchless chronicler of deeds of old renown, and kindest observer of human character, filled as he was with admiration for the manliness, chivalry, and sturdy patriotism of the tribes of Rajputana, was irresistibly drawn to connect his beloved Rajputs with nearly every noble and warlike tribe in the ancient world, from the Manchus to Scandinavia. He supported his opinion by quaint illustrations drawn from customs, traditions, and beliefs ; and, what has done more injury to ethnology than any other cause whatever, by real or fancied similarities of names.

To this very vague, and therefore very innocent belief of Colonel Tod's, succeeded another, much more formidable to the cause of scientific truth. The holders of this view maintained that the Rajputs could be connected with definite Scythian tribes, who entered India at a definite time, and by a definite route, all stated with minutest care. Now the danger of this later edition of the Scythian myth lay in its appearance of scientific exactness, to which, in reality, it had not the slightest claim.

In the first place, we know nothing,—and this cannot be too often repeated,—we know nothing whatever about the Scythians beyond a few rambling tales in Herodotus and his successors, which are absolutely worthless from the

standpoint of ethnology. The very word "Scythian" has no definite meaning to the ethnologist, and hardly any definite meaning to the geographer. If, however, we give it a definiteness which it never really possessed; and apply it to the group of Tribes between the Caspian and China, of whom the Kirghiz are the most characteristic, the matter becomes still worse; for the Kirghiz have hardly a point in common with the Rajputs beyond their common humanity.

Let me try to describe these "neo-Scythian" Kirghiz, and let anyone who has seen the Rajputs, say whether the likeness is exact.

The Kirghiz are a short, squat race, with yellow, "moon-like" faces, high cheek-bones, hardly visible noses, and a deep-rooted, insatiable appetite for tallow. They live in curious, plum-pudding shaped tents, in a stifling atmosphere of smoke and grease, with hardly any possessions but a wooden box or two, and scarcely any property but their flocks and herds. They are incurable nomads, and never, under any circumstances, till the soil.

Could anything more unlike the Rajputs be imagined? Or shall we take as our Scythian type, the old race of southern Russia, the "Scythia" of Herodotus; and compare the most notable type there, the original Kazaks, with the Rajputs? The true Kazak is, in general, tall, but rather flat-chested; with high cheek-bones, grey eyes, red hair and beard. His glory is now diminished, but in the days of the old Reefers (Zaparojtsi) of the Dnieper, he was a marauder and land-pirate pure and simple. This is a very different type from the yellow, stunted Kirghiz, but I am afraid it brings us no nearer to a solution of the origin of the Rajputs. Then again, the words Shaka and Shākya are brought forward in defence of the Scythian myth, and "Shākya" Muni Buddha is even spoken of as the "Scythian" reformer of Brahmanical abuses. But this is hopeless; for the initial letter of Shaka is represented in Greek by a surd guttural and not by a dental sibilant, so that whatever the derivation of this word may be, it is impossible to connect it with "Scythian."

It comes to this, therefore, that we have no clear idea at all as to who or what, ethnically, the Scythians were; that of the two types which correspond geographically to the Scythia of the Greeks, neither has the smallest resemblance to the Rajput; and, lastly, that if the ethnological evidence of identity were as complete,—as it is the reverse,—the identity of the names Scythian and Shaka is philologically untenable.

Then another theory is put forward, and to this most philologists have given in their allegiance, that the Rajputs are Aryans,—representatives of the famous "Aryan Invasion" of India. Unluckily we are here on no surer ground; the word "Aryan" is as debateable as "Scythian"; even more so perhaps; for while it may be understood, in a dim way, to mean men of "noble" race, that is, men of the same race as we ourselves, the Europeans, yet this is quite useless for ethnical purposes; as Europe has been shown to contain at least four quite distinct races, as distinct three thousand years ago as they are to-day; and the name "Aryan" cannot be assigned to any one of these race types rather than to another. The term is, further, of doubtful expediency in ethnology, as it takes us back to the old pre-scientific days, when race was thought conterminous with language, the days which generated such terms as Japhetic, Semitic, Hamitic, with their more plausible though not less illusory kinsman Turanian.

The truth is that there is the strongest reason for doubting whether Arya was ever a race-term at all. We find it used in Vedic and post-Vedic literature to distinguish the "noble" races of northern India from the black Dasyus of the south; the Dekhan peoples, that is, who speak Dravidian tongues. Now this fact was found to harmonise with another, namely, that the peoples of northern India are closely related by language to the peoples of Europe; and this discovery being made before ethnology had been developed into an exact science, it was, not unnaturally, concluded that the north Indians and Europeans were

sprung from a common origin and had formerly migrated from a common home. This was simple enough; but, with the distinction of four race types in Europe, the matter becomes much more complicated; nor is it made easier by the fact which I hope to prove, that there are also four distinct race types in northern India, all speaking "Aryan" tongues, as do the four European race types also. I think, therefore, that it will be wiser to hold over the discussion of the Aryan race of the Rajputs until we have decided to which race type the word belongs in Europe and in India.

Having thus cleared the ground of past myths and ambiguities, we may now proceed to summarise the existing ethnical evidence as to the real race character of the Rajput tribes. To classify them completely, we should require definite and precise information on the following points: average height, build, facial type, cephalic and orbital index, texture of hair, and colour of skin and eyes. Let us begin by indicating the points on which a mass of evidence is still required. These are, the average height and cephalic and orbital index, to complete which several thousand measurements rigorously carried out are necessary. If it were not dangerous to speculate in the absence of precise data, I should be inclined to say that I expect the average height among the pure Rajputs will be found to be unusually high,—much higher than among the pure Brahmans. Then, I expect that the pure Rajputs will be found to be long-skulled, as much so, perhaps, as the true Scandinavians; while the Brahman skulls are much shorter, perhaps orthocephalous. Then again, I should think the Rajput orbital index will give the same result as the cephalic; will show a long, oval orbit, but not at all inclined. These, however, are points for the future investigator. As to the build of the Rajputs, all authorities are, I think, agreed that they are splendidly proportioned; while the true Brahmans are rather narrow-shouldered, and flat-chested. As far as my observations go, the Rajputs

are equally differentiated from the Brahmans by facial type; the Rajput face being longer, the nose straighter and the mouth firmer and more symmetrical; but here again more precise investigation is needed. Among the Rajputs, hair and beard are black, as among the Brahmans, but, I think, without the waved texture or ripple generally found in the hair of pure Brahmans. And, while blue or grey eyes are not uncommon among the Brahmans, especially in the Mahratta country, I have never heard of them among the Rajputs. There remains only the colour of the skin,—and it is on this point that I have collected the most remarkable evidence. Before putting it forward, one or two general remarks may be useful. In the early days of ethnology, the colour of the skin was looked on as a matter of very minor importance; this was partly due to the Rabbinical traditions which derived all races of men from a single family, at a period only four thousand years ago. As it was known that many types, the negro, for instance, have been practically permanent for the last three thousand years, it was believed that, under extraordinary circumstances, changes in skin-colour must take place with great rapidity; and colour could not, therefore, be looked on as a reliable index of race difference. Since then, changes that can only be described as revolutionary have taken place in every department of research.

It has been perceived that the thousands of years of the old computation of man's antiquity must probably be expanded into myriads; and fixity of type has been shown to be far greater than had been thought possible, so that the identity of living types with inter-glacial or pre-glacial races is more than a hypothesis; and, lastly, it has been seen that colour is a phenomenon of the first importance in every realm of natural history. The meaning and utility of skin-colour in man is still full of mystery, but its importance as a race index is no longer questioned. The first general result of investigations in colour is summed up in the words of De Quatrefages, that "from the point of

view of the colouring, human races can be divided into four principal groups; white, yellow, black, and red races." The relation of colour to other race characteristics is not yet quite clear; though it is generally true that yellow races have round skulls, and round orbital form; white races, oval skulls and oval orbital form, while black races have long skulls and long orbits. The facts as to the red races are not so certain; but it is probable that a red skin goes with a longish skull and a rather long orbit. There is, further, some evidence to show that each great race-type has a minor gamut of colour within itself. For instance, we have, within the white race, races distinguished by black hair, red hair, and yellow hair, as though this were a repetition in a minor scale of the differences between the black, red, and yellow primary races. The same thing may be true, in a different degree, within the black, red, and yellow primary races; so that we may have to divide these into sub-races, in their turn. And it is noteworthy, as supporting this idea, that the yellow-haired sub-races of the white race have round skulls like the yellow race; while the black haired and red haired sub-races of the white race have long skulls like the black and red primary races. But before we can establish this classification in detail, a mass of further evidence must be obtained.

Enough has been said, however, to show that colour is a phenomenon of prime importance in the classification of race, and one, moreover, which is far more easily ascertained than such points as cephalic and orbital index, which always require a skilled observer, and present special difficulties in the case of races who burn their dead, as most Indian races do. The question of colour, however, presents two difficulties, though neither of them is at all insuperable. The first is the difficulty of terminology. The skin colours are not adequately described in terms of ordinary colouring, such as red, yellow, and so on: that is, the red races are not red as roses are; nor the yellow races yellow like buttercups or daffodils. Nor are words like copper-

coloured and coffee-coloured any better, for it is never clear whether native copper, dull copper, or burnished copper is meant; nor whether the coffee is *café-noir*, *café-au-lait*, or coffee-beans roasted or raw. In fact, we need some more permanent standard of colour-measurement, and a useful one might, perhaps, be the colour of iron at various temperatures, such as black, incipient red, dull red, bright red, dull orange, yellow, yellow-white and white; corresponding roughly to differences of two hundred degrees on the Centigrade scale. But this is merely a suggestion, offered rather in illustration of the deficiency of our present standards, than as a practical method. It has, at least, the merit that the gamut of colours run through seems similar to the skin-colours of various races. In the mean time, we may retain the old terminology of black, red, yellow, and white, as exhibited in typical races; but even here it must be remembered that M. Broca's colour discs are quite unreliable, as the lithographic results vary, and are further subject to fading and climatic influences, such as the damp heat of the Indian rains.

The second difficulty is, that the true colour of a race is often hidden by sun-burn, which affects all races nearly equally; so that races very different in colour may be blended by sun-burn into hardly distinguishable uniformity. But as sun-burn is an acquired characteristic, we may expect it not to be hereditary; so that the root-colour would show through much more clearly in children; and also in the higher classes, who are less exposed to the sun. This observation, which first occurred to me when I had to describe the Santals as "dusky with a distinct sub-shade of yellow," is fully confirmed by M. De Quatrefages.

In classifying a race according to colour, we must, therefore, try to eliminate the effects of sun-burn; and we must remember that words like red, yellow, and white are rather approximations than precise descriptions.

And now to summarise the evidence I have obtained from various specially qualified authorities as to the skin-colour of the Rajputs of pure race.

As far as I could ascertain, absolutely no facts bearing on this point had been put on record ; so that I was compelled to have recourse to observers who had been brought into contact with the Rajputs, and who had had special opportunities of forming an opinion on this little noted point ; and I may take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations and the obligations of ethnical science to these eminent observers, whose opinion is the more valuable that it was formed unconsciously, and without any preconceptions as to race classification.

The first answer I received to my enquiries was from Sir George Birdwood, with special reference to a passage in the Mahābhārata, which I shall presently refer to. His answer was : "*lohita*, red, ruddy, is a proper epithet to apply to a pure Rajput."

I then received a reply from Sir William Moore, who said that "red, ruddy, rust-coloured would describe the appearance of the best class of Rajputs, but there are many who would come under the heading brown."

Sir Richard Meade added important details to this general conclusion : "I have had much intercourse with Rajputs of all classes," he wrote, "and should say that the colour of the true Rajput is fairer than that of the people of the North Western Provinces, *i.e.* that the skin is clearer under the colour, if I may so describe it, while the colour itself is somewhat less pronounced. Of course, as a rule, Chiefs and Thakurs are fairer than the lower orders of Rajputs, who are themselves more exposed, and who are the descendants of those who for many generations have been so."

It was not quite clear from this first letter what share sun-burn had in producing the special colour of the Rajputs, and what the colour of the skin might be after sun-burn had been eliminated. In answer to further enquiries on this point, Sir Richard Meade wrote : "The sub-shade of colour in many of the Rajputs I have seen was of a light ruddy character, in others it was rather sallow, and in others again of a dusky reddish tinge."

Sir Richard Temple, to whom I showed these conclusions, endorses them: "I should concur in the view that the colour of the true Rajputs is a reddish brown, and that it is possible or likely that the brownish element is only the result of sun-action."

One additional point I received from Dr. Fitzedward Hall, namely, that the skin colour of the true Rajputs is extremely close to that of the Red-skins of America.

With such a concurrence of testimony, the question of the colour of the Rajputs is practically solved. They are a red or ruddy race, varying from light red,—almost orange, according to Dr. Hall,—to dusky reddish, or reddish brown.

These Rajputs of pure race are not very numerous, when compared with the whole population of India. They certainly do not number more than a million or two, and may be considerably less. Though they are, I believe, the only red tribe in India,—unless we make a separate class of the Jainas, many of whom are ruddy, and who are closely connected by race with the Rajputs,—there are many other instances of red races in the Old World. Thus the Coreans, many of the Siamese, the Karens of Burma, and, I think, the Egyptians and certain equatorial African tribes, are also red; though this is not sufficient to establish their race-relationship with the Rajputs; who have, by the way, a better claim than the Red-skins of America to the title of Red Indians.

Then there is reason to believe that many Polynesian tribes are red or ruddy; and that the majority of South Americans of pure blood belong to the same class. It must be remembered, however, that, among this great group of red races, there are probably as many distinct sub-races, as among the white race or the yellow.

However this may be, it will have become clear, I think, that we can no longer consider the Rajputs as closely connected with the white Brahmans. Other ethnic characteristics, which I have already pointed out, fully support this

view. The Rajputs are a taller, sturdier race than the Brahmans, and differ from them in texture of hair, facial type, eyes, and skin colour; and also, I think it will be found, in cephalic and orbital index. The red Rajput differs, in fact, from the white Brahman in every point which, according to ethnical canons, constitutes race difference.

And this brings me at last to a point of transcendent interest to the student of Ancient India, the fact that this difference in race between Rajput and Brahman has been recognised in Sanskrit literature for ages back.

Whether the Solar races, children of the ruddy sun, and the Lunar races, children of the pale moon, really refer to these two race stocks, the red and the white, is a point that I cannot fully enter into here; but, happily, we are not reduced to doubtful analogies like this, for there are passages in which the difference is put with a clearness that not even the most accurate pupil of Broca or De Quatrefages could surpass.

The most remarkable of these, that I have yet met with, occurs in the *Shāntiparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*;* the sage Bhṛgu is the speaker. "Brahmā," he says, "formed men, Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas, and Shudras. The colour of the Brahmans was *white*; of the Kshattriyas *red*; of the Vaishyas *yellow*; of the Shudras *black*." In reply to an objection from Bharadvāja, Bhṛgu continues: "This world, originally formed all Brahmic by Brahmā, was afterwards coloured by deeds; the twice-born, who were fond of love and feasts, who were fiery, prone to anger, and violence, who had forsaken their duty, and were *red-limbed*, became warrior Kshattriyas."†

I have been obliged to translate this passage more loosely than I should wish, as it is impossible in English

* *Shāntiparvan*, line 6,933 *et seq.*

† Sarvam brāhmanam idaṃ jagat Brahmanā pūrva-sṛṣṭam hi, karmabhir varnatām gatam; Kāma-bhoga-priyās tikṣṇāḥ, krodhanāḥ priyasāhasāḥ, Tyakta-svadharmā raktāṅgās, te dvijāḥ kṣattratām gatāḥ.—*M. Bh. Shāntiparvan*, 6939, 6940.

to preserve the double meaning of the Sanskrit word *varna*, which means colour as well as class. In this passage, two different words are used to describe the colour of the Kshatriyas. In the first verse, "of the Brahmans, white is the colour, and of the Kshatriyas red," the word used is *lohita*, which, it will be remembered, is referred to by Sir George Birdwood. Let me illustrate this word by a few further examples: *lohitamrttikā* is red chalk; *lohita* used alone means the planet Mars, and blood, as well as red; *lohita* is a ruby; and *lohītāyas*, copper; so that we have the Kshatriya described as "copper-coloured" in the Mahābhārata,—the very term used to describe the Redskins of America, thus furnishing an interesting confirmation of Dr. Hall's comparison. Then, as if to put beyond all doubt what *lohita* meant, we have, in the verse that follows, the adjective *raktāṅga*, that is, ruddy-limbed or red-limbed; the word *rakta* being used to describe the colour of red chalk, blood, copper, vermilion, red-lead, the red lotus, and red coral.

Now, from this passage, a most interesting deduction can be drawn, and not from this only, but from a dozen similar passages; and that is, that the Kshatriyas of ancient India are identical in ethnic characteristics with the Rajputs of to-day. "Fond of love and feasts, fiery, prone to anger and violence, and red-limbed," says the old Sanskrit epic, in which Professor Goldstücker rightly saw an echo and epitome of bardic songs; "Fond of love and feasts, fiery, prone to anger and violence, and red-limbed," say the authorities best acquainted with the Rajputs to-day; and, in face of this remarkable evidence, I do not think that the identity of the Rajput with the Kshatriya can any longer be questioned; the more so when it is remembered that the Rajputs have preserved unbroken genealogies, showing their descent from the Kshatriyas of old; genealogies which have been accepted as genuine and authentic by the Government of India; and which go back more millenniums than one cares to mention.

But Kshatriya is not really a race name, any more than

Aryan ; Kshattriya really means Warrior, or Armiger, from Kshattra, a weapon. The real name of this famous race is Rājanya, akin, on the one hand, to reign, regal, and royal ; and, on the other, probably, to ranga and rakta, red. Amongst the famous Rājanya sages or Rājarshis of Vedic India are mentioned Arishtishena, Vītahavya, Prthu, Māndhātṛi, Ambarisha, Manu, Ida, and Vishvāmītra, the Rshi of the third section of the Rg-Veda hymns, in which occurs the thrice-holy Gāyatrī, the "Mother of the Vedas."

The fact that this hymn, repeated every morning by thousands of Brahmans bathing in the sacred Ganges, owns as its author a Rājanya, and not a Brahman, gives us a vision of those ancient days when the spiritual pre-eminence of India was in other hands ; when "the Brahman sat at the foot of the Kshattriya," in the words of the greatest Upanishad. A notable survival of that early time is found in a custom of the Ranas of Mewar, who unite spiritual with royal authority, and officiate as high priests in the temple of the guardian deity of their race.

But I cannot do more than touch on this question of the ancient spiritual dignity of the Rājanyas, who are the Kshattriyas and the Rajputs. A question like this could only find full elucidation in a history of Ancient India, where the qualities of each race were fully recorded ; and their due share assigned to each in the splendid epic of India's history, an epic, not written perhaps in the dry annals and summaries of the chronicler, but rather blazoned abroad on the face of India's hills and valleys, in the figure of town and temple, and the deeper and more lasting monuments of poetry and philosophy and religion.

In this splendid epic of India, can be discerned, I think, four different elements, like the four voices in a perfect harmony, and of these four, the red Rājanya and the white Brahman have ever borne the weightier parts.

Rajput and Brahman, perpetual rivals in India's past, since the days of Vasishta and Vishvamitra. When our work in India is done, they may again, perhaps, stand at

the head of the Indian hegemony; the Rajput as the ruler, and the Brahman the spiritual teacher of a rejuvenescent India.

But questions like these cannot be treated rightly in an article on ethnology. Before concluding, I may gather up the threads of my argument, and state concisely the conclusions which I have supported by such evidence as was available.

In the first place, I think the shade of the Scythian can no more haunt, unchallenged, the burning deserts of Rajputana. Neither the Scythian of Herodotus, nor the Scythian of later historians bears any resemblance in ethnical character, race-type, customs, or traditions to the pure Rajputs, the Rājanyas of India. What relation they might bear, in language, one cannot tell; for even the writers who handle the name of Scythian most freely, cannot but admit that, amongst our other ignorances, we are totally ignorant of their language.

Nor can we connect the Rajputs more closely with the Brahmans; for from the Brahmans they are divided by as many differences of race as from the Kirghiz or the Kazak; and they have been perpetual rivals, ever since their traditions began to be handed from father to son.

But whether the Rajputs be Aryans, cannot at present be decided; the title of Arya is certainly given to them, not once but many times in the ancient Sanskrit epics and hymns. Perhaps this fact may lead us some day to a wider use of "Aryan" to designate some great race, which shall include the Rājanya, and perhaps the Egyptian, though excluding races like the Chinamen and the flat-headed aborigines of Australia.

We are yet on the threshold of Ethnology, yet on the threshold of a true history of the races of men, with their illimitable past stretching back not millenniums but millions of years; and every year that comes gives us new insight into the mighty record of the past, and a new realisation of the great races that have vanished, and the great races that still remain. But as new knowledge comes, we may have

to widen the vistas of the races. We may have to break down the barriers we have set up as limits to the life-span of this race or that; and India is likely to be one of the first to which this expansion and enlargement will be applied. We are already beginning to feel a sense of cramped restriction in dealing with dates in India which were accepted as axiomatic only a generation ago; and the process which has begun may go much further before the impulse of expansion is spent.

We have seen, within the last few months, a whole series of brilliant poets, a whole epoch of Indian history, moved back from the middle ages where the conjectures of some had placed it, to the point fixed by immemorial tradition, outside the threshold of our era. And this not by rhetorical flourishes, not by vague conjecture and airy hypothesis; but by the hard, irresistible logic of fact. And the Vikrama controversy has hardly found a settlement, for practically settled it certainly is, though a few timid scholars may still question it, in the name of caution which was singularly absent from the conjectural methods of the last generation; no sooner is the Enemy of the Shakas with the Nine Jewels of his Court, re-instated, than the same impulse breaks out in another direction, and India's greatest epic, as a completed work, begins to move backwards through the centuries. The retrogression has begun; when it has moved a few years longer, we shall see—what we shall see.

But putting aside these tempting dreams of the future, let us conclude the summary of evidence touching the Rajputs. Besides what has been already noted, I think the most important result I have reached is the demonstration of the ethnical identity of Rajput and Kshattriya; the identity of Kshattriya and Rājanya was too well known to require any further proof. The only alternative, it seems to me, now left for those who doubt that Kshattriya and Rajput are identical, is to suppose that a red race of warriors claiming descent from the sun, was suddenly annihilated; and that another red race of warriors, also claiming descent from the sun, as suddenly made their appearance in

India to take the vacant place ; and lastly that all this took place so imperceptibly that the second race are convinced of their identity with the first, and that the Indian traditions preserve no memory of the change.

To this evidence of race identity, quite conclusive in itself, we may add the additional corroboration of identity of name between the Kshatriyas of Ancient India and the Rajputs of to-day.

The name Rajput, it is well known, is nothing but an abbreviated or colloquial form of the Sanskrit Rāja-putra, or King's Son ; a son, that is, of the ruling or royal race.

Now, this same name, of Rajput or Rājaputra, for the royal race of Ancient India, as a synonym of Kshatriya or Rājanya, can be traced back, past the period of the Mahābhārata war, and the wanderings of Rāma to the dim, remote days of Vedic India.

The earliest occurrence of the name Rājaputra which I have yet met with, is in the Aitareya Brāhmāna of the Rg-Veda, in the legend of Shunahshepa, where Vishvāmītra is said to be the hotr-priest of King Harishchandra. In this legend, Shunahshepa addresses Vishvāmītra thus :

" Declare, O King's son (Rājaputra) whatever thou hast to tell us ! " *

This Vishvāmītra, son of Gādhi, King of Kanyākubja, or Kanauj, is one of the most famous of Vedic heroes, and Seer of the Third Mandala of the Rg-Veda. †

In a magnificent hymn, Vishvāmītra addresses Indra the Thunderer :

" Wilt thou make me a ruler of the people ?
Wilt thou make me a king, oh Lord of Riches ?
Wilt thou make me a Rshi, a drinker of soma ?
Wilt thou endow me with undying wealth ? " ‡

And the whole tenor of Vedic tradition ascribes to

* " Sa ho'vācha Shunahshepah : sa vai yathā no jāpaya Rājaputra tathā vada. " — *Aitareya Brāhmāna*, vii., 13, 17.

† " Asya mandala-drashtā Vishvamītraḥ Rshih. " — *Anukramanikā*.

‡ " Kuvid mā gopam Karase janasya,
Kuvid Rājānam Maghavan rjishin,
Kuvid mā rshim papivāmsam sutasya,
Kuvid me vasvo amrtasya shikshāh. " — *Rg-Veda* iii. 43-4.

Vishvāmītra, the Rājput of ancient India, as the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa calls him, a special pre-eminence in the mystical knowledge preserved in the Upanishads, which Professor Max Müller would call the theosophy, as opposed to the sacrificial ritual, of the religion of Old India.

There are several very remarkable passages in the Upanishads themselves, pointing to the pre-eminent mystical, theosophic knowledge of the Kshattriyas, or ancient Rājputs.

In the Upanishad of the Questions, Hiranyanābha the Rājput, is shown as the superior, in mystical knowledge, of Bhāradvāja.*

In the Chhândogya Upanishad,† the Rājanya Pravāhana Jaivali is shown instructing learned Brahmans; and there are other passages of the same tenor in this Upanishad.

By far the most remarkable, is the speech of the same Rājanya, Pravāhana Jaivali, to the Brāhmaṇa Gāutama, who sought instruction in mystical knowledge: "As thou hast declared to me, Gāutama, that this knowledge has not formerly reached the Brāhmans, it has therefore been among all peoples a discipline taught by the Kshattriya alone."‡

Compare with this the Brhadāranyaka Upanishad (vi. 2, 11): "This knowledge has never before dwelt in any Brahman;" and add the stories of the Rājanyas, Janaka, Ashvapati, and Ajātashatru teaching the Brahmans, in the Shatapatha Brāhmaṇa and elsewhere; and we have a distinct and clear tradition that, in Vedic times, the Rājanya or Rājput, and not the Brahman was the possessor and teacher of the secret mystic knowledge; a tradition, moreover, which the subsequent ages of Brahmanical supremacy have never been able to efface.

This tradition, in the light of our present knowledge that

* "Atha hainam Qukeshā Bhāradvājah paprachchha: Bhaṇavan, Hiranyanābhah Kānsalyo Rājaputro mām upetya etamprashnam aprchchhata ... I na aham imam veda."—*Prashna Up.* vi. 1.

† *Chh. Up.* I. i. 8 and 9.

‡ "Yathā mā tvam Gāutamā'vado yathe'yam no prāk tvattah purā vidyā Brāhmaṇān gachchhati, tasmād u sarveshu lokeshu kshattrasya eva prashiksanam abūt."—*Chh. Up.* v. 3, 7.

the red Rājanyas are really distinct in race from the white Brahmans, sheds a new and remarkable light on the history of Vedic India.

In the later, though still remote, ages of the Mahābhārata war, the tradition of the Rājanya's supremacy in mystic knowledge burns with undiminished brightness. For we find Kṛṣṇa, the brightest star in the firmament of late Brahmanism, himself no Brahman but a Kshattriya, tracing his doctrine from the Kshattriya Manu, through a line of Rājārshis or Rājanya sages.*

Once more, in the history of India, the star of the Rājanya Kshattriyas was in the ascendant.

Gāutama the Buddha was a Rājanya, a Kshattriya† of the royal race of Ikṣvāku. To this identity of race-genius and race tradition I would in part ascribe the resemblances between Buddhism and the doctrines of the Upanishads, which have often been pointed out, but never fully explained. I would ascribe the spirit both of the Upanishads and of Buddhism to the mystical genius of the Rājanya race, who were since the days of Viśhvāmītra and the Rg-Veda hymns, the rivals and opposers of the ritualistic Brahmans, with their system of sacrifices and external religion.

It is interesting to note that, after Buddhism in India had fallen beneath the power of the ritualistic Brahmans, the Rājanya tradition, with its mystical knowledge seems to have crossed over the Himālayas to Tibet. In his recent writings on Tibetan Buddhism, Sharat Chandra Das has more than once made mention of famous Rājput sages who carried the doctrines of Gāutama northward, and founded on them the Lamaic Hierarchy.

But the subject of the spiritual mission of the Rājanyas, and their contribution to the religious treasure of India is too great to be more than touched upon in a brief study of their ethnic character.

The Rajputs, therefore, are a red race, neither Scythian nor Brahman; and are the direct descendants and successors of the Rājanya Kshattriyas, or Warriors of Ancient India.

* Bhagavad Gītā iv, 1.

† Vide Kumarila Bhaṭṭa's *Mīmāṃsā*—*Vārtika* on Jaiminiya Sūtra i. 3, 3.

THE RAJPUT LEGEND OF JAGDEV PARMAR.

(FROM THE RÂS MÂLÂ.)

BY A. ROGERS, B.O.C.S.

THERE was a city of the name of Dhâr,
 Held by a monarch of a Rájput tribe,
 A tribe that traced its lineage from the Sun ;
 But though proficient in the art of war
 And well known for his prowess in the field,
 In household matters he nor held his own,
 Nor did he favour equally his wives.
 One a Vâgheli, whom he honoured most,
 Was of a temper haughty, and looked down
 With scorn upon her sister, the Duhágan, wife,
 A Solankhi by tribe, who was endowed
 By nature with a spirit of more grace
 Than the Suhágan, as in Rájput phrase
 The elder wife is called.

Each had a son.

Now the Vâgheli's son was Rindhaval ;
 The Solankhi's was Jagdev. Of the two
 King Udyádit knew Rindhaval alone,
 Who through his mother's well concerted wiles
 Into his father's presence had been brought,
 And as the heir apparent to the throne
 Had worn the garb besitting to a prince,
 Ridden the finest horses in the realm,
 And lived a life of comfortable ease.
 Yet fortune favoured Jagdev. In brief time
 The Rájá of Tuktoda, Ráj, a Chávara,
 Heard of his prowess and his merits great,
 And gave him to his daughter Virmati,
 A lady of great beauty, and endowed
 With all the virtues of a Rájput queen,
 But the Vâgheli was not yet appeased,
 And his life so embittered that at last
 He made a fixed resolve to leave his home
 And in the world to make himself a name.
 Then from the stable Jagdev took a horse,
 For present needs took from the treasury
 Two bags of gold, and girding on his sword,
 Equipped himself with steel-tipped Rájput spear,
 With quiver full of arrows and a bow.
 Forth then he rode, and in an angry mood

Towards Tuktoda took his way with speed.
There in a garden 'neath a shady tree,
His shield beside him, he at length reposed,
His good steed near him champing at his bit.
Eager to see the world, his own career
To shape out for himself, he had proposed
To seek the town at night, when darkness' pall
Might shroud him from the sight of other men,
So that when morning dawned he might depart,
And like the stars by daylight be obscured.
But Fate had ruled it otherwise. It chanced
That Virmati, his bride, in litter closed,
Surrounded by her maidens, sought the spot
To while away the time beneath the trees,
And whilst she smelt the fragrance of the flowers
And saw the fountains plashing in the sun,
To listen to the melodies of birds.
One of her maidens, sent to gather fruit,
Saw Jagdev there reclining in the shade,
And recognising him at once made haste
To tell her lady of the joyful news.
Glad, yet half doubting, she advanced with fear
Lest haply looking on a stranger's face
Her Rājput virtue might be put to shame.
But certainty came with the sight. She ran,
And kneeling in obeisance at his feet,
Broke forth rejoicing in impromptu song.
"Sudden the crows I started from the ground,
And standing near my absent lord I found,
Half of my bracelet I away had flung,
Yet to my wrist the other half still clung.
"Grant me cool house and a soft couch to lie,
And a dear husband standing kindly by.
My hope and the sweet longing of my heart,
Hard-hearted Fate me this will not deny.
"Oh! happy day! Oh! blissful hour," she cried.
"Bright rose the sun upon this joyful morn.
But in this secret spot why sit alone?
Where have thy servants, thy attendants gone?"
Jagdev then told his bride the tale and said:
"To make myself a great name in the world,
That Virmati might know she had espoused a man,
I left my father's home, and fain would go
Forward in haste my mission to fulfil.
Stay me not then, lest haply I repent,
And in thy soft arms lead a slothful life."
Meanwhile the news had reached the Rājā's ear,
And his son Biraj hastened to the grove

To bring Prince Jagdev in. The courtiers all
Trooped out to meet him. Rājā Rāj himself
Met him upon the threshold, and with joy
On shoulders both his son-in-law embraced.
The feast was held; *Kasumba* cup went round,
The Rājput's welcome in the royal hall.
Five days he tarried, and would then go on.
But urgently the Rājā Rāj besought
His presence at Tuktoda still. "This house,"
He cried, "is thine, and the whole realm is thine.
Why shouldst thou wander then so far afield,
To tempt perhaps an inauspicious Fate?"
A thousand pleas he urged, yet all in vain,
And to save importunities at length
Dissimulated and agreed to stay.
At night to Virmati his purpose told,
He bade her tenderly a kind farewell.
But a Rājputni's virtue he had never tried.
"My lord and master shall not go alone,"
Virmati cried, "Thou shalt not thus depart."

A body once said to its shadow: "Go!
Why dost thou, black thing, ever follow so?
Ev'n in the brightest sunshine thee I find
Dogging my footsteps, keeping close behind."

The shadow answered it: "One moment, pray;
Deign but to turn thyself the other way.
Abate that pride by which thou settest store;
The thing's reversed, and I am thee before.

"Turn to the right and I am by thy side.
Turn to the left, thy efforts I deride.
Move right or left, thy struggles I defy:
Thou canst not shun me. I am ever by."

Thus sportively she spoke and threw her arms
Caressingly around her lord, who strove
In vain to move her from her firm resolve.
He told her even, in a foreign land
A wife would but incumber him. She said
It was not fitting that a Rājput prince
Should go alone, and she would wait on him.
Jagdev agreed at last. Donning a veil,
The Chāvārī prepared to go, and brought
A store of jewels and of ready gold.
And so they went. Tow'ards Pattan lay their course,
Where Sidh Rāj Jesangh reigned, the Solankhi,
The lord of Mālwa and of Gujarāt.
The royal pair set forth at break of day,
Escorted by a kingly cavalcade.
We need no more accompany their march,

Which was without adventure as they passed
Slowly from stage to stage, until they came
One eve to Pattan's royal town, of yore
As Anhilvāra famed through India's land.
There reigned then Sidh Rāj Jesangh, who of all
The Native Rulers of fair Gujarāt,
The pearl of Hindustān, has widest fame.
By the Sahasra Līng, a roomy tank,
Close on the outskirts of the town, they stayed
Their jaded steeds, for they had travelled far.
Fair Vīrmati beneath a spreading tree
Reposed at length to rest her wearied limbs,
Whilst Jagdev went away into the town
To hire a lodging where they might abide.
There was a wealthy courtesan who lived
In Pattan, one who had amassed much gain
In pandering to the vices of young men
About the Court—Jāmōti was her name.
Of Pattan's citadel the Governor,
One Dungarsi by name, had but one son,
On whom he doted in a foolish way,
And never ventured to control his mood.
He to Jāmōti a commission gave
To find a handsome woman of good caste
To be his paramour, and diligent
She searched among the fair ones of the land,
Expectant of munificent reward.
One of her maids that evening to the tank
Came to draw water, and with eager gaze
Looked on the Chāvārī, who, no man near
To view her peerless charms, had thrown aside
The veil with which her features she concealed
From all but husband, brother or her sire.
She feigned herself to be a waiting maid
Of Sidh Rāj Jesangh's palace, and enquired
The why and wherefore of Vīrmati's state,
And went and told it in Jāmōti's ear.
Hailing the opportunity, she went
With a fair retinue out to the tank.
Handsome her equipage, and all her state
Seemed suited to a woman of high rank.
One of her maids she dressed in regal robes,
And taught her how to tell a specious tale,
That she of Sidh Rāj was the sister born,
And hearing of her coming hastened there
Tuktoda's child to welcome and embrace.
Her maid had told her who Vīrmati was.
The Chāvārī, trusting to her honeyed words,

Mounted her chariot, and went with her home.
And as the gate she entered, women came,
And strewing flowers of beauty on her path,
Sang song of welcome to a lively air.
Then were the carpets spread. Pretended word
To Sidh Rāj Jesangh's palace was dispatched
That Jagdev, son of Udyādīt, had come,
And would soon wait upon him. He must see
That he was welcomed with becoming state.
An equally pretended answer came: the prince
Should wait upon the king and thence proceed
To where the Chāvārī had found a house.
With various excuse they thus delayed
Until the night arrived. To stately room
Fit for a royal bride, the Chāvārī
Was led by handmaids with the honour due,
And she was told that Jagdev with the king
Had stayed to dine and that he soon would come.
The door soon opened and in Jagdev's stead,
Horror of horrors! came an unknown man.
Then on her mind the awful truth flashed clear,
And Virmatī first knew she was betrayed.
The son of Dungarsī, the Governor,
It was who thus appeared. In bloodshot eye
And lustful countenance at once she saw
The horrid end for which he sought her there.
She was alone, and dared not raise a cry.
She had no friend to hasten at her call,
To lend her aid in that vile leprous house.
What could she do to ward off her disgrace?
She knew in strength that she could not compete
With a well-armed and muscular young man.
Then came her woman's wit to succour her.
She saw the fumes of opium and of wine
Already half his sense benumbed, and knew
A little more would soon benumb the rest,
And she from present danger would be free.
With a feigned smile she beckoned him to sit,
And proffered him *kasumba*. He drew back,
As half aware that he had drunk enough.
Again she pressed and with a winning grace
Said to the drunkard: "Would my lord refuse
The first cup offered by his slave? Why thus
Is she of favour quite unworthy deemed?"
He drank the cup, and with a second draft
She wheedled him to drink: he fell asleep.
With frenzied ecstasy she seized his sword,
And put an end to his disgraceful life.

She rolled the body up inside a quilt,
And threw the bundle down into the road,
And making fast the door sat down and watched,
Grasping the sword in her unshrinking hand,
Prepared to guard her honour with her life.
The City-Round perceived the bundle lie,
And called the Governor to see what they
At imminent peril to their precious lives
Had snatched from thieves, but who had all escaped.
Amazed with horror at the ghastly sight
The Governor with twice one hundred men
Ran to Jāmōti's house, on vengeance dire intent.
Virmati's room was barred, and from within
She cried with voice triumphant: "It was I
That killed your master's son, for he had dared
To smirch the honour of a Rājput's wife!"
Five soldiers one by one then climbed aloft
To where a window looked down on the room.
One after other in her virtue's might
She struck off each man's head: his body fell
Down to his fellows in the court beneath,
And she defiant still barred fast the door.
Then consternation reigned throughout the town,
And rumour bore the tidings to the king.
Mounting in haste, the king came to the place,
And standing on the outside, called aloud:
"O daughter Chāvārī, I am the king.
What is this dreadful deed that thou hast done?
Why in the blood of these my men hast thou
Imbrued thy hands? By a Rājput's sword
I hold thee blameless, if thou show good cause."
Then answered Virmati: "Art thou the king,
And dost thou in thy realm permit such things?
Jagdev, my lord, the son of Udyādir,
Ruler of Dhār, has brought me here, his bride,
And seeks for service for a Rājput's sword.
Vilest of all the vile, a courtesan,
Has lured me innocently to her den,
And sent a strange man to me. Him I slew,
With those who came to take me. Many more
May fall beneath my sword, for know, O king,
Rather than honour would I give my life."
Among the crowd who had assembled there
Stood Jagdev. At Virmati's voice he came
And made obeisance to the king and said:
"Virmati, open. It is I." The door
Flew open. In her husband's loving arms
The Chāvārī was fastened in a close embrace.

Then cried the king : " O Chāvari, well done !
 Henceforth I look upon thee as my child.
 Thou art an honour to the Rājput race."
 Soon in fit lodging were the pair installed,
 And Sidh Rāj Jesangh's service was adorned
 By Jagdev's presence. He, with liberal pay
 Contented, served both day and night.
 And as the tranquil years passed smoothly on,
 And fair as moons two little sons were born
 To Virmati and Jagdev, and the king
 Grew more devoted to them with the years.
 Our Bhādarvā, the month of clouds and rain,
 Came on. The lightning flashed, the thunder rolled,
 The wild fowl shrieked, and with the turmoil dire
 Amazed shrank mortals' hearts within for dread.
 In the king's ear there sounded from the East
 The sound of women who sang joyful songs ;
 But farther off far other sounds were heard,
 As of four women's voices in lament,
 Who with their piteous murmurs rent the air,
 And inconsolable in grief remained.
 The king called to his guard : " What ho ! without,"
 And Jagdev answered : " Here am I, my lord."
 " Why hast thou not gone home ?" the king enquired.
 And Jagdev answered : " I was not dismissed.
 How could I go without permission gained ?"
 " Go, then," said Sidh Rāj, " but enquire the cause
 Of these unwonted sounds that reach my ear,
 These voices of mixed wailing and of joy,
 And tell me in the morning what their cause."
 Jagdev, obeying, took his sword and shield,
 And went out Eastwards, and the king resolved
 To follow him and see on such a night
 Whither he went. As by the guard he passed,
 He bade them search into this strange affair,
 And bring him in the morning word. They all
 On one another cast the burden and slept on.
 But the king followed Jagdev, who went forth
 Out of the city gate towards the East.
 Four women of unearthly form sat there,
 With hair dishevelled and bowed down with grief—
 " Oh ! are ye mortals, goddesses or Bhūts,"
 Asked he, " that thus ye cry aloud and wail ?"
 " What is the cause of this your bitter woe ?"
 " Approach, son Jagdev !" they replied, " and know
 We are the Fates of Pattan. We lament
 That o'er the city is impending grief.
 To-morrow, as the sun half way shall rise

From the horizon up tow'rd's noonday's height,
It is ordained that Sidh Ráj Jesangh's soul
Must quit its earthly form and pass away !"
"Is this the cause," enquired then Jagdev, "why
I hear beyond unseemly sounds of joy ?"
They answered : "Go and see !" Not far apart,
Four other women of unearthly form,
Clothed, as it were, in bridal robes of joy,
Sang to each other many merry songs,
And said : "Son Jagdev, art thou come to join
In this our merriment ? We are the Fates
Of Delhi, and behold the chariot waits
In which to-morrow we shall waft away
The soul of Sidh Ráj Jesangh, Pattan's king.
Thus we rejoice and sing melodious songs."
"Oh, arbiters of Destiny !" then Jagdev cried ;
"To turn you from your mood is there no way,
No sacrifice by which his precious life
May yet be rescued for his people's good ?"
They answered : "If some other chief, whose rank
Is equal to the king's, would give his life
In place of his, then Sidh Ráj would be saved."
"Let me then go," said Jagdev : "if my wife
Give her consent, my life shall be for his."
Scornfully the Fates then answered : "Where the wife
Who for a king would make such sacrifice ?"
But Jagdev went and the king followed close.
The tale was told to Virmati, who cried :
"Oh ! happy chance the gods to us afford
To prove a Rájput's fealty to his salt !
But there is one petition that I crave.
I can not live without thee. Let me, too,
For Sidh Ráj Jesangh offer up my life !"
But Jagdev said : "Our children who shall keep ?"
And Virmati said quickly : "Let us all
Offer ourselves ; this to the gods, no doubt,
Will be a far more pleasing sacrifice."
Taking their children by the hand, they went
Out to the Fates, and close behind the king
Still followed wonderingly, although unseen.
Then Jagdev asked the Fates : "How many years
Will ye increase the king's life for my head ?"
They answered : "Twelve." "There are here three lives,
Those of my wife and children, that should bear
An equal value with my own. For all
How many lives will ye vouchsafe the king ?"
"For each twelve years," they answered : "forty-eight."
After one last embrace Virmati gave

Her well-loved first-born to his sire, who struck
 Off from its lovely form that tender head.
 Then did the Chāvari with streaming eyes
 Offer the second to his father's sword.
 But : " Hold ! Enough ! " The Fates their mandate gave.
 " Your loyalty before men have ye shown,
 And no more need the gods. The precious boon
 That ye demanded, Sidh Rāj Jesangh's life,
 This, with thy children and thy wife, we grant,
 And to the king give eight and forty years
 To rule a happy and contented folk."
 Then tenderly they raised the offered child,
 And poured ambrosia on him and he lived.
 Then Virmati and Jagdev with their babes
 Went happy homewards. From behind the clouds
 The moon broke forth and lighted up their path,
 Smiling upon them, as the gods in Paradise
 Talked to each other of their noble deed.
 The king, too, sought his palace and his bed,
 And meditated farther trial of their faith.
 With morning's dawn came Jagdev to his watch,
 But not before those sluggards of the night,
 Who had not done their duty, had been asked
 Why had the women wailed and sung for joy.
 Lying they answered that one set of wives
 Mourned for a son by death just snatched away,
 And to the other set, who sang for joy,
 The gods had given a long-expected heir.
 Then turning round to Jagdev Sidh Rāj asked
 What he had seen. He modestly replied :
 " It must be even as the chiefs have said."
 The king rejoined : " Nay, I have seen it all.
 Do thou now tell the tale as it occurred."
 And Jagdev spoke once more : " It is enough.
 That all is known unto the king himself."
 Then Sidh Rāj cried : " Brothers and nobles, hear,
 And in your hearts consider well the tale.
 The first watch of this day had seen my death ;
 The Fates of Delhi would have borne me off,
 Had not this Rājput and his noble wife
 Offered their own and both their children's lives
 A sacrifice for me, to save my life.
 One of the children had been offered up
 To add on twelve years to my worthless life,
 But merciful the Fates restored it back,
 Well pleased to know a Rājput's zeal and faith,
 For each of four lives twelve years they bestow.
 These are the Rājputs at whose paltry pay

Ye-grumbled, casting on it longing eyes,
Who when I bade you go forth and enquire
What meant those cries unwonted that I heard,
Cared not to leave your beds of ease, and brave
Yourselves the dangers of the night and storm,
And now have basely lied to hide your shame.
What was there in the pay? Such service rare,
Ten thousand had I given, and not two,
Sufficient recompense had not received."
Thenceforth on Jagdev Sidh Ráj Jesangh looked
As on his equal in the realm, and gave
One of his daughters to him as a wife,
And Virmati was quite content. She said
It was becoming for a Rájput lord
More than one wife to have upon the earth,
That when they mounted on his funeral pyre,
As *Satis* burning, he in Paradise
Might be right royally attended, too.
They lived at Pattan many happy years,
And when the gods called Udyádít away,
Jagdev succeeded him as king of Dhár.

THE

"SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST" SERIES.*

VOL. XXXVII.

WE propose, as far as possible, to give exhaustive reviews of the Series known as the "Sacred Books of the East," published by the Oxford Clarendon Press, and to bring up to date the researches which they embody, or with which they are connected.

General Forlong has favoured us in this issue with the following analysis of the Pahlavi Texts, Part IV., translated by Prof. West, as also with a chronology of the Zend-avesta, the value of which will commend itself alike to the specialist and the general reader. In our next issue, we hope that Prof. G. Schlegel, a *facile princeps* of Sinologists, will favour us with his review of "the Sacred Books of China," belonging to the same Series, and we intend to continue this special feature of our Review regularly in future. We also propose to review available Oriental works generally, whether recently published, or buried in forgotten corners of Publishers' literary treasure-stores. The fact is that both Oriental scholars and students are not acquainted with all the material that has already been published in their respective specialities by Publishers, Governments, Learned Bodies, or private Savants in England, the Continent of Europe, the United States of America, and in the various Oriental countries. To supply this want, we shall begin elsewhere in this issue with a notice of two important works that have just reached us from the almost inexhaustible Publishing Press of the famous Nawal Kishore of Oudh, as also of a number of works sent us by "the Vizianagram Sanscrit Series."

PAHLAVI TEXTS, PART IV.,

TRANSLATED BY E. W. WEST,

AND THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE ZEND-AVESTA.

THIS is another ponderous and valuable volume contributed by Prof. West which with Prof. Darmesteter's past and late Avestan Texts now enables us

* Published by Henry Frowde, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

to securely grasp the style and teaching of Zoroaster. Aided by the earlier vols. of the series, iv., xxiii., and xxxi. (being nearly all the *Extant Texts in the Original language of the Avestā*), and the *Pahlavi Texts* in vols. v., xviii., xxiv., and now this xxxviii. vol., we are in a position to look into the foundations on which this old Religion arose and still stands—more especially if we have studied ancient Persian history, the earlier vols. of Profrs. Haug and of the two Müllers.

In this last vol. Mr. West gives us a translation from the Pahlavi of the viiith and ixth Books of the Dinkard, which though only a *popular summary* extends over nearly 400 pages! showing what a voluminous literature must have existed. This vol. only contains "a writing for the information of the many—a commentary and explanation of a Revelation—in itself a Revelation." Unlike most summaries it enables us to see the doctrines taught and desired to be inculcated, and so to draw our own conclusions and regulate our conduct accordingly. The Masses it was thought need not go beyond this summary unless in special cases and on the more difficult subjects; they are even permitted to quote it as *Dēno* or "Revelation." It is divided into the usual *Nasks* or Chapters, *Fargards*, *Hās* or Sections; each Chapter devoutly ending with the favourite motto of the Faith "Righteousness is the perfect Excellence," or "Perfect Excellence is Righteousness."

After this at p. 400 come favourite selections from the writings of *Zād-Sparam* a high priest of Southern Irānia in 880 A.C. when the revision of our present edition of the Dinkard was fixed. He surveys retrospectively in a kind of tripart division, matter, which he considers the most important of the Revelations accorded to Zaratusht and his immediate followers. He too summarizes parts of the Dinkard Books iii. and iv. and as was the way of all old priests, finds a prophetic number in "the 6666 words in the Gāthas, and 6666 ordinances in the Nasks—"an idea which Hebrew and Syrian Christians seem to have somewhat followed in their Apocalyptic "Beast" of 666 (Rev. xiii.). In both cases there is an Apollyon or Abaddon who prevails for an allotted time, and the Mazdean high priest states that the 6666 words "indicated the period when the *Adversary* (*Aharman*) came to all creatures"—only there are Millenniums here to the Apocalyptic Centuries, p. 405. If Satan is to be chained for a Millennium, "Aharman is to reign for three Millenniums nearly the equal of Aūhar Mazd, and during the next three Millenniums to gradually diminish."

Prof. West then translates some sketchy *Rivāyats* or early Persian Commentaries; and the *Din-Vigirād*, a Pahlavi *Rivāyat*, which opens with the too-assured and pompous dedication, that it is "written in the name and for the propitiation of the Creator Aūhar Mazd," and that these "several *Zand* (Commentaries) are published from Revelation."

Here we are told that "of all the 21 nasks, only the 20th, the *Dadad* or *Vendidad*—the law against demons—alone remained entire when others were scattered by the accursed Alexander. He, the *Arteman* took several transcripts in the Arūman language and character," p. 446: so that only to this writer was there any real loss of the Scriptures.

Mr. West's vol. closes with sundry *Extant Fragments of Nasks* found

only in Pahlavi, of which the leading idea is the benefits derived from chanting aloud and taking inwardly to heart, the revered AHUNAVAIR—the *Ahuna-vairya* of the *Āvastā*, the Sacred Formula of all Mazdeans on which hinge innumerable literary matters and formations. It is briefly a stanza of three lines containing the Avastan words *Yathā ahū vairya*, and may be called an acknowledgment of the ever abiding presence of God, and the necessity of good thoughts, good words and good deeds. Dink. ix., ii. It is a chant, potent spell and appeal for success or aid from God—a repetition of his high and holy attributes, power and grace; like our *Ave Mary*, "Glory to Father, Son and Holy Ghost"; the Hindu *Rām Rām*, or *Om*; the Buddhist "*Om Mani*," etc., Moslim, *Bismillah*, and the "vain repetitions" of all peoples.

It is necessary to pause here before going on with our review and further religious details, and see precisely how we stand on the all important points of history and chronology: for the *Āvastān Zand* though full of the highest teaching must, like the Hebrew and Christian Bibles, stand or fall according as it satisfies the demands of the historian, inasmuch as it touches on historical matters. On this, all criticism must eventually hinge, and the very authenticity of the *Āvastā* like that of the writings of our Bible, has been called in question—ignorantly, says the Mazdean, inasmuch as, that though loss and injury occurred to the Scriptures by fire and stealth, it was only to one copy and fragments of others. Even the Alexandrian invaders boasted that they had a picked body of *Savants* for the express purpose of gathering together, and not destroying such treasures of all nations: and that they successfully secured one complete copy, from which say several ancient Pahlavi writers and others they "took several transcripts in the Arūman or Greek language and character." Let us "take stock" then of our position on this vital subject, and show though too briefly owing to want of time and space, the historical facts on which Mazdeans rely. They of course scout the idea that they ever wholly lost their Bible—the history, *Logia* or "Teachings" of their great Prophet—at the sacking of the Persian capital by Alexander in 330 B.C. just as Hebrews deny that they lost their Scriptures when Babylonians and others destroyed their city and temple.

All Bibles like the Religions founded thereon have at some periods of their existence and for several centuries led a chequered and often very obscure life; and *Āvastān* scholars have said nothing here to the contrary, nor in this respect do these later vols. propound anything very new to the student of ancient Faiths. They do however add to the universal testimony of history, that it is dangerous to contend for the continued existence of Bibles; their inspiration, and *ipsissima verba*, as they pass through the ages. They die not, but grow as do other fundamental symbols of Faiths. Neither kings nor armies, fire nor water, could destroy a tooth of Buddha, the sacred stone of Makka, the wood of a cross or even "the sacred coat of Trèves." Let us then give here a sketch of the chronology of the *Āvastā* beginning with historic men and tolerably well-known times.

EZRA'S TIME—400 B.C.

Ages before and during the time Ezra and his scribes were collecting, writing, editing or compiling Hebrew Scriptures, the original and several

other copies of the *Avastā-Zand* or "Law and Commentaries" reposed in the Royal Libraries of the Pasargāda, and these consisted of 21 great Nasks "written on ten thousand hides" in a Magian and non-Persian language, and no doubt cuneiform character. It was then an ancient Faith—a growth like most from Turanian sources—originally of the old Akkadian spiritual type, modified by non-Aryan Magian Medo-Baktrians, and systematized and commended to kings and princes by the Reformer Zaratusht. This said Profrs. Hang and others probably "at the same time with the old Vedic religion . . . both the result of a schism among the followers of the old Aryan religion." Cf. *Outlines*, p. 164, by Dr. Tiele, Prof. of Theol. Leiden.

As Aryan names however do not appear on Assyrian tablets till about 800 B.C. we cannot admit that Aryans existed in any appreciable numbers or with a distinct and written faith, within the cognisance of the Assyrian Empire, prior, say—to 900 B.C. Yet long before this Irāns had their "Divine Law and Commentaries," and had far earlier still, their *Manthras* or *Gāthas* which they chanted (probably when only oral like those of their Vedic brethren), around their *Ātash gāhs* or Fire Altars to the accompaniment of *Yasnas*, *Stōd-Yashts* and other Rituals of their simple sacrificial rites.

All traditions agree that a completed *Āvastā Zand*—the Original, was delivered to the Iranian King Vishtāsp of the 17th century B.C. by Zoroaster, and that he was the first monarch converted to the faith, on which account he suffered much trouble like his Prophet. Vishtāsp however like Asoka cherished his faith and its *Biblia*, and caused many copies to be made from the Original—which appears to have gone to the vaults of "the Shāpīgān Treasury" with orders that copies be made and distributed. One celebrated copy was securely locked up "in the Fortress of Documents"—evidently the Imperial Museum and Library, and *only* this copy we are told was burnt. The quasi Original or the early complete copy of "the Shāpīgān Treasury fell into the hands of the Artūmans (Greeks) and was translated into the Greek language" say the old Pahlavi writers. There was no complete destruction of records, nor any attempt therat—all was accident and fragmentary, see Professors Darmesteter and West as in *Intro.* p. 31, *Fragts.* and *Dinkard* viii. i. There we are told that out of a set of 905 chapters, only "180 are said to have been lost from the *Philosophical Nasks* during the Greek rule," and much greater care would be taken of the religious Nasks. The former were probably fragments of the six *Dāstīnōs* (*Dink.* ix. i. 11.) corresponding to the 6 Hindu *Darsanas* of say the 8th century B.C.—a noteworthy connection of the sister faiths.

We notice here also a fact—important as bearing on the age of the *Āvastā*, that "all its historical legends end with the sons of Vishtāsp" and come down from the times of Zaratusht and his contemporaries; and that it is uniformly stated to have been the revered Bible of all the Achæmedian dynasty which arose about 900 to 890 B.C. and founded the Pārsio-Pāsargāadian Empire.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT—B.C. 330.

Confessedly many of the 21 voluminous *Nasks* were lost by the destruction of the Persian capital and the devastating war waged by the

Greek Armies of this great Captain, but the priests eagerly and rapidly set about collecting and compiling their treasures, and could easily make good their losses from the memories of those who like ancient Brāhmans knew their sacred books by heart. Especially were the most valuable religious parts, as the *Gāthas*, Rituals, Litanies, the Sacred Myths, Ceremonial Laws and Commentaries, well and widely known; and a canonical *Āvastā* Zand was soon announced of 15 Nasks, of which one of the most important—the *Vindidad*, was as seen in the most ancient Pahlavi documents translated by Profs. Darmesteter and West, always complete and uninjured. We must remember also that the Greeks claimed to have carried off a complete Original of 21 Nasks and to have had all translated into Greek; which we may well believe, seeing that Alexander had with him a picked body of *Savants* bent on collecting such literary treasures. Cf. S. B. of E. iv., i.; xxxvii., and the earlier vols. iv., xxiii., xxiv.

RISE OF THE SELEUKIAN EMPIRE—312 B.C.

This was an important matter in the life of the *Āvastā*, for this Greek Empire doubtless possessed the stolen original; and we are assured that active and systematic Royal efforts were now made by the Seleukides to further the recovery of all lost records and to translate all from the cuneiform into Western languages; and favoured by Monarchs and Chiefs, the uprising priestly classes, Magi, Medes and all good Mazdeans, the task was zealously and effectively entered on.

RISE OF THE PARTHIAN EMPIRE—260 B.C.

The Parthians were perfervid Zoroastrians, and they too continued the good and genial work of collecting their Scriptures throughout and beyond all their wide empire. They busied themselves in also translating from the cuneiform, but into their own *Parthai* or Parthian—an evolving *Pahlavi* language, in which they were ably supported by the Seleukians—now ruling Syria and all West of the Parthian Empire.

From 250 to 220 B.C. was everywhere a busy Bible compiling and arranging era. In India the pious Emperor "Asōka the Great—the Constantine of Buddhism," was zealously compiling his *Biblia* and founding the first Buddhist Empire; and the Bibliophile, King Ptolemy of Egypt, was collecting and translating all the literature of Asia, amongst which we hear of the Scriptures of Hebrews which fortunately for Jews and Christianity, he discovered, seized and translated into Greek and so formed the oldest Christian Bible—the *Septuagint*. But for Ptolemy, it has been said, all the Hebrew Texts would have been for ever lost; they were fast disappearing and "written mostly on shreds and tatters of half tanned hides." No Hebrew Bible remains to us except that Hebrewized from the Greek in our Middle Ages, when Europe began to translate its Greek and Latin New Testament into the languages of the peoples. There was then a Renaissance of learning in which Hebrews shared and produced the present Hebrew Scriptures, chiefly from the Alexandrian Septuagint and a few other scanty and questionable sources.

KING VALKHASH OR VALOGESES I.—SAY 60 A.D.

We again hear a good deal about the *Āvastā* during the reign of this Arsākian or Āshkānian monarch, for he was an ardent Zoroastrian who busied himself in Mazdean research and in the rearrangement of the Texts and rituals, now well known (though varied in form) to the busy schools of Alexandria and to the learned in the Latin kingdoms.

SĀSĀNIAN EMPIRE—240-250 A.D.

About 230 *Artaxerxes* or *Ardashir Bābāzān* or *Pāpakān* rose to great power, and finally founded this dynasty—his chief recommendation being zeal for a great revival of the faith. He called to his aid a very pious prince of the Empire—*Tānsar* or *Tōsar*, who had thrown aside all mundane concerns and wealth, and become a High-priest. He had set to himself the task of "Establishing the Faith"—that is the *Canon*—that which Bishop Eusebius busied himself to do for Christianity a hundred years later. Alike in both cases the Monarchs and their High-priests were perplexed with a great Mass of Gospels and Epistles, *Nasks* and *Yashts*, which sadly bamboozled the faithful, so that a shorter official canon was a felt necessity.

Ardashir and *Tōsar* (called "The Restorer") caused all that was to be accepted as genuine,—i.e., original,—to be translated into the language of their people, the National Pahlavi, and to be freely distributed. And the 15 *Nasks* of the Parthi then received a *Tripart grouping*, like the original 21 *Nasks* of the Pasargādæ, and similar to the *Tri-pitaka* or "Three Baskets of Light" of Buddhists.

The *Āvastān* division was,—1st, *Nugāthas* or Theological Hymns; 2nd, *The Law*; and 3rdly, the *Hadha-Mathrik* or "Mixed Group," called in the Sacred *Dinkard*: "the Religious, the Worldly, and Intermediate"—a division which some see in Jeremiah's *Priestly Law*, the *Counsel of the Wise*, and the *Word of the Prophet* (xviii. 18, and *Sacred Books of the East*, xxxvii. 39).

In this last vol. the learned Zand Scholar writes in 1892: "It is evident that all the *Nasks* have accumulated around the *Gātha* centre of the *Sūd-yast* . . . and that the age of *Gāthic* composition had so long passed away in the time of the earliest Sāsānian Monarchs (250 A.D.), that the Sages whom they appointed to collect and rearrange the sacred literature were unable to understand many of the stanzas they had to translate into Pahlavi, much less could they have added to their number. How far they may have been able to write ordinary *Āvastā* text is more uncertain, but any such writing was probably confined to a few phrases for uniting the fragments of old *Āvastā* which they discovered. . . . All such compositions would have been hazardous, as forming no part of their duties, which seem to have been confined to the arrangement of the fragmentary *Āvastā* texts, and their translation into Pahlavi with explanatory comments in that language."

The case of these Scriptures is therefore parallel to that of the recovery of the Hebrew Scriptures as collected, edited or compiled and copied in the Exilic and other periods of their obscuration; and we are here also

assured by the Rabbim that it would have been impossible and very "hazardous" for Hebrew compilers, copyists, etc., to have added to, or tampered with, the texts of their prophetic and Mosaic writers.

This argument has been used in a rather wild "hypothesis" (thrown in as an Appendix to Prof. Darmesteter's otherwise valuable volumes) which we had intended here dealing with; but find in the current number of the R. Asiatic Jour. that the author of these *Pahlavi Texts* has done so sufficiently and very much to the point. Prof. West there writes: "Admitting as Prof. Darmesteter does in vol. iii., p. ii., that on more than one important point he has had to content himself with mere hypothesis, it would have been far safer to wind up the brilliant summary of his opinions in pp. xvi. c., by reminding his readers of these hypotheses, than to leave them to infer that he had thoroughly convinced himself that his conclusions were all founded upon indisputable facts. . . . The Dinkard describes the successive restorations of religious writings as collections and arrangements of all fragments of the old texts that were still extant, either in writing or in the memory of the priesthood, whereas the theory (this 'mere hypothesis') describes some of the restorations as almost completely new inventions." It is parallel to the theory of some Biblical critics who advance many and some strong reasons for the Hebrew Bible being not older than the 4th or even 3rd century B.C., and most of the New Testament writings as belonging to the beginning of the 3rd century A.D.

"But," as Mr. West here urges, "the wilful forgery of the central documents of a religion which must have been committed under the observation of a watchful and conservative priesthood, is a totally different affair, not only as to morality, but also as to possibility." He adds: "The continuance of a religion like that of Hebrews and Mazdeans implies the continuance of an active and powerful priesthood during the four centuries of adversity, as well as the continuance of the religious rites which would secure the preservation of the liturgy in the memory of the priests, even if it had not been committed to memory." See the case of the Vedas and Vedic faith which Prof. Max Müller and others assure us was carried on in the memories of its adherents—brothers of these Iranians—for nearly a thousand years.

THE SĀSĀNIAN SHĀHPŪRAH I.—240-274 A.D.

This worthy scion of the founder of the dynasty continued his father's good work, until the Faithful found themselves in a position to boldly propagate their faith. The too zealous Monarch thought he had only to present his religion to Westerns, Christians and all reasonable men, to gain its acceptance and their good will, but he soon found that neither reason nor goodness or love of righteousness moved the masses in religious matters but rather their feelings, customs and circumstances. The Monarch's zeal only engendered strife and political complications which hastened his end.

SHĀHPŪR II. "THE GREAT"—309-380 A.D.

The Propagandism still continued and nearly ended in making us all Zoroastrians, or at least most of the populations of the Southern and

Central parts of Europe. This clever and distinguished Monarch and zealous pietist now officially issued the whole Bible Canon of the faith like our King James. All other collections and editions were now declared by Royal Decree to be "illegal and false," and for the first time in the Western history of Mazdeism persecutions began, and an Edict declared that "no more false Religions can be now permitted."

The literature of the faith had been rapidly increasing for some centuries and was now abundant and good. The pious and learned were pondering over and explaining the sacred *Dinkard*, *Bundahish* and *Mainyokard* as "Scriptures second only in importance to the *Āvastā Zand*," though our editions of these works are considered to be some centuries later.

Now seeing the above historical facts, and *inter alia* that the learned of the 6th to 4th centuries B.C., as Plato and most early Western schools of light and learning believed that Zoroaster (as they called him) lived some thousand or more years before their time, we may reasonably accept the well informed and studied conclusions of *Āvastā* scholars beginning with Prof. Haug, that the Prophet lived between the 20th and 18th centuries B.C., and that his principal Teachings—the *Āvastā* or "Laws" of Aūhar-Mazda—were embodied with *Zand* or "Commentaries" about the 17th century B.C. when the Reformed Faith took effect under King Vishtāsp. Even Prof. Sir Monier Williams wrote, if we remember aright, "they are certainly not later than 1200 B.C."

It would be marvellous were it otherwise, seeing the voluminous cuneiform literature—Turanian and Shemitic—which throughout these centuries, and indeed from 3000 B.C., filled the large libraries of Babylonia and Assyria, and which was current and abundant in Syria, as seen in the Tell el Amarna tablets in the 14th to 16th centuries B.C. On many other grounds also it is incredible that the most valued treasure of all Western Asia—its only Bible—should not have existed in numerous copies throughout the widespread Iranian Empire and its far older Magian Satrapes, and that all could have been lost in one conflagration of a palace in the 4th century B.C.

Prof. West and others here give us many and strong reasons why we can rely on still having the original and most Ancient *Āvastā*—among them that already mentioned, as that it contains no historical matter later than the era of "Kai Vishtāsp King of Irān in the time of Zaratusht . . . the last King of the old history derived from the Avesta." See *Dinkard*, viii.-xi. xii., where "the inspired writer" devotes one chapter of one verse to the words: "The *Āvastā* and commentary of the Vastāg have not reached us through any high-priest." And we must remember that all Mazdeans have ever held that the Pahlavi version of this holy and much revered book is considered "almost of equal authority with the *Āvastā* Text." We certainly can see no flaws in the Mazdean Bible similar to those which make Moses describe his own death or speak of later matters, tribes and places, known only many centuries after that Prophet's death.

The necessity of dwelling on this vital point of the antiquity and authenticity of the *Āvastā* is very apparent from the *Academy* of 15th July, 1893, which has come to hand since writing the above. In it our best Biblical

critic, Professor, the Rev. Dr. Cheyne of Oxford says: "There are Zoroastrian influences which it is impossible to ignore in the Hebrew Psalms and Proverbs," in the development and "conception of the Jewish religion under the form of *Wisdom*, and in the semi-intellectual element and phraseology of the earlier Prophets." He pointedly adds: "We can only ignore this by denying the antiquity of parallel parts of the Avesta," and this he notices Professor Max Müller "happily does not attempt" when touching on the Avesta in his late *Gifford Lectures*.

The "Gāthas or main part of the Avesta," says Dr. Cheyne, "are substantially ancient, and represent ideas widely current when the Psalms and Proverbs were written. . . . The Heavenly Wisdom of the Yasna . . . cannot be borrowed from the Wisdom which Yahveh made from everlasting" as in Prov. viii. 22-31. The "strong intellectualistic current of the older Faith" is more or less the parent. But enough; for to continue this argument would be to enter on the thorny paths of Comparative Theologies for which this is neither the time nor place.

From these *Pahlavi Texts*, strange and difficult "Summaries" though they be, we can gather with great distinctness the views of the good and wise old Teachers. If the volume contains a mass (to us in these days of a plethora of books) of weary platitudes and wordy ethical and doctrinal teaching, similar to that which the ecclesiastics of our early Centuries and Middle Ages laboriously pondered and quarrelled over, the Texts also contain much good matter of the greatest importance in the conduct and government of all nations, throughout all ages alike in family, public, social and political life.

If whole long chapters discuss such mysteries as "sins committed consciously or unconsciously;" of the many and varied symptoms thereof; whether stinginess benefits pride or pride stinginess, or pride, pride: the quantity of holy water due to different sacrifices, and how it should be carried: the danger from spirits if a sacred shirt or girdle be neglected or wrongly made; the proper positions of the shaver and the shaved; the care of hair and nail clippings; the nurture and value of the *Parōdarsh* or domestic cock—"the foreseer of the dawn," etc.: (pp. 123-163, Dink. viii.) there is also here in abundance, the highest ethical and wise teachings by writers of marked piety, goodness and genius: men who are keen and grievously moved by the sins and sorrows, worries and miseries of their fellows, and who are profoundly anxious to alleviate these and to lead all men into paths of holiness and peace, by the doing of justice, the love of mercy, righteousness and truth; and as they add, "looking always to and walking humbly before their God"—*Aūharmazda*, no mean God-idea.

The *Texts* continually and piously counsel us regarding "the peace which follows the renunciation of sin;" and though finding even here much that is new, we still feel ourselves as Prof. Cheyne has said, in presence of "a literature substantially ancient," and one foreign if not impossible to the busy Western world of either the times of the Seleukian, our own, or the Sāsānian era. There is scarcely a conceivable situation of life public or strictly private, from that of the King on his throne, the Judge on the bench, the maiden or wife in her chamber, the herdsman and his dog on

the hillside, which is not here dwelt upon by these laborious and experienced old writers; and the burden of their teaching is the *Ashem Vohu* or "praise of Righteousness," as that which alone exalteth the individual and the nation. Righteousness alone maketh they say "a perfect character, . . . it alone is the perfection of religion," and is summed up in the three words which ought to be ever on our lips and in our hearts—*Humat, Hukht* and *Humarst*, GOOD THOUGHTS, GOOD WORDS, AND GOOD DEEDS, Dink. viii. 23.

We are also either directly told or can gather the following conclusions: That our virtues proceed from the good, and our vices from evil spirits; that Judges may base their decisions on the *Āvastā Zand*, or common consent, or precedents recorded by the priesthood; that men may be justifiably sold or bartered away (for of course slavery existed), but that to refuse food to any starving one is worthy of death; that "to keep a promise is not only advantageous, but pleasurable" and pious, and is "required by *Mithrē* the Spirit of the Sun and friend of Man . . . This God of Covenants and Testimonies" records every breach of vows and requires simple offerings and thankful hearts, reminding of the Hebrew *Jah*—"the Sun of Righteousness" (Mal. iv. 2). Other passages recall the Mosaic ark and its 'Oduth, עֲדוּת, wrongly translated *Eduth*, "Testimony," before which the tribal priests were directed to place bread or manna. Cf. Exod. xvi. 34, Dink. viii. 44.

These *Pahlavi Texts* show also that only by diligence can we attain salvation, and to this end should commit great parts of the Scriptures to memory, especially the *Gāthas*, the *Hadokht*, and *Vistaj Nasks*. *Rashnū* the great Angel of death, will, it is said, weigh our evil deeds against our good ones; all are recorded; and on "the Bridge of Sighs" the dangerous *Kinvāt*, we must confess all, and either fall or pass on into the courts of *Asharmazda* to dwell for ever in bliss with Him.

The good Mazdean is kind to all creation; smite though he must occasionally and even unto death man or beast, fowl or fish. He does so not in haste or anger, but with the least possible injury and pain. War is to him a sad and evil necessity, but he calls together his troops, explains to them the reasons, and fulfilling the religious rites required by the *Āvastā* he quiets their fears and scruples.

Great honour and reward are meted out to the true and qualified physician, and condemnation to him who attempts this profession unworthily or who imposes on the sick; also upon all doctors who seek undue fees or carelessly spread disease by walking in times of pestilence amongst those who are sick and then amongst the healthy; for they spread disease and offend *Airmān* the Spirit of Healing. No profession is so honourable as that devoted to the study of the precious protective powers of plants, etc., for "*Asharmazda* has granted a specific for every ailment." The Oculist or *Didpān* is cautioned lest he injures when he essays to cure defective sight. We are not to speak at meals or only in whispers lest we offend the Spirits of Health and Life and so vitiate the spell or good of our prayers—evidently the "Grace before meals," or as doctors now tell us, our digestion, by swallowing half-masticated food. Dk. xviii. 19.

Deities and Demons, spirits good and evil abounded everywhere in this old Zoroastrian world as with us, but by prayer and a virtuous life, the gods could be propitiated and demons warded off. If we would avoid sin let us begin inwardly by subduing evil thoughts, and outwardly by avoiding evil company and all first promptings to sin. A-Mazda sees the heart and our hidden springs of action, and at Dk. ix. 31, 15; 32, 1-5, we have examples as to those spirits who tried to deceive Him. We are cautioned to beware "of seductively assuming religion, colouring thought (*i.e.* canting?), talking and reciting hypocritically of righteousness whilst adopting evil practices;" and almost in the words of Matt. xxv. 40 we are told that those "who give to the disciples (of the Lord) give unto him." Zaratusht. Dk. ix. xiii.

It is wrong to deal in Witchcraft or to attempt to bewitch any. The whole Vindād or Vindidad (the name given in the Rivāyats to this sacred work which passed unscathed through all the Greek wars) is more or less against witches and demons—its Āvastān name, the *Dātā Vidaēra* signifying "Law against demons." Dk. viii. 44 note. It discusses much good medical lore and practice as known in Irānīa some 2,600 years ago. Amid strange sexual matters, the grave old medical theosophists ever and again wander into the spiritual, and vainly speculate as to when a baby attains to mental and spiritual perceptions; for they have no doubt about its soul and whither it is going; though not clear as to when it was developed, and where it came from. Vind. iii. 34-44, Dk. viii. 45.

Earth, Water and Fire must be ever kept pure from all defilement especially by dead matter, etc., and for this we must answer to the powerful living Spirits of the Elements on the dreaded *Kinvāt* Bridge. He is a pagan or *Dēvī-Yast* (idolater) who would presume to here offend. "Great Yīm" or Jamshēd though here offending, "received the grace of A-Mazda because" he drove away from earth the four heinous vices of drunkenness, keeping bad company, apostasy and selfishness.

Fire is the sacred symbol of Divine life—the incarnated spirit of God, of the Sun and of A-Mazda, and very similar to the Hindu Agni, Horos, Marduk, Apollo, etc. It is the child of God, and thus addresses the deity: "I am thy son, O A-Mazda, and not of this world from which I must extricate myself and soar to heaven: Carry thou me away to *Airān Vēg* the home of Zaratusht and of the race of *Airyanem Vairya*"—from which all good Pārsīs or Pārsians affect to have their sacred fire. High and continual respect is due to fire: even when used for lighting or cooking purposes. No impure thing or person may approach it, nor even blow upon it. The precautions are detailed and endless.

So too are the descriptions, joys and pains of Heavens and Hells. The less we know of this world, the more we seem to do of unseen worlds. A tribe which has never crossed the neighbouring mountain range and knows only its own rude jargon, can always describe the whole universe and tell us of the discourses and manners "in heaven above and the earth beneath;" so in this inspired volume we learn what goes on away deep down "below the base of high Alburz—the gate of hell" over which spans the *Kinvāt* bridge with "its breadth of 9 spears for the righteous and a razor edge for the wicked."

In this hell, like the proverbial forest which cannot be seen for the trees, the souls stand so thickly about, that they cannot see each other (elsewhere it is said to be "the blackness of darkness"), and they all think they stand alone. Though there is weeping and wailing, no voice is heard, but there are noxious smells, though it freezes, here, so different to our Gehenna. Cf. *Dādestān* xxvii., Dk. ix. 20.

Mazdeans like Hindus divide time into 4 *yugas* or Aps: the *Golden* when A-Mazda inspired his prophet Zaratusht: the *Silver* when King Vishtasp was converted by Zaratusht: the *Third* or *Steel* when Āturpād—"Organizer of Righteousness," completed the Dinkard; and the 4th or *Iron*, when Apostasy became rampant. This would be over two and a half millenniums—say from 1800 B.C. to 800 A.D.

It is strange though common, that the gods of one age and people are the demons or nonentities of another. Here we find the loved Devas of Indo-Aryans—the Gods of Light—are demons of darkness, and great *Indra*, the Indian Jove is with these Iranians, an Arch demon, the Son of Satan or Aharman and opponent of the Archangel of Goodness—*Asha-vahist*. ix. 9, and xxx. Like Osiris and Typhon the Mazdean God and his "Adversary" were brothers who long worked together; but we are exceeding our limits, and must leave untouched for some other place and opportunity a great deal of the interesting contents of these old *Pahlavi Texts*.

J. G. R. FORLONG.

DR. G. W. LEITNER: DARDISTAN IN 1893 AND THE
TREATY WITH KASHMIR.

I FEEL it to be my duty, with every deference to Mr. Carzon and to Mr. Vambéry, to point out that the so-called "admirable campaign" of Col. Durand in Hunza-Nagyr was not justified by any real provocation from either these States or from Russia and that it has been disastrous to British interests and to the cause of civilization, as I have shown in several previous articles and as I endeavour to prove *inter alia* in the following extract from my forthcoming work on "Dardistan in 1866, 1886, and 1893." The Kashmir frontier in 1866 was clearly laid down in my official instructions to be the Indus at Bunji. The occupation of Gilgit by Kashmir troops, which I then brought to notice, was considered to be an infringement of the Treaty, quoted further on, which gave Kashmir and its dependencies to the family of the present Maharaja. All the Dard tribes, except the Chilas, whose raids on Kashmir territory had *ceased since* 1851, were then collected to turn out the Kashmir invaders from Gilgit. Hunza and Nagyr were acknowledged by Kashmir authorities to be "independent states." The raiding of Hunza ceased in 1867 and would have ceased for ever, if we had paid to its Tham a small subsidy of about 6,000 rupees per annum in lieu of the loss in giving up his traditional occupation. *Our* agitation on the Frontier revived the raiding a few years ago, but Nagyr had never taken any part in it and is an extremely well-governed state. To avail ourselves therefore of the condemned shadowy claims of Kashmir in order to justify our own encroachments, under cover of those attempted by Kashmir, after practically annexing Kashmir ourselves, is a strange inconsistency, not to speak of the increased expenditure and added dangers in which our Government has been involved and the alienation of numerous tribes, whose inaccessible valleys offered a series of insurmountable obstacles to a foreign advance, till we broke them down by the construction of military roads which can be useful only to an invader.

"Since the foreign occupation, the Dards have also made the acquaintance of diseases for which there was not even a name in 1866. I refer chiefly to cholera and syphilis, which Kashmiri and Indian troops have introduced. I dare not mention an offence which also followed in their wake and which was previously unknown in the virtuous Dard Republics or even in the less strict Dard monarchies. Simultaneously, the indigenous methods of government, which are full of lessons for the impartial learner, are dying out. Industrial handicrafts, historical superstitions or reminiscences, national feasts which existed in 1866 exist no longer, and what exists now will soon vanish before the monotony of orthodox Muhammadanism and the vulgarity of so-called European civilization. *"Und der Götter bunt Gewimmel, Hat sogleich das stille Haus geleert."* The fairies and prophetesses of Dardistan are silent, the Tham of Hunza no longer brings down rain, the family axes are broken, the genealogists have been destroyed, and the sacred drum is heard no longer. The quaint

computations of age, of months, seasons, years and half-years, and the strange observations of shadows thrown at various times are dying out or are already dead. Worse than all for enquiry into ancient human history, the languages which contain the words of "*what once was*," are being flooded by foreign dialects, and what may survive will no longer appeal to the national understanding. This result is most lamentable as regards Hunza, where the oldest human speech still showed elementary processes of development. I fear that my attempt to commit, for the first time, to writing, in an adapted Persian character, the Khajuná language, has only been followed in a document of honour which the venerable Chief of Nagyr sent me some years ago. Already do some European writers call him and his people "ignorant" when their own ignorance is alone deserving of censure. I deeply regret that the friendship of so many Dard Chiefs for me has made them unsuspicious of Europeans, and may have thus indirectly led to the loss of their independence, but I rejoice that for over twenty-five years I have not attracted the European adventurer to Dardistan by saying anything about Pliny's "*fertilissimi sunt auri Darda*," except in Khajuná Ethnographical Dialogues in the "Hunza-Nagyr Handbook," which exploiters were not likely to read. Now others have published the fact, but not the accompanying risks.

As Kandia is learned, Nagyr pious, Chilás puritanical, and all true Dard tribes essentially peaceful and virtuously republican, so, no doubt, Hunza was the country of free love and of raiding, that had ceased in 1867, but that *we* practically revived (see Appendix I.). I doubt, however, whether picturesque vice, which, unfortunately, may form part of indigenous associations, is as reprehensible as the hypocrisy of those hired Knights of the pen, who, not practising the virtues which they preach, take away the character of nations and of Chiefs, merely because they are opposed to us, and falsify their history. I do not, for instance, palliate the old Hunza practice of lending one's wife to a guest, or of kidnapping good-looking strangers in order to improve the race, though the latter course may be preferred by a physiologist to a careless marriage, but I do find a reproach on European or Indian morality in the fact that not a single Hunza woman showed herself to the British or Kashmiri invaders, although the men, once conquered, freely joined them in sport and drinking bouts. Europeans have a worse reputation among Orientals than Orientals among Europeans, and, in either case, ignorance, prejudice, want of sympathy and disinclination to learn the truth, are probably among the causes of such regrettable preconceptions. At any rate, it shall not be said that the races which I, so disastrously for them, discovered and named, shall suffer from any misrepresentation so far as I can help it, although the political passions of the moment may deprive my statements of the weight which has hitherto attached to them as authoritative in this speciality. *Vo victis et victoribus*—for history now marches rapidly towards the common disaster. *Finis Dardarum*. "It has been decided that CHILÁS is to be permanently held, and consequently the present strength of the garrison in the GILGIT district will be increased by one native regiment, while the 23rd Pioneers will complete the road through the Kaghan Valley to Chilás, and will then remain for duty on the advanced frontier. This strengthening of

the garrison in the sub-Himalayan country will effectually secure British influence over CHITRAL where an Agent is to be permanently stationed; it will also insure the control of the Indus Valley tribes" (*Times* telegram of the 8th July, 1893—the italics are mine). Alas that British influence should so destroy both itself and the freedom of ancient races!

Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat. Considering the promises of redress of all grievances made by the Great Northern Emancipator of Oppressed Nationalities,* whose lightest finger is heavier than our entire yoke, it would be a great mistake on our part to still further reduce the independence of Native States, the troops of which are already at our disposal. Even as regards Kashmir, against the mismanagement of which I have protested for so many years, and the Agents of which made several attempts on my life in order to prevent my exposure of their frontier encroachments in 1866, I am bound to say that our procedure has been a great deal too peremptory, if not altogether illegal. The following Treaty between Kashmir and the British Government shows alike that Kashmir had no right to encroach on Chilas and Gilgit (see preceding pages), and still less on Hunza-Nagyr, and that the Government of India has no right to convert Kashmir into a "semi-independent State" as called by the *Times* of the 8th July, 1893. Kashmir is an independent State, whose independence has been paid for and must be protected by our honour against our ambition, as long as it is loyal to the British Government:

"TREATY between the British Government on the one part and MAHARAJAH GOLAB SING of JUMNOO on the other, concluded on the part of the British Government by FREDERICK CURRIE, ESQUIRE, and Brevet-Major HENRY MONTGOMERY LAWRENCE, acting under the orders of the Right Honourable SIR HENRY HARDINGE, G.C.B., one of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Governor-General, appointed by the Honourable Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies, and by MAHARAJAH GOLAB SING in person.

ARTICLE I.

The British Government transfers and makes over for ever, in INDEPENDENT POSSESSION, TO MAHARAJAH GOLAB SING AND THE HEIRS MALE OF HIS BODY, all the hilly or mountainous country, with its DEPENDENCIES, situated to the EASTWARD of the River Indus and westward of the River Ravee, including Chumla, and excluding Lahul, being part of the territories ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State, according to the provisions of Article IV. of the Treaty of Lahore, dated 9th March, 1846.

ARTICLE II.

The eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing Article to Maharajah Golab Sing shall be laid down by Commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharajah Golab Sing respectively for that purpose, and shall be defined in a separate Engagement after survey.

ARTICLE III.

In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by the provisions of the foregoing Articles, Maharajah Golab Sing will pay to the British Government the sum of seventy-five lakhs of Rupees (Nannakshah), fifty lakhs to be paid on ratification of this Treaty, and twenty-five lakhs on or before the first October of the current year, A.D. 1846.

ARTICLE IV.

The limits of the territories of Maharajah Golab Sing shall not be at any time changed without the concurrence of the British Government.

* The last (semi-official) *Moscow Gazette* says: "Russia will not neglect to avail herself of the first convenient opportunity to assist the people of India to throw off the English yoke, with the view of establishing the country under independent native rule."

ARTICLE V.

Maharajah Golab Sing will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any disputes or questions that may arise between himself and the Government of Lahore or any other neighbouring State, and will abide by the decision of the British Government.

ARTICLE VI.

Maharajah Golab Sing engages for himself and heirs to join, with the whole of his Military Force, the British troops, when employed within the hills, or in the territories adjoining his possessions.

ARTICLE VII.

Maharajah Golab Sing engages never to take, or retain in his service, any British subject, nor the subject of any European or American State, without the consent of the British Government.

ARTICLE VIII.

Maharajah Golab Sing engages to respect in regard to the territory transferred to him, the provisions of Articles V., VI., and VII. of the separate Engagement between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar, dated March 11th, 1846.

ARTICLE IX.

The British Government will give its aid to Maharajah Golab Sing in protecting his territories from external enemies.

ARTICLE X.

Maharajah Golab Sing acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government, and will, in token of such supremacy, present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve perfect shawl goats of approved breed (six male and six female), and three pairs of Cashmere shawls.

This Treaty, consisting of ten Articles, has been this day settled by Frederick Currie, Esquire, and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the directions of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General, on the part of the British Government, and by Maharajah Golab Sing in person; and the said Treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General.

Done at Umrutsur, this Sixteenth day of March, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-six, corresponding with the Seventeenth day of Raddi-ul-awal 1262 Hijree.

(Signed) H. HARDINGE



(Signed) F. CURRIE

H. M. LAWRENCE.

By order of the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India.

(Signed) F. CURRIE,

Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor-General.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS ON TWELVE DARDS AND KAFIRS IN MY SERVICE.*

By DR. G. W. LEITNER.

THE great interest which has been excited by recent events in the countries bordering on the Pamirs is my excuse for offering to the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* the following observations on "the brethren of the European" in the Hindukush, where Aryan and Pre-Aryan traditions are being destroyed by the truly fratricidal war that we have waged in Chilas, Hunza, and Nagyr, and generally by the dissolving effect of approaching British, Russian, Afghan, Indian, and other influences. Kafiristan, however, is still, practically, a *terra incognita*, and the Siah Posh Kafirs are still "an interesting race," as in 1874, when the *Globe* made the subject popular under that heading (see page 430). I have only been able to induce twelve Dards and Kafirs to submit to measurements, of whom I brought two to England, the Siah Posh Kafir Jamshéd in 1873, and the Hunza fighter Matavalli in 1887; [for their respective portraits see page 431 and next page] the former was measured by Dr. Beddoe, and the latter had already been measured in India, along with ten other Dards. It will thus be seen that the material for anthropological conclusions is extremely limited; still, even without the aid of the numerous photographic and other illustrations in my forthcoming work on "Dardistan in 1866, 1886, and 1893," to which this paper will form Appendix V., the following "observations" may possess some interest to the general reader and some value to the specialist, particularly if read along with the "Note" at the end of this paper, with which the father of British Anthropological studies, Dr. John Beddoe, has favoured me. These papers were reported at the Anthropological Section of the British Association on the 18th September, 1893.

- *1. ABDUL-GHAFÚR, KAMÓZ KÁFIR.
2. JAMSHÉD, KATÁR KÁFIR.
3. KHUDAYÁR, NAGYR DARD, YASHKUN.
4. MATAVALLI, HUNZA DARD, YASHKUN.
5. GHULAM MUHAMMAD, GILGIT DARD, SHÍN.
6. MÍR ABDULLAH, GABRIÁL DARD, SHÍN.
7. GHULÁM, ASTOR DARD, SHÍN.
8. ABDULLAH, ASTOR DARD, SHÍN.
9. IBRAHIM, NAGYR DARD, RÓNO.
10. SUITAN ALL, NAGYR DARD, YASHKUN.
11. KHUDADÁD, NAGYR DARD, YASHKUN.
12. HATAMU, NAGYR DARD, YASHKUN.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS ON SOME OF THE DARDS IN DR. LEITNER'S SERVICE.

(The first five and the last are described by the French system; the sixth by the German system, put into millimetres and centimetres respectively.)

	A MATAVALLI*	B KHUDAYAR	C GHULAM MUHAMMAD	D GHULAM	E ABDULLAH	F MIR ABDULLAH.**	G† DR. LEITNER.
Date and place of observation	2-6-81: Simla	2-6-81: Simla	2-6-81: Simla	Simla	2-6-81: Simla	23-5-86: Lahore	2-6-81: Simla
Age; sex; profession	32 yrs.; m.; peasant and warrior	21 yrs.; m.; student	40 yrs.; m.; agriculturist	18 yrs.; m.	40 yrs.; m.; agriculturist	30 yrs.; m.; Jurist	40 yrs.
Caste, tribe, and tongue	Yashkun; Khajuna; Burishki	Yashkun; Khajuna; Burishki	Shina	Shin (Kashmir subject)	Shin (Kashmir subject)	Dard; Gaurial	
Religion and birthplace	Shiah; (probably Mulai) Hunza	Shiah; Nagyr	Shiah; Gilgit	Sunni; Gurukot near Astor	Sunni; Gurukot near Astor	Sunni	
Thin, medium, or stout	medium	thin	medium		medium	medium	stout
Weight	9 st. 8½ lb.	9 st. 10 lb.	8 st. 5 lb.				14 st. 4 lb.
Colours: skin, exposed parts	53 (red brown)	54	38	51	37	forehead & cheeks, reddish-brown	25 (very fair)
hair covered parts	21 (light red brown)	47	38	53	37	lips, pink; covered parts, lighter	24 (very fair)
beard	48 (black)	42	grey	48	48	black	fair
eyes	41 (black)	43	grey	48	48	red-brown	fair; slightly red
Hair: straight, wavy, curly, frizzled, or woolly	3 (light brown)	3	2	1	1	dark brown; hair; white, black, dyed	14 (blue)
Beard: thick (abundant), scanty, or none	straight	curly	curly	curly	curly	black, short, curly	curly
Skin: smooth, a little, or very hairy	thick, long and stiff	scanty	very thick	thick	very thick	straight; woolly; brown-reddish	abundant
Shape of profile of nose (p. 111) No.	very hairy	a little hairy	a little hairy	very hairy	very hairy	hairy on breast, little on arms	very hairy
Lips: thick, medium, or thin	2 (nearly quite straight)	5	5	5	5, very high nostrils	convex	5
straight, or turned outwards	medium (arched)	medium	medium	thin	medium	thin, arched	medium
Teeth: large, medium, or small	straight	straight	straight	straight	little turned outward	thin, straight	thin, straight
incisors, straight (vertical), slanting, or very slanting	small	medium	large	small	small	small	medium
The set of teeth: very good, good, medium, bad, or very bad	straight (incisors wide apart)	straight	straight	straight	straight	straight	vertical
Diameters: antero-posterior, maximum	good (but dirty)	very good	good	very good	very bad	transparent, very white	medium
initial	195 millim.	185	186	187	193	191	201
transverse, maximum	192	180	187	185	183	186	200
auriculo-vertical (fr. m.)	144	144	144	144	140	141	163
Curves: inio-frontal	116	110	123	110	114	119	126
horizontal	345	315	325	335	345	345	340
transverse sub-auricular	540	525	540	540	520	530	600
facial angle (Camper)	330	315	320	335	320		330
From point of chin to edge of hair	81				81		73
ophryon to alveolar point	185				177	191	193
Breadth between zygomata	95				75		94
Length of nose	139				132	136	133
Breadth of nose	48				52	59	54
From ophryon to root of nose	31				39	35	33
Width between inner angle of eyes	12				20		19
cheekbones	94				38	34	35
Height (standing)	164 centim.	182	161	159	152	166	171
(sitting)	126	131	124	125	124		126
Greatest extension of arms	162	180	174	167	165	165	184
of span	20	161	16	20	19		19
Total length of foot	25	26	25	24½	23	25½	27
Length of ditto, ante-malleolar	20	21½	19	20	19½		22
Forehead	high; slightly receding	high; slightly retreating	medium; straight	medium; straight	high; straight	high; breadth of forehead 107	high; slightly receding
Frontal bone (bord sourcilier)	very marked	well developed	much developed	scarcely any	scarcely any	pronounced	very pronounced
Intra-ocular distance	scarcely any	deep	very deep	not deep	not deep	deep; distance 3.4	very small
Eyebrows	bushy, crossing, forming but one line	very bushy	arched, bushy, crossed	arched, bushy, crossed	arched, bushy, crossed	standing far apart, thin	arched
Eyes	straight	straight	straight	straight	straight	straight	straight
Cheeks	little salient	little salient	salient	little salient	little salient	very salient	salient
Zygomatic arch	very salient	salient	salient	much developed	much developed	salient	not salient
Chin	oval	oval	oval	oval	oval	oval	square
Ears	medium, little salient (round, small)		medium	small	medium flat	long; height of ear 6.3	medium
Mouth			proportioned	well proportioned	thick	length of mouth 5.3	medium
Neck	strong	proportioned	proportioned	well made	strong	proportioned	strong
Torso	strong	square	proportioned	well made	slim (svelte)	proportioned	vigorous
Extremities	very small	fine	fine	medium	medium	small	medium ll

* For additional measurements, see page 429. He is No. 6 of Drawing 1 of Appendix IV. of my forthcoming work on "Dardistan in 1866, 1886, and 1893."

** Mir Abdullah is No. 7 of Drawing 1, and No. 2 of Drawing 2, of Appendix IV. of my forthcoming work on "Dardistan." For additional

† I was obliged to get myself measured in order to encourage the Dards and Kafirs to allow themselves to be subjected to a process so unintelligible to them. At the same time, their comparison with an European may have some interest. His brachycephalic Cranial Index 81.44 may be compared with those of dolichocephalic Matavalli 73.84, mesocephalic Khudayar 76.7, mesocephalic Ghulam Muhammad 77.4, mesocephalic Ghulam Muhammad 77.4, the exorbitantly dolichocephalic Abdullah 72.33 and dolichocephalic Mir Abdullah 73.82, which give an average of 75.55. The European's circumference of head, 60 centimetres, may also be compared with Abdul Ghaffar's, 53.7.5; Khudayar's, 52.5; Burishki's, 56.5; Matavalli's, 54; Sultan Ali's, 53.75; Khudayar's and Hatima's, 54.4; and Ghulam Muhammad's, 54; which give the circumference of the heads of the eight Dards and Kafirs on the first page. This Table supplies further details regarding these and adds the measurements of three other Dards (Ghulam Abdullah, and Mir Abdullah), so that in all, including Jamshed, the measurements of twelve Dards in Kafirs have been preserved. Those taken by Dr. Naill have been lost. Notice also the fine formation of the head and the amplitude of the frontal region of the Dureyhi herdsmen, on the drawing opposite to page 76 of the text of the forthcoming work on "Dardistan in 1866, 1886, and 1893," as pointed out by Dr. Max Neelke, the eminent writer and physiologist.

‡ There were also weighed the Kamdoi Kafir Abdullah, age 23 or 24, weighing 10 st. 2½ lb. and the following Nagyr: Ibrahim Roma, 24 years old, 10 st. 12 lb.; Sultan Ali, 35 years old, 9 st. 12 lb.; and the boy Hatima, 16 years old, and weighing 7 st. 13 lb.

§ The numbers refer to the tables published by Broca, Toppinani and Hamy. The following extra measurements were given: Height to auricular meatus, 158; to acromion, 142; to spicocostale, 106; styloid apophysis of the radius, 82; to the end of middle finger, 62.

ETHNOLOGICAL.

(See also *Drawing 1 of Appendix IV. of forthcoming book on "Dardistan in 1866, 1886, and 1893."*)



ANGARALI STUDENT AND TWO MESSENGERS (A CHITRALI AND A YAKSI).
FROM A BROTHER OF THE LATE MIHAR AMAN-UL-MUCK, RULER OF CHITRAL.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL.



GILGITI
(GHULAM MUHAMMAD).

NAGRI
(KHUDAYAN).

HURZA MAN
(MATAVALLI).

ANTHROPOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS ON DARDS AND KAFIRS IN DR. LEITNER'S SERVICE.

(Measurements in Centimetres.)

1. ABDUL GHAFÛR, KAFIR OF KAMÔZ, about 24 or 25 years of age.

Height, 168.5; hair, black; eyes, hazel; colour of face, ruddy; colour of body, very light brown; narrow forehead; high instep; big boned; length round the forehead, biggest circumference of head, 53.75; protruding and big ears; square face; long nose, slightly aquiline; good regular teeth; small beard; slight moustache and eyebrows; distance between eyebrows, ordinary; good chest; fine hand; well-made nails. Weight, 10 st. 2½ lbs.

2. KHUDAYÂR, YASHKUN NÁGYRI; age 24.*

Height, 182; colour of body, light yellow brown; round the head, 52.5; teeth, good, regular; nose, very slightly aquiline; little growth on upper lip; none on cheeks; long, straight, coarse black hair; eyes, hazel; ears, not so protruding; better-proportioned forehead; small hand; good instep; foot bigger, in proportion, than hand (not so good as other's hand); 80 puls". Weight, 9 st. 10 lbs.

3. IBRAHÎM, RÔNO, NAGYRI; age 34.

Height, 162.3; round the head, 56.5; eyes, dark brown; big hands and feet; instep, good; colour, brown; good muscular foot; strong arms; hair, black; plentiful growth on upper lip; nose, aquiline; broad nostrils; full lips. Weight, 10 st. 12 lbs. (No. 10 on Drawing 1 of Appendix IV.)

4. MATAVALLI, YASHKUN OF HUNZA; age 30.*

Height, 164.0; very hairy, including hands; round the head, 54.0; head, pyramidal pointed; sinister countenance; very big hands and feet; thin lips; great moustache, coarser hair; more flat-soled than rest. Weight, 9 st. 8½ lbs. (Full details in "Comparative Table.")

5. SULTAN ALI, YASHKUN OF NAGYR; age 35.

Height, 165.25; round the head, 53.75; square head; retroussé, small nose; small mouth; red beard, plentiful; black hair; brown eyes; very big hands and feet, also instep. Weight, 9 st. 12 lbs. (No. 11 on Drawing 1 of Appendix IV.)

6. KHUDÂDAD OF NAGYR; age 30.

Height, 163.3; round the head, 54.4; stupid expression; big chest; ordinary hands and feet; low forehead; rising head; very muscular; eyes, brown; complexion, brown; thickish nose; very narrow forehead; underhung jaw; lots of hair. Weight, 9 st. 12 lbs. (No. 3 on Drawing 1 of Appendix IV.)

7. HATÁMU OF NAGYR; age 16.

Height, 162.1; round the head, 54.4 (broad head); low Grecian forehead; small nose; eyes, dark brown; light brown complexion; small hands and feet; regular, white teeth. Weight, 7 st. 13 lbs. (No. 4 of above Drawing.)

8. GHULAM MUHAMMAD, SHÎN OF GILGIT; age 38.*

Height, 161.0; round the head, 54; beard, prematurely grey; lost second incisor; small hands and feet; fair instep; brown eyes and complexion; nose, straight; ears all right. Weight, 8 st. 5 lbs.

* See also "Comparative Table" at the end of these pages, and the "Anthropological Photograph" on preceding page. Read also page 1 of Appendix IV. of my forthcoming book on "Dardistan in 1866, 1886, and 1893." "The Races of the Hindukush," opposite to Drawing 1 of that Appendix, on which look for Nos. 1, 6, and 9.

FURTHER MEASUREMENTS OF THE ABOVE MEN BY THE
SCHWARZ SYSTEM.

[[See explanations of these numbers further on, page 432.]]

NUMBER BY SCHWARZ.	1. ABDUL- GHAFUR, KAMR KAFIR.	2. KHUDAVAN YASHKUN, NAGYEL.	3. ISRAHIM, NAGYEL KORO.	4.* MATA- VALLI, HUNTA YASHKUN.	5. SULTAN ALI, YASHKUN, NAGYEL.	6. KHU- DAD NAGYEL.	7. HATAMU NAGYEL.	8. GHULAM MUHAM- MAD, GILGYT SULM.
28	30	26.7.5	29.2	31.5	25.5	28.5	24.7	29.5
29	15	24.7.5	14	13.5	14	11.7.5	31.1	15.5
30	14.5	13.5	14.5	13.6	13.7.5	14.2	12.7	14
31	10.2.5	8.7.5	9.5	9.6	8.7.5	9.2	8.1	9.1
32	3.7.5	3.5	3	3.7.5	3.2.5	3.3	3.8	3.9
34	3.9	4	4.6	4.1	3.6	3.6	3.4	3.5
35	5.5	4.7	4.7.5	5	4.1	5.5	4.5	4.8
36	14	11.2	11.7.5	11.2.5	11.2	11.2	11.1	10.2
37	18.7.5	20.2.5	20.6	20.8	19	20.7.5	19.2	18.5
39	46	44.7.5	48	44.5	44.5	48.6	41.5	39.6

* Matavalli, and a new man, Mir Abdullah of Gahrial (column F of subjoined Comparative Table), were also measured at Lahore on the 23rd March, 1886, with the following results that may be added to the above measurements or may be compared with those in the "Comparative Table," respectively columns A and F, (*Matavalli* and *Mir Abdullah*).

I. Head: Greatest breadth, A, 14.3—F, 14.1.

Greatest length from glabella to the back of the head, A, 18.8—F, 18.6.

Greatest length from root of nose to the back of the head, A, 19.6—F, 19.1.

Height of ear, A, 11.2—F, 11.9. Breadth of forehead, A, 10.6—F, 10.7.

Height of face (a), chin to edge of hair, A, 18.4—F, 19.1.

Height of face (b), root of nose to chin, A, 12.7—F, 12.1.

Middle face, root of nose to mouth, A, 8.1—F, 7.6.

Breadth of face, zygomatic arch, A, 13.8—F, 13.6.

Distance of the inner angles of eyes, A, 3.4—F, 3.4.

Distance of the outer angles of eyes, A, 9.2—F, 8.8.

Nose: Height, A, 5.1—F, 5.8; Length, A, 5.3—F, 5.9; Breadth, A, 3.9—F, 3.5.

Mouth: Length, A, 5.4—F, 5.3.

Ear: Height, A, 6.1—F, 6.3; distance from ear hole to root of nose, A, 12.1—F, 12.1.

Horizontal circumference of head, A, 55—F, 53.

II. Body: Entire height, A, 165.7 centim.—F, 166.

Greatest extension of arms, A, 166.5—F, 165. 11

Height: chin, A, 142—F, 143.

Height to navel, A, 95.5—F, 99.

" shoulder, A, 138—F, 138.

" middle finger, A, 73—F, 71.5.

" elbows, A, 104—F, 105.

" patella, A, 45—F, 44.5.

" wrist, A, 78—F, 80.

Height in sitting, to top of head (over the seat), A, 88—F, 85.

Breadth of shoulder, A, 43—F, 36.

Circumference of chest, A, 87—F, 81.

Hand: length middle finger, A, 8—F, 7.5; breadth, base of four fingers, A, 10—F, 7.5.

Foot: length, A, 26—F, 25.5; breadth, A, 11—F, 8.25.

Circumference of upper leg, A, 46—F, 42.5.

Circumference of calf, A, 34—F, 32.

DESCRIPTION OF JAMSHĒD, THE SIAH PŌSH KAFIR.

JamshĒd of Katār, the nephew of General Feramorz, the renowned Kafir General in the service of the late Amir Sher Ali of Kabul, was a confidential orderly both in the service of the Amir Sher Ali and in that of Yakūb Khan, whose cause he espoused against that of his father, in consequence of which, when his master was imprisoned, he fled to Rawalpindi, where he came to me. He had witnessed some of the most exciting scenes in modern Kabul history, had risen to the rank of Major, and had served with Prince Iskandar of Herāt, whom he afterwards again met in London.

In 1872 I published from JamshĒd's dictation an account of the "Adventures of JamshĒd, a Siah Pōsh Kafir, and his wanderings with Amir Sher Ali," and also "a statement about slavery in Kabul, etc.," which contained the names of places and tribes previously unknown to Geographers and Ethnographers, as well as historical and political material, the value of which has been proved by subsequent events. I took him with me to England, not only on account of the interest which exists in certain scientific quarters as regards the "mysterious race" of which he was a member, but also in order to draw the attention of the Anti-slavery Society and of Government to the kidnapping of Kafirs—the supposed "poor relations" of the European—which is carried on by the Afghans.

His measurement was taken, according to the systems of both Broca and Schwarz (of the Novara expedition), by Dr. Beddoe, and the type appeared to approach nearest to that of the slavicized Macedonians of the Herzegovina, like one of whose inhabitants he looked, thus creating far less attention, especially when dressed *à l'europeenne* in Europe, than he did at Lahore, where Lord Northbrook saw him. The Anti-slavery Society sent him to the Chiefs of Katār with a communication to the effect that Englishmen strongly disapproved of slavery, and that they should represent their case to the Panjab Government. A curious incident in connection with his presence in England may be mentioned. It was the 6th May, 1874, the day of the "Two Thousand"; the result of the Newmarket race was eagerly expected, when the *Globe* came out with the following titles placed on the posters: "Result of the 'Two Thousand.'" "An Interesting Race" (the latter was an article on the race of the Siah Pōsh Kafirs). The result may be imagined. Hundreds of Welshers plunged into an account of the Siah Pōsh Kafirs under the notion that they were going to have a great treat in a telegraphic description of a Newmarket race. I was informed that the wrath of the sporting roughs who besieged the office was awful when they found out their mistake. Poor JamshĒd was seen across the Panjab border by one of my Munshis, but returned some months later to Lahore, whence he found his way to Brussa, in Asia Minor. It is supposed that he took service in the Turkish Army, but he has not since been heard of. As I intend to publish an account of the Kafirs of Katār (now, I fear, all Nimchas, or half-Muhammadans), Gambir, etc., I reserve the interesting statements of JamshĒd to their proper Section in my "Kāfiristān."

G. W. LEITNER.



JAMSHÉD, THE SHAH PUGH KAFIR,
BROUGHT TO ENGLAND BY PROF. LEITCH IN 1874.

JAMSHËD.—A KATÁR KÁFIR; NEPHEW OF GENERAL FERAMONZ.

MEASUREMENTS OF HEAD (BY DR. JOHN REDDOE).

	ENGLISH INCHES.	MILLI- METERS.
1. Greatest length of head from glabella	6.8	172.7
2. Length from tuber occip. to greatest convexity of frontal arch	6.7	170.2
3. Length from tuber occip. to glabella	6.8	172.7
4. Greatest length of head from smooth depression above glabella (ophryon)	6.75	171.4
5. Greatest length of head from depression at root of nose	6.65	168.9
6. Length from chin to vertex	9.1	231.1
7. Least breadth between frontal crests	3.7	94
8. Greatest breadth between zygomata	5.1	129.5
9. Breadth from tragus to tragus	5	127
10. Greatest breadth of head yielding cranial index 86.7	5.9	149.8
11. Breadth between greatest convexities of mastoid processes	5.3	134.6
12. Greatest circumference of head	20.6	523.2
13. Circumference at glabella-inial line	20.4	518.1
14. Circumference at inion and frontal convexity	20.5	520.6
15. Arc from nasal notch to inion (tuber occip.)	12.8	325.1
16. Arc from one meatus to the other across top of head	14.4	365.7
17. Arc from one meatus to the other over glabella	11.5	292.1
18. Length of face (nasal notch to chin), giving facial index, 86.4	4.1	104.1
Height from meatus to vertex	5.3	135.5
Bigonial breadth	4.1	103.5

The head, though strongly brachy-cephalic, is distinctly of Aryan type; high and round, but not at all acro-cephalic; the inion is placed very high.

JAMSHËD—(continued).

THE FOLLOWING MEASUREMENTS ARE ACCORDING TO THE SYSTEM OF SCHWARZ, OF THE NOVARA EXPEDITION.

	CENTI- METERS.
28. From the growth of hair to the incisura semilunaris sterni	25
29. From the inion to the Halswirbel (vertebra prominens)	14.45
30. Direct diameter, from one meatus aud. ext. to the other	11.85
31. Outer angle of the eye to the other	8.75
32. Inner angle of the eye to the other	2.75
33. Distance of the fixed points of the ear	4.05
34. Breadth of the nose	3.2
35. Breadth of the mouth	5
36. Distance of the two angles of the lower jaw	10.35
37. From incis. semil. sterni to the seventh vertebra	12.95
38. From the axillary line over the mammæ to the other	26.4
39. From sternum to columna vertebralis, straight across	19.3

JAMSHËD.—SYSTEM OF SCHWARZ—(continued).

	CENTIMETRES.
40. From one spina anterior superior ilii to the other ...	22'35
41. From one troch. maj. to other ...	26'05
42. Circumference of the neck ...	33'5
43. From one tuberculum majus to the other ...	37'
44. From middle line of axillary line over the chest, above mammae, to the other middle line ...	41'5
45. Circumference of chest on the same level ...	88'25
46. From nipple to nipple ...	19'25
47. Between anterior spines of ilia ...	26'85
48. From trochanter major to the spina anterior ilii of the same side ...	13'5
49. From the most prominent part of the sternal articulation of the clavicular to above ...	43'4
50. From same point to the navel ...	39'2
51. From navel to upper edge of the symphysis ossium pubis ...	14'75
52. From the 5th lumbar vertebra along the edge of the pelvis to the edge of the symphysis ...	43'
53. From the 7th vertebra to the end of the os coccygis ...	60'35
54. From one acromion to the other across the back ...	43'7
55. From the acromion to the condyl. ext. humeri ...	32'25
56. From ext. condyl. humeri to processus styloideus radii ...	25'
57. From processus styloideus radii to metacarpal joint ...	10'2
58. From the same joint to the top of the middle finger ...	9'8
59. Circumference of the hand ...	21'4
60. Greatest circumference of upper arm over the biceps ...	26'8
61. Greatest circumference of forearm ...	24'5
62. Smallest circumference of forearm ...	15'2
63. From trochanter major to condyl. ext. femoris ...	34'35
64.	
65.	
66.	
67.	
68. From condyl. ext. femoris to mal. ext. ...	38'6
69. Circumference of knee joint ...	32'4
70. Circumference of calf ...	36'4
71. Smallest circumference of leg ...	21'3
72. Length of the foot ...	23'3
73. Circumference of instep ...	23'5
74. Circumference of metatarsal joint ...	23'5
75. From external malleolus to ground ...	8'1
76. From condyl. intern. to malleolus int. ...	36'9
77. Greatest circumference of thigh ...	48'3
78. Smallest circumference of thigh ...	35'5
79. Round the waist ...	68'4
80. Height of man (English, 5'3½) ...	161'9
81. Colour of hair, very dark reddish-brown.	
82. Colour of eyes, hazel-grey.	
83. Colour of face, yellowish-brown.	
84. Colour of skin of body, lighter than above.	
85. Weight,	
86. Strength,	
87. Pulsation, 80 (a little excited).	

NOTE ON THE HEADFORM OF THE DARDS AND OF THE
SIAH-POSH KAFIRS.

JOHN BEDDOE, M.D., F.R.S.

It is a good many years since, by the courtesy of Dr. Leitner, I was enabled to see, examine, and take measurements of Jamshêd, a Siah-Posh (Kafir) Kafir whom he had brought to England.

These measurements are now in course of publication by Dr. Leitner, together with a series taken from certain Dards who had been in his service.

The purpose of this note is to draw attention to the very remarkable difference in headform between Jamshêd, the Kafir, and these Dards. Six of these, in whom the kephalic index was ascertained, yielded an average of 75.55, the extremes being 72.5 and 78.7. If we subtract, as is customary, two degrees for the excess caused by the presence of the integuments, we shall have an average for the skull of 73.55, very decidedly dolichocephalic, and limits of 70.5 and 76.7.

Three would be dolichocephals, two mesocephals, and one doubtful.

These proportions, the general type of feature and figure, the long, well-formed nose, the dark eyes and hair, seem to me to bring them into the same class with their neighbours the Kashmiris, and with the inhabitants of the Punjab and of North-western India generally.

But Jamshêd was of an entirely different type. He was a short man: by the way, the Dards varied extremely in this respect—a short, small man, rather sturdily made, with a short head, broad and flat posteriorly, such as is found abundantly in the Keltic and Slavonic regions of Central Europe, and of the Sarmatic, rather than the Turanian, type of Von Hölder. The kephalic index was very high, not less than 86.7, or eight degrees beyond that of the broadest-headed Dard; the facial index 80, the zygomata not being largely developed. His eyes were hazel-gray, his hair very dark, but with a reddish-brown tinge.

On the whole, though I have nothing to say against Dr. Leitner's conjecture, that Jamshêd was of the Illyro-Macedonian type, such type being possibly still represented in the valleys of the Hindu Kush, where it may have been planted in consequence of Alexander's colonization and the establishment of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom; though, I say, I do not oppose this conjecture, I am disposed simply to refer the man to the Galcha race. This short-headed race, which I may perhaps be allowed to call Iranian or Irano-Aryan, is known to occupy the upper valleys of the Zerafshan and neighbouring rivers, and is supposed, though I confess I can give no real authority for the supposition, to extend across the Oxus and occupy Badakshan. Let this be granted, for the sake of argument, and let us take note of the statement of the late Dr. Bellew, that some of the Siah-Posh Kafirs are very dark and others very fair, which may indicate either varieties of origin or segregation in practically endogamous communities, where accidental differences of type may have been perpetuated. If the former cause be admitted, what more likely than that some of the Kafir tribes, instead of being akin to the long-headed Indo-Aryans, are really intruders from Badakshan, and that Jamshêd may have derived his origin and type from such a tribe?

THE PELASGI AND THEIR MODERN DESCENDANTS.

(BY THE LATE SIR P. COLQUHOUN AND HIS EXC. THE LATE
P. WASSA PASHA.)

(Continued from Vol. VI., page 194.)

COINCIDENCE OF MANNERS BETWEEN THE HOMERIC HEROES AND THE MODERN ALBANIANS.

THIS is patent from the employments mentioned. The herdsmen in the *Odyssey* related their noble origin; and, on the other hand, the noble persons themselves exercise handicrafts. Odysseus builds himself a raft, as he had built his own bedchamber;—Achilles cooks the dinner of his guests;—and Laertes works in his orchard;—nor is it much different at the present day in the same locality. The whole story of both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* hinges on women. Odysseus slays the suitors of his wife, because they had put on him an insult which among that people was the gravest; and he hangs the female slaves who had illicit intercourse with the suitors. Achilles sulks because Agamemnon took away his slave girl; and the rape of Helen was at least alleged as the excuse for the piratical raid. Then follow, outside Homer, the murder by Clytemnestra and the mania of Orestes, and the story of Achilles and Penthesileia. All this coincides with the customs obtaining at the present day in the same localities.

It appears as little needful to suppose that the Homeric poems were originally composed in Greek, as to believe that the *Aeneid* was written in Pelasgic, which was doubtless the speech of the Trojans. In imitating, paraphrasing and adapting the Homeric poems, Virgil used his own language, and took the subject of a great war, than which none has left so deep an impress on history, real and

mythical.* But it is not more necessary to suppose that Aeneas spoke Latin than that Satan spoke English. Troy was undoubtedly a Pelasgic city, and so was the country round it, even to Syria. Karia, however, had lost its Pelasgic speech, or this had become so corrupted as to be unrecognizable.

Νόστις δὲ Καρῶν ἤχησεν Βαρβαρῶν.†

There is no mention of any one speaking a strange tongue. The heroes converse freely and in the plainest and often most uncomplimentary language, and there is no suggestion of an interpreter. On the other hand, when a language is strange, this is noted; and it is termed "barbarous," which then meant unintelligible; for the word "barbarous" would certainly not have been used in that age to designate foreigners or a strange speaking people,‡ nor does it seem to have been used in this sense till the age of the Persian conquests.

The words ὀπίσθεν κομόωντες, κόρη κομόωντες, ἑκκρήμιδες are all indicative of the present occupants of the old Achaian area, extending over the whole of Epeiros—the modern Albania. All these wear their hair long behind and retain their national dress, wearing gaiters or κρημίδες (*touslook*), of thick woollen cloth. The Greeks, on the other hand, are depicted with cropped hair.

The only difference between the war dress of the Homeric heroes and the present Epeirots consists in the material, defensive armour having fallen into desuetude as useless. The form is, nevertheless, retained.

The Homeric heroes are described as engaging their adversaries in single combat, as in the cases of Menelaus and Paris, Ajax and Hector, Patroclus and Hector, Hector and Achilles; or, where the combat was not so

* The mythical invasion of Italy by Aeneas is probably identical with the two emigrations of Pelasgi to Italy—the one mythical and the other historical.

† Il. 3, 867. This is the first occurrence of the word.

‡ *Vide* Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon, ad vocem* Βαρβαρος. Is Berber, a race in North Africa, anyway connected with this?

decidedly a duel, the respective chiefs sought each other out, the rank and file not interfering;—a mode of warfare common to all semi-barbarous nations. The battle of Clontarf is thus described in Bright's "History of Ireland":—"The conduct of the battle, after the two hostile armies met, was similar to that of all engagements between races of that particular period in the annals of civilization. The details consisted in a succession of single combats between captains and chieftains, who singled each other out, while the common soldiers were engaged in indiscriminate slaughter; and these combats were alone celebrated by the minstrel, and transferred from his song to the page of the Chronicle." The Homeric poems* represent such Chronicles, with the only difference that they were not reduced to writing in Greek, till long after the event: for this is the meaning of "we hear only the report, nor know anything certain."

Philosophical students of Homer, carried away by their admiration of the poem and its virile language, have sought, like Dr. Pangloss, to extract from it far more than was ever intended to be conveyed by it, and to elaborate esoteric and mystic significances from facts plainly stated with semi-barbarous simplicity.

THE PELASGI.

It now remains to note the resemblance between the descendants of the Pelasgi and the people composing the army before Troy; and as the Homeric Poems describe their dwellings, their dress, their feasts and their customs, a parallel can easily be drawn.

In the first place, the host was composed of various Chieftains bringing contingents from the districts over which they held sway. The denominations of these Chieftains are ἀναξ—βασιλεὺς and σκεπτοῦχος βασιλεὺς—κόρανος: "Οὐκ ἄγεδ' ὀ πολυκοιρανίη, ἵς κόρανος ἔστω. (Il. β, 204.)

* Ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν is only used for Agamemnon in the sense of

* That the Homeric poems were part of the so-called great solar myth, a mere allegory, is a wild and unsustainable theory, contradicted by history.

Commander-in-Chief, while βασιλεὺς is used to signify Lord, ἀκηπτοῦχος βασιλεὺς—a reigning Lord or Prince, and κοίρανος, a Head. This, too, is consistent with the practice of the Epeirots when they league themselves for combined action, as it was among subsequent nations in a similar state of semi-civilization: as Cassivelaunus in Britain, Galgacus in Caledonia, Vercingetorix in Gaul. The other βασιλεῖς before Troy acted as Brigadiers under the supreme command of Agamemnon, as was done latterly in the Albanian League.

For the description of their dwellings, recourse must be had to the Odyssey. The large hall where the feasts were held is denominated μέγαρον,—often used for a palace as distinguished from οἶκος. This answers to the men's apartments in Albania, where all meet, on any festive, official or other occasion. Such was the hall in which Odysseus destroyed the suitors, and that in which Alkinous entertained him on his way home. It corresponds with the Italian word palazzo,—a casa palazzata being a house of more than one story. In the upper part of the μέγαρον were the apartments for females:

Παρθένες ἃ δόξῃ βασιλῶν ἐστῆσαν θῆσα
 Ἄρηι κρατερῶν· ὃ δὲ οἱ παραλέξασθαι λάθοι.—(Il. β, 514.)

where also was the θάλαμος or bedchamber of the lady of the house, as at present in Albania. The outside was surrounded, then as now, by a wall with a gate, called in India a "compound," a μέγα τεῖχίον ἀνλῆς, sometimes termed ἱρκία or τοῖχος (Od. II, 165 and 343; Σ, 101).

The dress of the chiefs is formally described in divers places. Agamemnon, unable to sleep, rises and girds on his tunic, χιτῶν, puts on his sandals, πεδίλα, and throws a lion's skin, δέρμα λιοντος, over his shoulder, and grasps a spear (Il. K, 22). Menelaus does the same, putting on his brazen helmet στεφάνην κεφαλῆφιν χαλκίην (Il. K, 30). Nestor, instead of a skin, puts over his tunic an ample double shaggy scarlet cloak fixed by a clasp: χλαῖναν φοινικέσσαν δεπλῆν ἐκταδίην ὅλην ἔ' ἐπ' ἡνίοβη λάχην (Il. K, 134).

Such cloaks are worn now by Albanians, except as to colour; and are made in imitation of sheep-skin, and used also as blankets to sleep under. The cloak was fastened by a clasp or brooch, described by Odysseus to Penelope for identification:

αὐτὰρ οἱ πύργῳ χρυσῶν τέτυκτο
 ἄνδρῶν διδύμοισιν.—(Od. T, 226.)

a brooch made with twin clasps formed like pipes: the Albanian clasps are silver, and round, like two small shields. The *πίδα* are what were formerly used by the highland Scots,—a piece of untanned deer-skin laced over the feet with whangs of the same (the hair being worn inwards), termed *curachan*; these are still used by the Albanians. For the *ἔγχος* or *δόρυ* (Il. N, 583) a gun is now substituted. The *ἀσπίς σὺν τελαμῶνι* (Il. II, 803), the shield with its sling, is naturally now disused; equally so the *θώρηξ*, breast-plate covering the chest and attached by straps and clasps, and sometimes double, that is before and behind. The *εἶφος* (Od. II, 80; Il. Φ, 118), hung from the shoulder by a sword-belt or baldrick, was of brass, sometimes double edged *ἀμφηκίς*, otherwise termed *φάσγανον* and *μάχαιρα*. The *μάχαιρα* is used by Albanians stuck in the girdle, *ζώνη*, which, except in Homer, is applied to women, *ζωστήρ* being applied to men. Lastly came the greaves, *κνημῖς*, of bronze, reaching from the knee to the ankle, in two halves fastened with silver clasps: out of war they were of leather.

The bow and arrows, now superseded by firearms, were also used, *τόξον* and *οἰστοί* or *ιοί*; the bow seems to have consisted of two pieces of horn joined in the middle by a *πήχυς* or centre-piece and strung with an ox hide whang *κυρά βόαια*. The arrows were carried in a quiver, *φαιέτρη*, which had a cover, *πῶμα*. Thus except what have been superseded by the introduction of firearms, the Albanian chiefs use the same arms as the Homeric heroes. Their dress likewise remains the same; the sandals and gaiters are identical; the tunic or under garment is the shirt—the

fustanella, which are the tails of it, represent the lower part of the tunic; now (like the highland phillibeg or kilt) a separate piece of dress, the girdle of many folds remains formed of leather, and serves for a pocket. The Albanian jacket is modern; but the short waistcoat is the representative of the *λινόθωρηξ*, the red cap replaces the defensive helmet, the yatagan or *μάχαιρα* replaces the *ἔϊφος*, still sometimes used but inconvenient for rapid movement. The cloak or capote is the same, and they sleep on rugs and sheets *ρήγος* and *λίνον*, or on skins, as Odysseus did on the Phæacian ship, or as a beggar in his own vestibule on an *ἀδίφητον βύην* or raw bull's-hide covered with sheep-skins *κώια πολλ' οἶον* (Od. Y, 2) under a cloak *χλαῖνα*.

THE WASHING OF FEET AND HANDS.

The practice of washing the hands and feet is identical with that practised now in the Albanian mountains: the description in the Odyssey equally applies, both in name and form, to the present day. In Albania it is a matter of hospitality to wash a visitor's feet, and a refusal would be considered a slight. Thus we find Euryclea, Odysseus' old wet nurse, washing his feet, and the handmaids of Kirké bathing and anointing him. In other passages the water is poured over his hands from a golden jug and received into a silver basin, by a "lady in waiting."

*Χίρνεβα δ' ἀμφίπολος πρὸ χεῖρ' ἐπὶ χεῖρας φέρουσα
Καλῇ χρυσαίῃ, ἐπὶ ἀργυρίῳ λείδητος,
Νίψασθαι.—(Od. O, 135-137.)*

And again,

**Ἡ βᾶ, καὶ ἀμφίπολον ταμίην ὄντων ἑ γράϊε
Χερσὶν ὕδαρ' ἐπιχεῖναι ἀνέχεσθαι. ἡ δὲ παρέστη,
Χέρσιν βῆ ἀμφίπολος: τρέχον δ' ἄμα χερσὶν ἔχουσα.
Νοτ' ἄμεινος δὲ, κοτὶλλον ἰδέεσθαι ἥ δ' ἀλέχουσα.—(Il. Ω, 301-304.)*

In the same manner, in Epeiros, a handmaid brings an ewer and a basin, pouring the water from the one into the other, over the hands of the guest, an embroidered towel being on the shoulder to wipe them: the only difference is that they are, alas! of brass and not of gold and silver.

THE PUTTING ASIDE OF ARMS.

It was and is the custom to take the arms of a guest on his arrival and to place them aside. Thus when Pallas Athene visits Telemachus in the similitude of Mentor the Taphian, ἰδέξατο χάλκεον ἔγχος, and afterwards

Ὅς δ' ἔτι ἦν μὲν ἑστῶσαν ἴσαν δάμου ὑψηλοῦ

Ἐγγος μὲν ῥ' ἑστῆσι φέρων πρὸς κίονα μακρὴν

Δοοξαδόκη· ἑνταῦθεν ἐυξόου, ἔνθα τιρ' ἄλλα

Ἐγγι Ὀδυσσεὺς ταλαίφρονος ἵστατο πύλλα·—(Od. A, 125-128.)

placed it in the stand with the many spears of Odysseus. Thus Plutarch relates that before the feast at which Alexander killed Klitus, the weapons were put away. This was clearly in order to avoid the danger of a broil, when the guests were "in potations pottle deep," and quarrelled, as Albanians even now do, under similar circumstances. Hence even now the host receives and takes charge of the arms of his guests, lest a blood feud should arise from anyone being slain in a dispute. Thus the practice has continued among the same people from the time of Telemachus till now.

REFASTS.

The Homeric repasts exactly represent the Albanian feasts of the present day when in camp, or travelling, or on the hillside away from home. Nor were they much more barbarous than the latter, or, it may be added, than a true British feast of the lower classes,—showing that little or no progress has been made in civilization in this respect, in 4,000 years.

There are several accounts of these dinners, with all the minute details usual in the Homeric poems.

The first is in the *Iliad* (I, 201), where Odysseus and his deputation are hospitably received by Achilles in his tent. Immediately on their arrival he directs Patroclus to mix the better wine in a bigger bowl, and to have drinking cups ready for each. Then he himself places a big block near the fire on which he throws the forequarters of a sheep and of a fat goat, and the hindquarters of a stall-fed

hog, which he with the assistance of Automedon cuts into junks and spits,—thus combining the butcher and cook. Meanwhile Patroclus lights a great fire; and when it has burned down to embers, he places the spits over it on rocks, and throwing on salt, roasts them, making what now in Albania would be called *kebab*, or roast meat. This he places on rush or wicker platters, and hands round, while Patroclus serves the bread.

Having cast some into the fire as a sort of practical grace or offering to the gods, they fall to, while Phœnix, the Herald, takes round the wine. Upon this Odysseus, at a hint from Ajax, drinks Achilles' health in a speech, beginning much as at present, "Health to thee, Achilles" ! (Il. A, 446).

Chryses' sacrifice and subsequent dinner is much the same, with a little more religious ceremony and a greater share to the gods,—the entrails are reserved as a special delicacy, and a Pæan to Apollo takes the place of the business-like bribery speech of Odysseus.

These two are typical of all similar festivities in the Iliad; nor do they materially differ in the Odyssey—except that those given in Penelope's palace and Laertes' house are not camp but domestic entertainments.

Alkinous slaughtered twelve sheep, eight swine and two oxen to entertain Odysseus (Od. Θ, 59). Eumaios prepares a 5-year old stall-fed sow for Odysseus, when he appears as a stranger (Od. Ξ, 419); and Antinoos sets a large paunch before him, filled with fat and blood—in fact a black pudding, by some supposed to have been a haggis. (Od. Υ, 163, 250: compare also for these feasts Γ, 455. Τ, 420, Υ, 25, etc.) At the grand feast in Odysseus' palace were consumed three stall-fed swine, a heifer, fat goats, and a cow; and the mode of preparation was the same as in the Iliad.

The present Albanians, when travelling in the country, or in camp, disembowel a lamb, and stuffing it with thyme and other mountain herbs, skewer it by running a stake

through it, and lighting a fire just as is described in the Iliad, they set up two forked sticks, and turn it over the fire till done in the skin,—wool and all. However uninviting the carbonized mass may appear, the burnt wool and skin are easily peeled off, leaving the meat quite tender and succulent. The host, leaning the spit against a tree or stone, slices off portions with his yatagan and hands them round.

Whoever has witnessed that most repulsive spectacle—an ox roasted whole on the coming of age of some territorial noble in England—must admit that, in matters of cookery, the peasants of Britain, who enjoy this holocaust, are not a whit more civilized in their feeding than the heroes before Troy. In fact there is no difference, save that the master of the house does not act as butcher and cook, and that ale takes the place of wine. Nor can much more be said for a Christmas dinner with its underdone beef, blood puddings, and the plum pudding abomination.

GIFTS.

The system of exchanging presents on all occasions of visits is equally practised by the modern Albanians. Though they be not so valuable as those of the Achaian chiefs, yet no guest ever leaves an Albanian house without some token. The Phaeacians gave splendid presents to Odysseus. (Od. N, 10-15; compare O, 445 and Δ, 130 and 615.)

GAMES.

The games performed at Phaeacia much resemble those of the present Albanians—running, leaping, throwing the quoit, wrestling, and the like: the same are recorded at the funerals of Patroklos and Hector. (Il. Ψ, 263; xxiv, 800; Od. O, 15, 75, 106.)

CATTLE-LIFTING

was as much a custom among the Homeric heroes as with the modern Albanians. Odysseus went to demand compensation for cattle stolen. (Od. Φ, 19.) The occupations of

HUSBANDRY were not below the dignity of Chiefs. Eumaïos states that he was of gentle birth, yet he tended swine; Laertes cultivated his orchard and vineyard; Odysseus himself yoked a bull and a horse and ploughed the seashore to feign madness, sowing salt. The dogs of the Molossi are a large breed resembling the Esquimaux type. When the Albanians wish to keep them off, they sit down and throw stones, as Odysseus did. (Od. Ξ , 29; Σ , 105.)

ARCHITECTURE.

The Pelasgi were an architectural people, for they fortified Athens and the Acropolis before it could be considered Greek. The remains of their stupendous structures termed Kyklopiàn or gigantic are to be found all over Epeiros, in Ithaka, and even in Italy. While the beautiful temples, built 3,000 years later by the same race when civilized, have barely remained as ruins to excite the wonder of succeeding architects of all nations, the rougher Kyklopiàn remains of a far anterior period have defied time.

ARMS were so highly prized that the manufacture of the best kind was attributed to the god, Hephaistos, who twice supplies Achilles. So with the Epeirots, arms are the most valued of possessions. The arms were inlaid with precious metals. An instance of the high consideration in which arms were held is found in Mediæval Britain, in the Heriot or Heregut—war-goods—that is arms lent to tenants, and on their death returnable to the Lord.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES OF THE LATE SIR WALTER ELLIOT.

(Continued from Vol. VI., page 201.)

XXVI.

NOTES ON THE DISEASE CALLED *CHOLERA MORBUS*, OR *CHOLERA ASPHYXIA*.

Appearance of Cholera in 1787 at Arcot.

THE following notice is from the proceedings of the Medical Board of the Madras Presidency, dated the 29th November 1787: "A disease having prevailed in October last at Arcot similar to an Endemic that raged amongst the natives about Paliconda in the Ambore valley in 1769-1770, in an army of observation in January 1783, and in the Bengal Detachment at Ganjam in 1781, and several other places at different times, as well as Epidemic over the whole coast in 1783, under the appearance of Dysentery, Cholera Morbus, or Mordyscim, but attended with spasms at the præcordia and sudden prostration of strength as characteristic marks; seeing that this Board is ordered to make a record, the Physician General recommends as a guide to future practitioners, that a letter from Mr. Thompson, Surgeon of the 4th Regiment, containing an account of the dissection of one of the patients who died of the disease, and describing the state of the viscera, may be entered on the face of the proceedings, together with two letters from Mr. Duffin, Head Surgeon at Vellore, and one from Mr. Davis, Member of the Hospital Board, containing an account of the causes, symptoms and successful treatment of the sick by the use of the hot bath and fomentations, supporting the *vis vitæ* with wine, &c., and removing the putrid colluvies from the intestines. The Hospital Board sensible of the advantages that may result to the service from the mode proposed by the Physician

General, direct their Secretary to enter the letters he has mentioned, as follows: . . .

Supposed to be noticed in Hindu Writings.

"Cholera has been supposed to be described in the medical writings of the Hindus, some of which are of great antiquity, as may be inferred from their being attributed to Dhanwantary, a mythical personage coinciding in character with the *Æsculapius* of the Greeks. In a work of this author, styled the *Chintamani*, a disease resembling cholera is classed under the generic term *Sannipatha*, which includes all paralytic and spasmodic affections. The species of *Sannipatha* supposed to be the spasmodic or epidemic cholera, is called *Sitavga*, and is thus described: 'Chilliness like the coldness of the moon over the whole body, cough and difficulty of breathing, hiccup, pains all over the body, vomiting, thirst, fainting, great looseness of the bowels, trembling of the limbs.' Cholera is supposed by others, to be classed under the generic term *Ajerna* or *Dyspepsia*. The species, which is considered to correspond with the spasmodic or epidemic cholera is called *Vidhumar Vishûchi*, and is thus described: 'The *Vishûchi* is most rapid in its effects. Its symptoms are, dimness of sight in both eyes, perspiration, sudden swooning, loss of understanding, derangement of the external and internal senses, pains in the knees and calves of the legs, griping pains in the belly, extreme thirst, lowness of the bilious and windy pulses, and coldness in the hands, feet, and the whole body.' The first of these descriptions would apply more perfectly to the epidemic cholera, were it not that in a commentary thereon, in a Tamil work styled the *Yugamani Chintamani*, the *Sitavga* is stated to be incurable, and fatal in 15 days. The latter description is perhaps less applicable, as not noticing either vomiting or purging amongst the symptoms. An attempt has been made to reconcile these two opinions by supposing that the *Vishûchi* is in fact the *Sitavga* in a more virulent or epidemic form; but

it is not contended that the *Vishūchi* itself is always epidemic. On the contrary, it is said to be by no means uncommon, and to be described in these familiar but emphatic words, 'being seized with vomiting and purging, he immediately died.' These observations are drawn from a letter in the *Madras Courier*, dated 2nd January 1819, which was attributed to the pen of a gentleman well known for his partiality to and deep knowledge of Hindu literature. This paper being altogether curious, is given in the appendix, together with a very interesting letter from a respectable and learned native, Ram Raz, attached to the College, to whom it was submitted, in order to be compared with the most authentic copies of the medical works, from which the extracts purport to have been taken.

Noticed by Bontius in 1629.

"The Dutch physician Bontius, who wrote in the year 1629 at Batavia, thus describes Cholera Morbus: 'Besides the diseases above treated of as endemic in this country, the Cholera Morbus is extremely frequent. In cholera, hot, bilious matter, irritating the stomach and intestines, is incessantly and copiously discharged by the mouth and anus. It is a disorder of the most acute kind, and therefore requires immediate attention. Its principal cause, next to a hot and moist disposition of the air, is an intemperate indulgence in eating fruits, which, when green or beginning to putrefy, irritate and oppress the stomach by their superfluous humidity, and produce an acrid bile. The cholera might, with some degree of reason, be reckoned a salutary excretion; since such humours are discharged in it as, if retained, would prove prejudicial. However, as by such excessive purgations the animal spirits are exhausted, and the heart, the fountain of heat and life, is overwhelmed with putrid effluvia, those who are seized with this disorder generally die, and that so quickly as in the space of four and twenty hours at most.

"Such, among others, was the fate of Cornelius Van

Royen, steward of the hospital of the sick, who being in perfect health at six in the evening was suddenly seized with the cholera and expired in terrible agony and convulsions before twelve o'clock at night; the violence and rapidity of the disorder neutralizing the force of every remedy. But if the patient should survive the period abovementioned, there is great hope of a cure.

"This disease is attended with a weak pulse, difficult respiration, and coldness of the extremities; to which are joined, great internal heat, insatiable thirst, perpetual wakefulness, and a restless and incessant tossing of the body. If together with these symptoms, a cold and foetid sweat should break forth, it is certain that death is at hand."

"In treating of the 'Spasm,' this author says: 'This disorder of the Spasm, almost unknown with us in Holland, is so common in the Indies, that it may be reckoned among the common endemic diseases of the country. Its attack is sometimes so sudden, that people become in an instant as rigid as statues; while the muscles either of the anterior or posterior part of the body are involuntarily and violently contracted. A terrible disorder! which without any primary defect of the vital or natural functions, quickly hurries the wretched sufferer in excruciating torment to the grave, totally deprived of the capacity of swallowing either food or drink. There are also other partial spasms of the limbs; but these being more gentle and temporary, I shall not treat of them.

"People affected with this disease look horribly into the face of the by-standers, especially if, as often happens, both the cheeks are drawn convulsively towards the ears when the spasm comes on; a red and green colour is reflected from the eyes and face; the teeth are gnashed; and instead of the human voice, a harsh sound issues from the throat, as if heard from a subterraneous vault: to those unacquainted with the disorder the patient appears to be a dæmoniac. . . ."

"Although Bontius has treated of 'the Spasm' and of

'Cholera Morbus' under separate chapters, it is highly probable that these disorders were one and the same. . . .

Noticed by Dr. Paisley in 1774.

"The next notice in point of time, which we find of cholera is in a letter written by Dr. Paisley at Madras, dated 12th February 1774, as given by Curtis in his publication on the diseases of India. Dr. Paisley says, 'I am favoured with yours, and am very happy to hear you have caused the army to change its ground; for there can be no doubt, from the circumstances you have mentioned, that their situation contributed to the frequency and violence of the attacks of this dangerous disease, which is, as you have observed, a true Cholera Morbus—the same they had at Trincomalee. It is often epidemic among the blacks whom it destroys quickly, as their relaxed habits cannot support the effects of sudden evacuations, nor the more powerful operation of diseased bile. In the first campaign made in this country the same disease was horridly fatal to the blacks; and fifty Europeans of the line were seized with it. I have met with many single cases since (many of them fatal or dangerous) of different kinds, arising from putrid bile being distributed by accidental causes, or by emetics or purgatives exhibited before it had been blunted or corrected. . . .'

"Sonnerat, whose travels in India embrace the period between 1774 and 1781, speaks of an epidemical disease on the Coromandel Coast, in all respects resembling cholera.

"The flux of this kind which reigned some years ago spread itself in all parts, making great ravages: above sixty thousand people from Cheringam to Pondicherry, perished. Many causes produced it. Some were attacked for having passed the night or slept in the open air; others for having eaten cold rice with curds; but the greater part for having eaten after they had bathed and washed in cold water, which caused an indigestion, with a universal spasm of the nervous kind, followed by violent pains and death, if

the patient was not speedily relieved. This epidemic disorder happened during the northerly winds in December, January and February; when they ceased, the malady disappeared. The only specific which Choisel, a foreign missionary, found, was treacle and *Droque-amère*. Sonnerat notices the term 'Mort de chien' as being used in India, but applies it to 'indigestions,' which 'are very frequent,' and from which 'many have died suddenly.' . . .

At Ganjam in 1781.

"Cholera appears to have manifested itself pretty extensively as an epidemic in 1781. Its appearance on this occasion is thus noticed in the report on Cholera, by Mr. Jameson, Secretary to the Calcutta Medical Board: 'A Division of Bengal Troops, consisting of about 5,000 men, was proceeding, under the command of Colonel Pearse of the Artillery, in the Spring of 1781, to join Sir Eyre Coote's army on the coast. It would appear that a disease resembling cholera had been prevalent in that part of the country (the Northern Circars) sometime before their arrival; and that they got it at Ganjam on the 22nd March. It assailed them with almost inconceivable fury. Men previously in perfect health dropped down by dozens; and those less severely affected were generally dead or past recovery within less than an hour. The spasms of the extremities and trunk were dreadful, and distressing vomiting and purging were present in all. Besides those who died, above five hundred were admitted into Hospital on that day. On the two following days the disease continued unabated, and more than one half of the army was now ill.' In a note it is added, 'The occurrence of the disease on this occasion is noticed in a letter, dated 27th April 1781, from the Supreme Government to the Court of Directors; and the destruction, which it caused in this detachment, is mentioned in terms of becoming regret.'

"After adverting to its progress in the Circars, the letter thus proceeds: 'The disease to which we allude has not been confined to the country near Ganjam. It afterwards

found its way to this place (Calcutta); and after chiefly affecting the native inhabitants so as to occasion great mortality during a fortnight, it is now generally abated, and is pursuing its course to the northward."

Noticed by Curtis in 1782.

"From this period up to the year 1787 [and perhaps even to 1790] the cholera would appear to have existed epidemically in various parts of India. Curtis states that the fleet in which he served, joined Sir Edward Hughes' squadron at Madras, in the beginning of 1782. In May of that year, his ship, the *Sea-horse*, arrived at Trincomallee, and he says: 'The *Mort de chien*, or cramp, I was also informed by the attending Surgeon, had been very frequent and fatal among the seamen, both at the hospital and in some of the ships, particularly in the *Hero* and *Superb*. . . . About the middle of July 1782, I entered on duty at Madras Hospital. Here again I had occasion to see many more cases of the *Mort de chien*. It was frequent in the fleet in the month of August and the beginning of September, the season at which the land wind prevails on this part of the coast. We had some cases in the hospital in the end of October, and in November after the monsoon, but few in comparison. . . .'

"It is also noticed in the Bengal Report, that in the month of April 1783, cholera destroyed above 20,000 people assembled for a festival at Hurdwar; but it is said not to have extended to the neighbouring country. All these authorities would seem accordingly to establish the fact of the prevalence of cholera in India; and specially of its existence during the period extending from 1769-70 to 1787, when we find the first notice of the disease in the records of this office, . . . and which we now come to consider.

Dr. Duffin's account of it at Vellore in 1787.

"Doctor Duffin, in a letter dated the 28th October 1787, says: 'I returned yesterday from Arcot, where I had an

opportunity of seeing the situation of the sick. The Cholera Morbus rages with great violence, with every symptom of putrescency; and so rapid is its progress, that many of the men are carried off in 12 hours' illness."

Cholera noticed in 1790 in the Northern Circars.

It is stated in the Calcutta report, that Cholera was again very prevalent and destructive in a Detachment of Bengal troops marching through the Northern Circars, in the months of March, April, May and June of 1790. . . .

A cursory inspection of the register of burials which has been kept at St. Mary's Church in Fort St. George from so remote a period as the year 1680, affords some grounds for believing that the population of Madras, including the military and sea-faring classes, have at certain periods suffered much from epidemics; no light, however, is thrown on the nature of the sickness which may have prevailed. Thus, in 1685, the number of funerals was 31, which is about the average of the four previous years; in 1686 there were 57 funerals; in 1687,—93; in 1688,—84; in 1689,—75; after which they gradually diminished to about the first standard. The funerals amounted again to more than the usual number in 1711, being 92; in 1712,—89; and 1714,—80. In 1755 there appeared to have been much sickness, 101 funerals having then taken place. The deaths increased yearly till 1760, when there were 140. After this they decreased, and continued stationary till 1769, when 148 took place, a great many of which were of seamen, soldiers, and recruits. A most remarkable increase in the mortality is observable at a period when we know that cholera prevailed on the coast. Thus from the year 1770 to 1777, the average number of funerals was about 105 in the year, the population, it is to be supposed, having by this time increased. From that period till 1785, the funerals were: In 1778,—165; in 1779,—190; in 1780,—353; in 1781,—516; in 1782,—657; in 1783,—440; in 1784,—250; in 1785,—99.

The occasional presence of fleets and armies no doubt contributed to swell the lists of funerals at particular periods; but on the occasions in question the mortality extended also to the civil population; and as the instance of the greatest mortality which is recorded took place at a time when we know from other sources that cholera prevailed on the coast, there seems ground for inferring that the same cause probably existed on the other occasions which have been noticed. Though not immediately connected with the subject, we may here be permitted to remark, that an examination of the obituary affords signal proof of an amelioration in the health of sea-faring people, the mortality amongst them, in remote periods, appearing to have been excessive, in comparison with that of modern times.

Returns of sick to the Hospital Board from Arcot and Vellore from 1789 to 1814: (cholera is known to have prevailed during the three first years):

1787-- 130	1792-- 0	1797-- 0	1802-- 8	1807-- 79	1812-- 40
1788-- 54	1793-- 13	1798-- 1	1803-- 45	1808-- 60	1813-- 45
1789-- 34	1794-- 3	1799-- 0	1804-- 53	1809-- 57	1814-- 65
1790-- 9	1795-- 1	1800-- 2	1805-- 16	1810-- 133	
1791-- 7	1796-- 6	1801-- 25	1806-- 55	1811-- 67	

In an interesting paper on the history of cholera, in the *Indian Annals of Medical Science*, Dr. D. B. Smith quotes Dr. John Macpherson and other authorities, to prove that malignant cholera showed itself in one of the first campaigns of Europeans in India, in the year 1503. The Portuguese found it in India. The first undoubted great epidemic of cholera within the period of European intercourse with India, took place at Goa, in 1543. From the accounts of Zacutus, Bontius and others, the disease appears,

about 1632, to have been widely diffused in Java, India, Arabia and Morocco. There was a period of quiescence of the disease in the early part of the 18th century—then a great outburst after 1756, which lasted about thirty years, and was followed by a period of comparative rest till 1817. Since that time it had been active. Dr. Smith has done a service in reprinting the correspondence between Mr. C. Chapman, Judge of Jessore, and Mr. W. B. Bayley, Secretary to Government during the great outburst of 1817 in that District and Burdwan.

A shrine was opened, in 1817, at Kidderpore, to a newly created goddess, who was known as the celebrated Oola Bibi (the "Lady of the Flux!"), rival of the great *Kālī Dēvi*, whose famous temple is at Kali Ghaut, on the banks of Tolly's Nullah, which was formerly the channel of the Hooghly. The term cholera (according to Corbyn) was derived,* by Trallian, from *cholas* an intestine, and *rheo* to flow—literally "bowel-flux." The old native (Mahratta) name for the disease was *Mordshi*. Dr. Macpherson has traced the history of the term in a very interesting manner. *Mordschi* first became *Mordeshi*, then the *Mordeshin* of the Portuguese, which in turn was corrupted into the *Mort de Chien* of the French.

[This last passage is a printed extract in Sir Walter Elliot's note-book, but I do not know its source.—R. S.]

(To be continued.)

INDIAN TUSSUR SILK AND OUR SERICULTURAL OUTLOOK.

BY MISS L. N. BADENOCH.

THE true establishment of our manufacture of silk we owe to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Deprived by it of freedom of worship, a million people were driven to their death, or to foreign shores, chiefly to England. These refugees, including among them no fewer than fifty thousand of their country's ablest workmen, settled in several of our northern manufacturing towns, and at Spitalfields, and planted upon a firm footing the industry, which is justly considered the most artistic in the world. Alas! this happy tide, so beneficial to our interest, for over a hundred and fifty years, once again has retreated whence it came, carrying with it not the workmen, but their trade: while France owns a development, with which none probably is to be compared.

The reason of our disaster may be summed up in one word, *neglect*. We have neglected the progressive and scientific spirit of the times, and to fall behind in this age of competition, is—extinction. While France has her Lyons Chamber of Commerce, with a Laboratory for the scientific study of silk, her Syndicat de l'Union des Marchands de Soie, and similar institutions, as well as her important silk Journals, England, for long, had not even a silk journal, and has trusted far too much to individual enterprise. Her technical education until lately has been *nil*, while the artistic exigencies of the subject, have been left entirely out of reckoning. No doubt, a more immediate cause of the decline of the English industry is to be found in the French Treaty of 1860, giving France the opportunity of sending her goods to our markets duty free, which rapidly ousted the home manufactures, because they are cheaper and more suited to modern taste. But, in reality, this cause is involved in the larger one of our want of knowledge and exertion. Had we been armed with these, our goods would have stood their ground better in emergency. Delay in removing the tax would have simply kept us the longer ignorant of our own ignorance, as compared with the work of foreign rivals.

That competition in the matter of cheapness must entail a keen struggle to us, it is only fair to admit, since the cost of the living of our poor, and the wage that they demand are great, and the hours of labour are short, in relation to the more cheaply-producing Continental centres. With frequent strikes, with the high duties imposed abroad on our exports, and with the freaks of fashion, we have likewise been heavily handicapped. But these evils are not insuperable, as it has been amply proved in other directions; besides, they show a tendency to lessen. And such evils do not touch our national pride in the same way as the discovery of our inability to cope with the ingenuity of others, and our defeat in the match with our more skilful and better-informed Continental confrères,—even

though that skill be occasionally a species of "black-art," which is in principle antagonistic to the English manufacture. As to fashion, she is a fickle goddess, for there is every chance that what is not the mode may again become so.

There is, in fact, no adequate reason why we should not resume, *and extend*, the fair share that we once held in this beautiful branch of imperial industry. We have a climate all that can be desired, more humid perhaps than any, we have machinery surpassed by none, and brain-power, and technical instruction, of science, and the arts, is slowly beginning to be felt.

There is one department beyond our powers, however, that of silk-growing, or sericulture proper. It has been tried several times in England and Scotland, and in Ireland once, but without success, as might have been foretold, for nothing but failure can be expected in a country where the worms are hatched ere the leaves that constitute their food are ready. As for the subsequent operation of reeling, the price of female labour in silk-producing districts is too low to encourage the idea of carrying on this work in England.

But these failings need cause little regret, with India to depend upon as the nursery of our requirements, which owns the vastest silk-producing fauna in the world,—it is a very silken Paradise. India ours, no country is so rich in sericultural wealth as we, being in certain respects in advance even of China, which is restricted to a limited variety of moths. India, on the contrary, has her numerous species of Bombycidæ, both wild and domesticated, which are distinguished from all others by the circumstance of the larvæ that produce the silk feeding upon the leaves of the mulberry-tree. She has besides her jungle broods of many sorts, which feed upon the leaves of trees and plants which grow wild in the jungles. One of the most wide-spread, and important, of these is the TUSSUR MOTH. It is the one that is likely to do much towards building up once more the English industry.

Turning to the natural history side of the question, nothing could be more interesting than the actual production of the silk. The silk-moth has to pass through various phases, in the mysterious ordering of its life. It is born as an egg, and it changes to a larva, or caterpillar, or worm, as in this instance it is usually called. The third stage is the dormant chrysalis, or pupa; and eventually from this form issues the perfect moth, in its turn to lay eggs, and to perpetuate the race. The general formation of all silk is the same; let us briefly follow the life-story of the Indian Tussur Moth (*Antheraea Mylitta*).

It is a handsome creature, and is distinguished by four remarkable naked spots on the wings, which are larger in the female than in the male, window-like, and almost of the transparency of glass, and are surrounded by a purple circle,—being due to the absence of wing-scales, or dust-like particles, with which otherwise the whole wing is covered. From this circumstance, the insect is regarded as sacred by the natives, who believe the spots to resemble the *chakra* or *discus* of the god Vishnu, or to have originated by the imprint of Vishnu's fingers. A few days after the insect's "exclusion," the moth lays her eggs, 50 to 100 in number, and then dies. In 8 to

12 days the young caterpillars are hatched. At first they are about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch long, and in weight only the fifth of a grain. They are of a beautiful green colour, and marked with reddish spots, and a reddish-yellow band running lengthways. They make haste to feed, increase in size, and repeatedly cast their skin; in 40 to 45 days they have attained a length of from 4 to 7 inches, and they weigh about 370 grains. The end of the larval existence of the insect being reached, it makes ready for transition to the chrysalis, or all but lifeless pupa.

All silkworms have two stores of silk, one on either side of the alimentary canal, and two orifices for its ejection, situated below and on each side of the mouth. To protect and conceal itself during the momentous crisis that is approaching, the larva spins, or rather secretes, around it a few layers of silk,—a silken chamber, so to speak. A slender parallel filament is thrust simultaneously from each orifice, forming in fact a double thread, which on exposure to the atmosphere solidifies, and becomes silk. The caterpillar deposits it by sweeping its head from side to side, and as the matter exudes, the larva coats it with a somewhat yellow varnish, technically called gum. The quantity being thick enough to ensure privacy, the insect discharges some kind of cementing fluid, imparting the drab colour peculiar to Tussur silk. By a muscular action of its body, it causes the fluid to thoroughly permeate the fibres, and to harden the walls. In this manner, depositing layer after layer of small loops of silk, and cementing them at intervals, the caterpillar continues until its stock of silk is exhausted, and the cocoon has become so hard that a sharp knife is required to cut it. Wonderful to say, this nest is suspended from a tree, by a long stout cord-like pedicle, which at its upper extremity closely clasps a twig or branch. Round the branch, for hundreds of times, the manufacturer carries its silken fluid, and thus at last a strong ring is formed. The seriposition is then prolonged into the pedicle, and to the end of this the cocoon is attached, the manner of suspending the structure reminding one of that of some fruits. The arrangement is amply justified, by reason of the worm's long life in pupa. Were the cocoons fastened to the leaves alone, like those of species whose chrysalis state is of short duration, they would fall with the leaves, and would be liable to injury. They resemble the shell of an egg, they are of an egg-shape, and their size is on an average $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches long with a diameter of $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches. It is these silken chambers, which in the case of the *Bombyx mori*, the ordinary silk-worm of commerce, have for generations and for centuries been wound off into thread, and have been transformed into fabrics of wonderful charm and variety in India and the further East.

As soon as the cocoon is complete, the caterpillar changes to pupa or chrysalis, and in this shroud it rests, until the time for its appearance as a perfect moth. This may be in a few weeks, or it may be delayed even for eight or nine months. No wonder the abode needs be firm and impenetrable, in view of such lengthened probation of the inmate, necessitating its weathering the hottest sun and occasional thunderstorms. As the emergence of the moth draws near, a moist spot is observed at one end of the cocoon. The pupa secretes an acid fluid, which has the effect of

softening the cement, enabling the fast-coming insect, by aid of its legs and wing-spines,—it has neither teeth nor mouth proper to assist it,—to separate the fibres till the hole allows of its creeping out. Its wings have but to expand and dry, when it enters into its perfect state.

There is little doubt that Tussur Silk has been utilised in India from time immemorial, and it has been largely exported in a native-woven undyed cloth, in pieces of ten yards. It is now long since the attention of English naturalists in India was first drawn to its possible capabilities. But not until 1858 was its fitness perceived for better things than those that fell to its lot to accomplish in the East. But the West would have none of it. Even only fifteen years back, Europe regarded it with supreme contempt. With this "*rubbish*," she said, nothing could be done. The manufacturers had given it trial, it had proved unworthy, and nothing should induce them to raise expectations which could never be realised.

The difficulties lay in the fact, that whereas the cocoon of *B. mori* is soft, and when macerated in water the silk is easily reeled off, and then easily dyed,—the hardness of the Tussur cocoon presents an obstacle to the reeling of a continuous thread, while the hindrances to dying the silk were deemed well-nigh invincible. The native reeling was excessively amiss; in the villages especially, the system employed was primitive. In fact, the rough and filthy state of the raw material as it came into this country, consequent on the skillless and uncleanly methods of its preparation for the markets by the native workers, not only furnished a silk of poor quality, but constituted one of the chief factors in its resistance to tinctorial matter. This want of adaptability of the silk also arises in great measure from its very nature. The fibre of *B. mori* is round and homogeneous, like a glass-rod, and it is without structure; thus it is readily dyed, since it takes the tinctorial matter with regularity; and it has a chemical affinity for dyes and tans of various sorts. The Tussur fibre, on the other hand, is more or less flat or tape-like, and moreover, fine as it appears, it is made up of a number of lesser fibres or fibrillæ, lying longitudinally, and united together by a hardened fluid. This structure is far less dye-absorbing than the other. The fibrillæ are extremely impervious, and they have a tendency to split, making the silk swell out when it is subjected to severe dyeing processes.

This property renders Tussur particularly difficult to dye black. The striking flatness of the fibre makes the task harder than it would otherwise be, because it compels an unequal diffusion of reflection of light. The natural lustre of the silk is thus seen in scintillations, unlike the mulberry-fed silk, which, being round, reflects the light in all directions, giving the Tussur a kind of speckly aspect, or producing little white sparks or glares of light from the angle of incidence on the flat surface. Obviously, the darker the dye, the more perceptible is this singularity; in pale shades of colours it is scarcely visible. This defect can of course never be improved, it is part and parcel of the silk. But shall we consider that a defect which is a distinguishing quality, one that has a charm all its own, and a variety, different to, but not impossible to appreciate, along with the satisfaction that we experience at the more monotonous order of the silk of commerce?

The fawn tint too, common to Tussur,—so dissimilar to the golden and white cocoons of *Mori*,—the so-called resinous sheath, permitted the silk to take only certain very dark, not to say lugubrious, dyes, until a bleaching-agent was discovered, competent, and yet in action gentle enough, to extract what is only a dirty stain, and to get the silk sufficiently pale, to assume the warmest, the most delicate, and the most beautiful shades of colour.

Practically all the difficulties with respect to Tussur have now been overcome, lifting it out of the slough of obloquy in which it was immersed, rendering it in short a marketable commodity; an achievement thanks to the life-long devotion, and to the patient chemical and microscopic researches of Mr. Wardle. His services we cannot over-estimate, to India and to every Tussur-producing country, to England and everywhere else where Tussur is consumed. An immense impetus to its development has been afforded, among the French by the Paris Exhibition of 1878, and in England by the Exhibitions of 1886 and 1887; at all of which large and valuable collections of the utilizations of the silk were shown.

It is now time that the importance of the subject should be fully recognised, and that the former prejudice should fade away. The rubicon being passed, manufacturers begin to expend their utmost endeavours to find new openings for it, and to present it to advantage. Do not for a moment imagine it destined to replace the product of *B. mori*; nothing discovered can ever hope to eclipse that. But there are a multitude of articles for which it is well adapted; for some things it is better suited than its more lovely fellow.

In a word, its day has arrived, and the question of supply becomes an important one. India, if she so choose, has a great future in store for her sericulture. But if India, and not China, who has shown itself quicker to respond to the call, is to be the reservoir of Europe, her industry must become as organised as the production of the mulberry-fed silks. Simple collection of the wild cocoons will not do; a systematic cultivation of the food-trees is required, attention to the systematic breeding and rearing of the insects, enforced application of proper reeling-apparatus, under European or other trained supervision, and care of all imperfect cocoons, and waste. This is a vast work, merely awaiting stimulus from us, and is possible over the whole, or nearly the whole, of that gigantic Continent. That the nucleus of this remarkable trade already exists in India is a most promising feature, since it obviates the ushering in of novelty, always distressing to a people more prone to adherence to old paths and ancient tradition, than to the putting on of new habits.

NOTE.—The Paris Exhibition of 1878 gave a great impetus to the Tussur silk industry. With the success achieved, chiefly through the persevering energy and application of Mr. T. Wardle, of the Hencroft Works, Leek, in the bleaching and dyeing of Tussur, the use of this silk has greatly increased, and there seems to be a great and growing demand for more material. China, more alive to demands than our lethargic Indian government, had risen to export 2,874,766 lb. in 1888, from 169,496 lb. exported in 1879. Lyons which in 1879 consumed only 7,420 lb. of Tussur, in 1890 consumed 673,534 lb. In the week ending 11th of April 1891, Lyons used 39,160 lb. of French, 39,040 of Tussur, and only 8,360 of Italian silk. The average prices of silk fibres stood in 1891 as follows per lb.:—French silk 20/6; Italian Novi 18/6; do. Lombard 17/; British 17/; Japan best 16/0; do. ordinary 15/3; Bengal 14/6; China 14/; Canton 11/;—Indian Tussur 6/4; and China Tussur 4/2. The manufacture of Tussur silk is extending rapidly; and a greater variety of things is being made in it than most people are aware. Our readers will doubtless be glad to see a detailed list of its chief uses:—

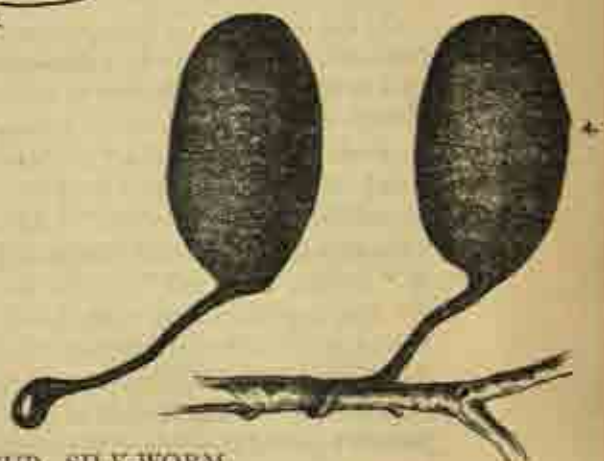
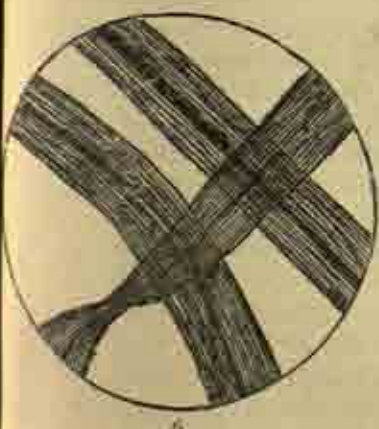
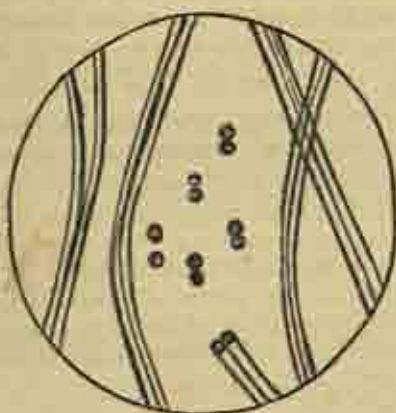
1. Sealcloth, plain, rayé and embossed, sealettes, Plush and other pile fabrics, for which the demand is great. Originally made from "waste," it soon exhausted that material, and "waste" had to be made out of reeled silk worth from 4s. to 5s. a lb., which was thus reduced to the value of from 1s. to 2s., in order to be worked into a fabric, which from its extreme beauty and durability, commanded a price that still left a good profit.
2. Silk for Embroidery purposes, for use not only on Tussur itself, but also on various other materials, cotton velvets, etc.;—chenille, chenille fringes, tassels, etc.
3. Tapestry cloths and curtain stuffs; brocades; brocatelles.
4. Art furnishing materials: chenille table covers; chair and sofa cloths, etc.
5. Handkerchiefs.
6. Lace.
7. Trimming materials, ribbons, etc.
8. Thrift cloths suitable for dresses, tea gowns, dust cloaks, shirts, under wear and linings.
9. Damasks, flowered damasks, and open-work dress damasks.
10. Tussur velvets.
11. Plaids, shawls, opera shawls (knitted).
12. Summer curtains.
13. Elastic webs, for garters, pocket books, etc.
14. Embossing on other materials, with Tussur silk reduced to a powder, and producing a raised work of great lustre and beauty: it is a recent French invention.

We are indebted to the *Journal of the Society of Arts*, for most of what is given in this "note," and to Mr. Wardle for the illustrations. The specimen of Tussur silk we have procured from the poor "up-country" weavers in Bengal, whose benefit and improvement must go *pari passu* with that of a new branch of European industry and commerce. Tussur silk is not only being thus used by itself; but in combination with wool, cotton and the finer silk of the *Bombyx Mori*, it has entered on another phase of its varied utility. The question of an improvement and domestication of the Tussur worm, and of the probable results of its crossing with other species is too wide for treatment in this number of our Review.—Ed.



Ordinary Tussur Silk as obtained from Bengal weavers.

Length per piece, 9 yards.
Width, 33 inches.
Price, about 1s. per yard.



THE TUSSUR SILK-WORM.

Larva of *Bombyx Mori* of Italy.
Anthrenus Mylitta, or Tussur Moth (Male).
Bombyx Mori of Italy (Female).

Tussur Cocoon, with their Pedicels, showing natural attachment to branches.

5. Tussur Cocoon cut open, with chrysalis inside.

6. Silk of *Anthrenus Mylitta*, or Tussur Silk.

7. Cocoon of *Bombyx Mori* of Italy.

8. Silk of *Bombyx Mori* of commerce, showing also transverse sections.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, ETC.

SIAM AND LORD SALISBURY.

(With a French Map of Siam showing the claims and possessions of France in Indo-China.)

1st March last the *Bombay Gazette* reported that :

"Lord Rosebery has notified to the Government of Siam that Great Britain will not interfere in the dispute between France and Siam. In point of fact, an understanding was arrived at between Lord Salisbury and M. Waddington some three years ago, by which, on the one hand, the right of India to occupy the Shan States between Burmah and the North-East frontier of Siam, and claimed by the latter country, was conceded, and on the other the claim of the Empire of Annam, which is a French Protectorate, to control the Laotian country lying between the Annamese Hills parallel to the Coast and the Mekong, was recognised by the British Foreign Office."

On this paragraph we observed that it explained "the mystery of our conduct towards Siam and the easy confidence of the French."

The *Spectator* quoted our extract from the *Bombay Gazette* in an able article on "the Siamese question," in which, first among our contemporaries it gave due weight to its "Cambodian" aspect, though a letter in our Review, above that signature, written as early as the 4th of May last, already had, we fear in vain, brought it to the knowledge of the British public, and had also foretold every single item of the forthcoming French demands, besides others that are now being made or are in contemplation. Lord Salisbury then addressed the "*Spectator*" as follows :

SIR,—My attention has been drawn to a statement, quoted by you in the *Spectator* of July 22, from Indian papers, to the effect that "Lord Salisbury, three years ago, came to an understanding with M. Waddington by which India was to occupy the Shan States between Burmah and the north-east frontier of Siam, though claimed by the latter country, while France was to have all the left bank of the Mekong." Will you allow me to say that this is a mistake? No understanding on this subject was come to between M. Waddington and myself.—I am, Sir, etc.,

Hatfield House, Hatfield, July 25th.

SALISBURY.

On this the Editor of the *Spectator* expressed his satisfaction "that our hands are in no way tied by a diplomatic transaction." This we were also glad to find, but as we happen to be informed that the practical absorption of Siam and the construction of a Canal through the Malay Peninsula, had been one of the objects of a "combination" of Baron Reinach [of Panama fame], M. Lanessan (now Governor of French Indo-China) and others pecuniarily interested in this "patriotic" undertaking; as we moreover knew how mistaken Lord Dufferin had been in Burmah and Afghanistan in "greasing the wheels," to quote a compliment to him of the *Times*, we felt that something more was required than the above diplomatic repudiation of an actual "understanding" having been "come to" between Lord Salisbury and M. Waddington, in order to cut the ground of "continuity of policy" from under the feet of Lord Rosebery; especially as the *Bombay Gazette* repeated and defined its previous statement in the following article :

"General attention will be directed to the statement of M. Deville that Lord Rosebery and Lord Dufferin have 'frankly declared' that Great Britain will not interfere to hinder France 'protecting' her frontier. . . . What is doubtless meant is that the British Government have *again* declared that they will not interfere in the dispute between France and Siam respecting the left bank of the Mekong. . . . Lord Rosebery had made that declaration and subsequently stated in the House of Lords that he did not even know what were the claims France was pressing upon the Siamese; he added that the Siamese themselves did not know either. . . . The Siamese question was discussed at considerable length three years ago between Lord Salisbury and M. Waddington, at the time when sundry Siamese mandarins interfering in Shan States, which we claimed as belonging of right to Burma, were bundled out by officers of the Indian Government. The desirability of ascertaining the true limits of the Siamese Kingdom, which were once as elastic as a Glastone bag then became apparent, and there were many *four-parties* which led to an understanding. That it was expedient to come to an understanding on the subject was evident when the French Foreign Office suggested that the simplest plan would be for the British Government to do as they pleased in the territory west of a line drawn from north to south through Siam, while the French should do the same east of that line. If we are not greatly mistaken the understanding substituted for this trenchant project was that the French should rectify their Annamese borders as we had rectified our Burmese. This we fancy is the operation which we are now witnessing."

The whole of this article being very much more explicit than its predecessor, we sent it on to Lord Salisbury together with other papers, as it was "being apparently taken for granted that the British Government (and that too a Conservative one) had come to *some* arrangement with France at the expense of Siam and that this fact stood revealed by recent cessions and present negotiations." We had also heard from Siamese sources that, had they some time ago accepted the offer of a French Protectorate, they would not have suffered their present pecuniary and territorial losses, but that, having good reason to believe in British support, the last crisis with France, which has led to their apparent irreparable injury, had been precipitated by them.

We are glad to say that to our unmistakable questions we received the highly satisfactory reply, repeated in two letters, that no understanding of any kind was arrived at upon the question of Siam during the tenure of office of the late Government. The fact, so unreservedly stated, is very creditable to the Conservative Government and is a complete refutation of the allegation that the present Government merely carried out the secret negotiations entered into by their predecessors, although, of course, everybody thought all along that the present Government had drifted far beyond any possible scope that such negotiations, if any, could have had. Our own knowledge of French public opinion on the subject of Siam for the last few years entirely corroborates Lord Salisbury's statement. It was laid down, time after time, in every French paper and on every French platform, whether of the "Colonial group," or in Geographical and other literary meetings, that on no account, and at no time, would the French allow any advice, much less interference, on behalf of Siam against any French claim of whatever kind, even if it included an avowed French Protectorate of that country, which was "the natural complement of the French empire of Indo-China." The utmost to which moderate counsels, timely uttered, would go, was to suggest a *modus vivendi* with England in tapping the trade of China from the South, but only after France had

settled with Siam in her own way. "Just as you have 250 million customers in India, so we mean to have the 400 million customers of China." It is inconceivable that Lord Rosebery should ignore the numerous admirable works on Indo-China, written by French authors, among which, we wish to bring to special notice "*La France et l'Angleterre en Asie*" by Philippe Lehault published by Berger-Levrault of Paris and Nancy. Its first volume on "Indo-China and the last days of the dynasty of the Kings of Ava" was published in 1892 and contains an immense amount of information as also a number of political and economic maps, including one on the explorations of Mr. Holt Hallett, which alone would have enabled, or would still enable, Lord Rosebery to answer any questions that may be put to him regarding the present, past and future French policy in that part of the East. He might also read with advantage the extract from M. Lehault's second volume, "An Appeal to the Chamber of Commerce on the future of Indo-China." We propose to review in an early issue this work which *inter alia* throws some light on the Marquis of Ava, who ought never to have been appointed to a country in which he had long before been very unpopular.

The great mistake of Siam has been to adopt European methods. As one of the biggest British exporters informs us, "had they never spoken English or French, they could now be in the safe seclusion of barbarous Morocco, although the latter is within easy gun-shot of nearly all the navies of Europe." Had the King of Siam not been more anxious for the preservation of his palace than for that of his country, he could have defied even a bombardment of Bangkok, and French troops would now be dragging themselves out in weariness towards the Mekong frontier. Yet even a bombardment of Bangkok might have been avoided, if, whilst repudiating all intention of interfering in the Franco-Siamese frontier and compensation disputes, we had merely declared that we could not allow Bangkok to be bombarded, for $\frac{2}{10}$ of the trade there belongs to us. To this declaration France could not have raised any objection. Perhaps also Bangkok would have been safe, if the offer of the Chinese residents to sink their Junks in order to block the river passage, had been accepted. French Consuls have always tried to obtain a right "to protect" all Chinamen at Bangkok in their dealings with the Siamese, but there are very few real French Indo-Chinese subjects in Siam. The attempt, however, will be renewed and will probably be successful, unless China can prevent it.

In the meanwhile there is a proposal for creating an independent buffer-state between the French possessions (actual and claimed) and those of China and our own, under the fugitive son of Theebaw, the Mingun prince. This would be, indeed, poetic and political justice, which, advocated by a truly Liberal Ministry, might lead to the creation of a Marquis of Bangkok or of Laos or to the revival of the ancient Empire of the Khmers in an extended Cambodia as a reward for its loyalty and sacrifices to its French Protectors.

To make a consummation dear which many Frenchmen devoutly desire, we have much pleasure in presenting our readers with a popular and trustworthy coloured French Map of Siam and neighbouring countries,

showing Tonquin, Cambodia and other French possessions as also the "contested" territory. It has been compiled from French official sources and forms the last page of an illustrated Supplement, which we have purchased for our readers, of the "Petit Journal."

Palman qui meruit ferat.

The authorities in Burma are at this present time considering the report of Mr. Bagley and his surveying party. Of the three alternate routes over the Shan plateau the line via Maymyo is said to have been selected as the most practicable. The distance between Mandalay and Thibaw has been detailed and sectioned as follows: 1st, Mandalay to Maymyo; 2nd, Maymyo to Gokteik gorge; 3rd, Gokteik including the gorge with the descent near Thabyinge and the ascent to Naungpine; 4th section, Naungpine to Thibaw. Total length of the railway line comes to 124 miles. With temporary bridges it is estimated that the cost will not exceed one lakh of Rupees per mile.

COW-KILLING AND GREASED CARTRIDGES.

The recent riots throughout India which have temporarily subsided in Bombay, where a recrudescence is expected on the return of the Seedees from the Persian Gulf, are solely due to the carelessness or to the ignorance of Government. Indeed, they are an inevitable and ever-recurring result of an Administration that will insist on being a foreign rule, instead of being based on indigenous sympathies and on a thorough knowledge of the languages, the religions, the historical and other associations of an Oriental country. Dr. Forrest has proved to demonstration that the mutiny of 1857 was due to "the greased cartridges," the introduction of which must have been deliberate, unless we accuse the old and experienced Ordnance Department of wilful ignorance. The eventual loss of India to Great Britain is inevitable unless its rulers learn to subordinate English views to Oriental necessities.

Whenever Parsis or Muhammadans sought refuge or hospitality in Hindu territories, their Rajas always made it the *sine quâ non* condition of their admission that they should not slaughter kine. In Kashmir, where the bulk of the population is Muhammadan, the killing of a cow used to be punished by starvation to death, and several Europeans, suspected of the deed, were accidentally drowned. In Lhasa the Buddhist Lamas tolerate large settled colonies of Muhammadans, but will not allow the visit of omnivorous Europeans. In some parts even of British India, the wild Nilgai, or so-called "blue cow" is protected from the sportsman. In the "India of the Rajas" the killing of cattle is prohibited. In British India it is allowed, but wise officials try to prevent its ostentatious exhibition. Pieces of beef are not hung out of Muhammadan butchers' shops, the carrying of that meat is concealed under a cloth and the shambles are generally outside the city in a walled enclosure. Where the British Gallio of the place is careless, the Hindu population is in a constant state of alarm. Ignorant or mischievous Muhammadans of the lower classes are apt to push pieces of beef in the face of Hindu passers-

by with the observation, "This is your God;" and Muhammadan butchers are murdered *en masse* as at Amritsur, Raikot and elsewhere by revenging Hindu and Sikh fanatics.

Whether the sacredness of the cow is originally due to economical or purely religious reasons, the fact remains that it is the very basis of the peace and of the agricultural prosperity of India. There are instances to show that whatever invader will promise to prevent the slaughter of kine will at once secure the adhesion of the Hindu masses in any part of India. There are no Russian spies in India, for the Russian Foreign Office can ever obtain information from its British *confrère* that is denied to British officials; but there are, no doubt, Russian emissaries in India, some of whom are received with an overdue courtesy which the natives attribute to fear. It is understood that a Russian rule means the restoration of territories annexed from native chiefs and—old promise of every intending invader—the redress of grievances of every kind, the reduction of taxation especially of that on salt, as in Russia itself; and, above all, the prohibition of the slaughter of kine, and of all missionary interference or propagandis coupled with the perfect equality of all races in admission to civil, political and military offices, *provided they are good Russians*.

To Muhammadans these offers possess no attraction. It is true that the Shah of holy Bokhara still reigns, but he governs less than the Nizâm of Hyderabad; it is admitted that there are Muhammadan regiments of the Emperor's Guards, in which from the general to the private, all belong to that faith, but everywhere "native troops" are the first food for powder. It is true that the members of whatever creed, except the Jews, are "hail fellows well met" on the common ground of intoxication in the hospitable circles of Russia, but the orthodoxy of Muslim leaders objects to such fraternization and the "consensus fidelium" must follow. It is true that Iskandar Khan, one of the possible claimants to Herat if not Kabul, was a Colonel in the Russian Guards, but he was soon involved in a duel and had to leave. Colonel Alikhanoff governed Merv as long as he was wanted; he has since been displaced on an apparently trumped-up charge. Muhammadan officers are marched to the religious services of the Greek-orthodox church or are not allowed the use of Mullahs or Imâms of their own persuasions in their regiments, whereas British tolerance permits it. No doubt, the Russian Government has constructed several Mosques, which the English have never done, and has subsidized the public criers of the Ramazân, in newly-conquered territory, but then it has also attempted to hang up the Emperor's effigy in Mosques and it has revised the holy Koran in accordance with the rules of Russian Censorship. No Muhammadan can forgive this, however much in the regions of the *haute politique* of France and Russia, the conciliation of Muhammadans be laid down as an axiom. There is the stillness of death in native Russian Central Asia. Even the Kirghis are being "Russianized." This means the loss of individuality, so apparent in the late Pamir expedition where the Kossacks could break the ground but were useless as scouts, for which the heavy and stupid Kirghis shepherds had to be employed as "the Kirghis militia." Above all, so long as the "Commander of the Faithful," the

Khalifa Sultan of Turkey has not thrown in his lot with Russia, so long will the Sunnis, who constitute the majority of Muhammadans all over the world, rather side with England, its natural foe.

NAWAB A'BDURRAHID.

THE DISTURBING EFFECT OF ENGLISH EDUCATION IN INDIA.

I have pointed out since 1865 that as so-called "English education" extended, on purely secular lines, without the previous discipline of Arabic and Sanscrit for Muhammadans and Hindus respectively, every Government School would become a centre of sedition. Indeed, even in villages, the people are now learning to attribute to the Authorities disasters that used to be patiently borne as the inflictions of a wise Providence and where they formerly looked for sympathy, if not redress, to the Deputy-Commissioner as "the father and mother" of the district, they now turn for advice to the local Babu, who knows English. The official, who is on his guard, is now not half so friendly to natives, even if a Radical, as the "Quy hay" of the olden days, and the consequence is mutual distrust. The weakening, moreover, of the village councils or *Panchayets* and even of the trade *Panches*, the harassing effect of English reforms and the growth of litigation, fostered by the decline of the authority of Caste and of the native religions, offer an opportunity to Babus of rising to power by availing themselves of the ever-existing elements of, hitherto, passive discontent, but they have not created these elements. The abolition of the Educational Department is the very first step to take, if we desire to develop in India a love of learning for its own sake, or for practical requirements, to be paid for by those that want it. The rest will keep to their traditional occupations and, within the range of their usefulness, will, at any rate, "think straight," which they cannot now do in a foreign language without its associations. M. Vambéry, who has never been to India, may talk about the blessings of English education, but we who have never known a single original work of merit, and few good deeds emanate from those whom we have denationalized, would welcome back the strengthening, if narrowing, effects of old Oriental education, gradually adapting itself to modern requirements.

True India will then return to its Natural leaders. Local grievances will be redressed locally and there will be no *imperium in imperio* for the organised ventilation of some universal sorrow or reform, whether indigenous or imported. Above all, all public business should be conducted in the vernacular and not in English, if the heart of the people is to be reached and no Viceroy or Secretary of State should be appointed who has not at least a thorough knowledge of Urdu, the *lingua franca* of India. Indeed, an Oriental and aristocratic continent like India deserves a Regal Court and a permanent Head and cannot be governed for ever by fits and starts from over the seas, especially when a powerful arm is being stretched out over unbroken territories by land in order to snatch the finest Jewel in the British Crown. The Duke of Connaught, or, in his default, the Marquis of Lorne, would be the right Viceroy in an "India of Rajas."

A DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

THE COVERT INDIAN FRONTIER POLICY.

J. D. writes as follows :

That Russia is determined upon invading India whenever a chance of success offers itself, and that we should, therefore, put ourselves in a position to repel the intended attack—are propositions universally admitted. Opinions differ only as to the best mode of repelling such an attack, and as this question presumes an actual Russian advance through Afghanistan, it is unconnected with Central Asian politics in general, excepting so far as they involve our relations with the Afghans, whose attachments to our interests in the conjuncture would of course be of inestimable value.

Now, the Indian Govt. despatches of 1866-67 have fully discussed the question in its various aspects, and shown that our best plan is to attack the invading troops as they emerge from the mountain defiles of Afghanistan, before they have time to assemble in considerable bodies or recover from their march through the most inclement and difficult country in the world.

On the other hand, the Cabinet of 1876 initiated the "Forward" or "Scientific frontier" policy, which is still being pursued although its actual features have never been divulged, and the action taken on it has been marked by signal failure, by disasters and by humiliations.

Were these results generally known the nation would certainly stop the further prosecution of a policy obviously impracticable, and which has exhausted the resources of the Indian Exchequer without securing a single step towards the British occupation of Afghan citadels, which is said to be an important part of its programme. But the nation is in the dark; the results of our frontier expeditions and the cost of the military roads and railways constructed to facilitate the march of our troops into Afghanistan, are sedulously concealed from the public; whilst Parliament, where India has no representative, continues averse to the discussion of the subject.

Under these circumstances, I have been striving solely to induce inquiry into the above-mentioned facts, feeling convinced that the pressure of public opinion alone can compel Parliament to take up the question and do its duty. Referring now to Sir M. Durand's Mission to Cabul, I gather from the *Pioneer* of 8th August that the Mission relates chiefly to questions connected with the Indo-Afghan frontier.

You may remember that last year our situation in the Zhob valley, where our posts and communications were harassed by the Waziris, became so intolerable, that we earnestly requested the Amir to remove an officer whom he had stationed among that tribe and to whose influence we ascribed their active hostility. The Amir, in complying with our request, suggested a delimitation of our frontier, questioning thereby our right to place troops in the Waziri territory, beyond the boundary of India. The suggestion was ignored by us, and it now appears that the annoyance we complained of has continued unabated. You will see from the above-mentioned paper that the Waziris commit outrages on travellers to and from the Gurnal Pass; that British patrols are ambuscaded, British officers attacked, our camp-followers cut up, and that a Ghazi has run *amok* in our encampment. The *Pioneer* adds :

"In the majority of cases the murderers escape. The usual punishment, when identity can be established, is to impose a fine on the clan. It is intended to impose a fine at once for the last murder [that of a non-commissioned officer and a trooper]. If the Waziri chiefs cannot restrain their bad characters, they must be plainly told that our troops will help them to keep the peace. Murder and robbery cannot be tolerated in districts through which our military roads run, and this the Waziris must be made to understand."

Can a more humiliating situation be imagined for the soldiers of a great nation? Is this all the protection that the Government can afford to British life and British property in time of peace? This miserable situation is, at all events, the outcome of that much vaunted "Forward policy" in the prosecution of which so much blood and treasure has been expended during the last sixteen years.

NEWS FROM CENTRAL ASIA.—The party in Central Asia who are in favour of the deposition of the Amir of Bokhara is a growing one, but it is not likely that they will see their hopes fulfilled for some time to come. When His Highness went to Europe, some of them were foolish enough to imagine that this was intended as a preliminary step towards deposition, but were mortified to discover that the Amir only consented to go in order to obtain a personal statement from the Tsar to the effect that his son should not be thwarted in the succession. Russia finds it very convenient to have such an amenable prince in her dominions, who is always ready to shower decorations and presents at the merest hint, and his deposition would give a great shock to those Indian princes who believe that Russia hopes to give them their liberty—some day. At the present moment he is having a severe struggle with a certain party in the Russian Government whose anxiety to oust Indian products has caused them to bring pressure upon the Amir to levy a prohibitive tariff upon Indian tea. This is a very unwise policy for the Russian Government to pursue, as General Kuropatkin, the Governor-General of Transcaspia, and several other authorities are telling them, because it will render the Russian name very odious in the State of Bokhara where the inhabitants have a partiality for the tea which comes from India. The opposition reply however, that if the Amir gives the order, the people will attach all blame to him, but the others see in this an attempt to weaken the power of Seid Abdul Ahad. Such is the present condition of affairs.

A high Customs' official recently arrived in Transcaspia in order to superintend the establishment of a better customs' chain between the Russian dominions and Persia and Afghanistan, as it has been found necessary to withhold the bounty on sugar exported from Askabad to Meshed owing to the discovery that some of it had come back four times in order to receive the pecuniary reward. Most of the sugar is therefore now going to Khorasan via Askabad where the bounty is still being paid. Lieutenant H. J. Coningham of the Leinster Regiment has recently been accorded a most enthusiastic reception in Transcaspia where he has been the guest of General Kuropatkin, the Governor-General, who was most kind in giving orders that everything was to be shown to the English officer that the latter might desire to see. General Kuropatkin personally conducted

Lieutenant Coningham over a village near Khairabad which he is endeavouring to establish as a hill sanatorium and also showed him his new schemes for improving the water-supply of Askabad and its neighbourhood. It is with great pleasure that we note this courtesy which is all the more appreciated because the recipient was the bearer of no grand letters from the Foreign Office or St. Petersburg, but simply came to the frontier and informed General Kuropatkin that "he wished to study the Central Asian question on the spot."

We hear from Dardistan that the Russians were, on the date of the despatch of the letter (4th August), still at Murghabi, the Chinese at Sirkol, and the rest of the Pamirs was unoccupied. In the South, the Khans of Nawagai and Jhandol were still fighting, and the ex-Mir of Dir, the able Sirdar Muhammad Sherif Khan, was a refugee at Kabul.

DISILLUSION ABOUT THE INDIAN CURRENCY COMMISSION.

THE following extract from a Calcutta letter will show how much the hopes of those have been disappointed who trusted to the Secretary of State not selling Council Bills under rs. 4d. for the Rupee.

"The Secretary of State was clearly asleep to have sold 57 lacs of Rupees. The story here is, that the wire from Simla went to Whitehall, and they omitted to close the sale of Councils. It is a little early to venture an opinion, but as it seems that the object ultimately is to get a gold currency for India, and to draw as much gold to India as possible, I take it the Secretary of State will not sell his Councils under a price, say rs. 4d. plus cost of bringing gold for India after he has sold his requirements of weekly 60 lacs. No doubt for a time it will upset the export trade, but the ultimate benefits for India are incalculable:

"(1). It will bring abundant capital to India for Railways and all industries.

"(2). It will put the Government Rupee securities on a firm basis on your market. I estimate with the securities the Government of India offer and a minimum exchange of rs. 4d., that rupee paper will become a favourite stock on your market, both for trust and other investments purposes, and will touch nearly £80. I notice when exchange was uncertain at rs. 4d., paper stood at £72. Surely with the rate fixed it will draw investors and touch a higher level. In this year's budget the Government said 'if exchange touches $\frac{1}{2}$, we shall not require to borrow,' so I take it, that they will not do so, and they will no doubt be anxious so to improve the value of their securities as to be able to bring in a conversion scheme to reduce the rate to $3\frac{1}{2}$ p.c.

"You are aware that I have always held that the Government would have to close the Mints from their own position. The Herschell Committee have practically followed the views of the Deputation of which I was a humble member.

"X."

ARBITRATION—BEHRING SEA AND NEWFOUNDLAND.

The favourable result to Great Britain of the Behring Sea Arbitration is of course a subject of satisfaction to all inhabitants of these

Islands ; and, when we recollect that it has affirmed the old doctrine that the open sea is free to all mankind, our satisfaction is not lessened by the fear that it may displease that "civilized world" to which all are so fond of appealing.

The result being, so far as this legal and most important point, generally satisfactory, and having been advocated beforehand by all the most law-abiding writers in the United States, the advocates of Arbitration as a panacea will be greatly strengthened in their belief. It may, therefore, be worth while to consider how far the success of this Arbitration justifies a belief in the safety of its general application to international quarrels.

The words of Senator Morgan, one of the United States Arbitrators, at once contain a high praise of the three foreign Arbitrators and a warning as to the evil most to be dreaded in arbitrations. He said :

"I am sorry that the Tribunal has not seen its way to depart from the old principles of international law in view of the new character of the circumstances that have been brought before it."

What Senator Morgan then desired was that the Arbitrators should be not judges, but casuists. In Europe, Asia, and Africa, the entrance to a close sea must not be more than 6 miles wide ; but if the United States have an island in a sea, that sea must be a close one though it have a dozen entrances from 30 to 300 miles wide. Such cases are not fit for arbitration, although mediation may be useful, if the mediator is honest and judicious.

Now the great fault of the advocates of arbitration is that they confound negotiation, mediation, and arbitration, and even speak of a quarrel being settled by arbitration when a victory has been first obtained by a pitched battle.

Two things are necessary for a successful arbitration :

1. A dispute in which the rights are absolute. It is not an obstacle that there be rights on each side provided they can be separated. If the British had claimed the right to land on the Pribyloff Islands and kill seals there, the Arbitrators would have refused to admit this absurdity, as well as the absurdities on the other side.

2. Honest and intelligent arbitrators—among whom I do not here include the representatives of the disputants, who, according to the modern system, sit as members of the tribunal and consider themselves at liberty to dissent from its decisions.

Another arbitration is hanging over us in which there seems no possibility of giving satisfaction to any of the three parties concerned—I mean that with France about Newfoundland.

By the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) the French acknowledged our right to the Island, while we allowed them to fish on a certain part of the coast, and to dry their fish on the whole. The permission given to them was only one concurrent with the right of British fishermen ; but in 1783, though the Treaty of Versailles professed to establish the right given under the Treaty of Utrecht, George III. made a declaration that "he would take the most positive measures for preventing his subjects from interrupting in any manner, by their competition, the fishery of the French." This he did ; and the British interpretation of the Treaty from that time has been, and is now, that the French may use as much of the Treaty Shore as they

can;—and that the British may use the rest—if there is any—but must leave it open for the French in case they should want it next year. This prevents the development of anything in the Island, except the fishery on the purely British shore; and this is injured by the French Bounties.

The Newfoundlanders demand that the French rights be purchased by arbitration. The French refuse to sell their rights and declare that the Newfoundlanders have no rights in the matter. The British Government, in "Newfoundland," a Blue Book just published, betrays not the smallest intention of pressing for any redress for the Newfoundlanders, except as regards the claim of the French to catch and to tin lobsters.

Arbitrators could go only according to the Treaties; and even the British interpretation of these recognises no right in the Newfoundlanders to the use of their own coasts.

Three Arbitrators have been named by an agreement with France. The second and third are presumably impartial and competent jurists. But the first of them is M. de Martens, Professor of International Law in the University of St. Petersburg, the author of that prejudiced pamphlet of the year 1879, "Russia and England in Central Asia."

C. D. COLLET.

ARTICLES OF DIET SUITED TO DIFFERENT CASTES AND TEMPERAMENTS, AS DESCRIBED IN HINDU SCRIPTURE

THE BHAGWAT GITA, in the 17th Chapter, has the following about the three kinds of food which are dear to different persons according to the quality or temperament predominant in them:—

The food that is dear unto those of the SATWA-GOON is such as increases their length of days, their power, and their strength, and keeps them free from sickness, happy and contented. It is pleasing to the palate, nourishing, permanent, and congenial to the body. It is neither too bitter, too sour, too salt, too hot, too pungent, too astringent, nor too inflammable. The food that is coveted by those of the RAJO-GOON is bitter, sour, salt, hot, pungent, astringent and inflammable. It giveth nothing but pain and misery. And the delight of those in whom the TAMA-GOON prevaieth, is food that was dressed the day before; is out of season; hath lost its taste; is grown putrid; the leavings of others, and all things that are impure.

With regard to the three qualities or temperaments predominant in men, the *Bhagwat Gita* has the following in the 14th Chapter—

There are three great *Goon* or qualities arising from *Prakriti* or nature: *Satwa*: truth, *Rajas*: passion, and *Tamas*: darkness. The *Satwa-Goon*, because of its purity, is clear and free from defect, and entwineth the soul with sweet and pleasant consequences, and the fruit of wisdom. The *Rajo-Goon* is of a passionate nature, arising from the effects of worldly thirst and imprisoneth the soul with consequences produced from action. The *Tamo-Goon* is the offspring of ignorance, the confounder of all the faculties of the mind, which imprisoneth the soul with intoxication, sloth, and idleness. The *Satwa-Goon* prevaieth in felicity; the *Rajas* in action, and the *Tamas*, having possessed the soul, in intoxication.

With regard to the Castes or tribes and their duties, the *Bhagwat Gita* has the following in the 18th Chapter:—

The respective duties of the four tribes of Brahman, Kshatreeya, Vaishya and Shoodra are determined by the qualities which are in their constitutions. The natural duty of the *Brahman* is peace, self-restraint, zeal, purity, patience, rectitude, wisdom, learning, and theology. The natural duties of the *Kshatreeya* are bravery, glory, fortitude, rectitude, not to flee from the field, generosity, and princely conduct. The natural duty of the *Vaishya* is to cultivate the land, tend the cattle, and buy and sell. The natural duty of a *Shoodra* is servitude.

The above extracts will show the qualities or temperaments upon which the caste system was originally founded, the duties of each caste, and the foods dear to different persons according to their quality or temperament.

For those who practise HATTA-YOGA,* the following foods are respectively mentioned as those to be avoided and those to be taken (see Hattayoga Pradipika):

Foods to be avoided.—Bitter things; sour things; hot things; salt things, inflammable things; vegetables consisting of leaves; oils and things which give oils; liquors; fish; flesh of sheep, etc.; curd, onions, etc.; also cold food reheated, or quite dry food which contains no ghee.

Foods to be taken.—Wheat, rice, milk, ghee, sugar, butter, clarified curd, sugar candy, honey; ginger, some vegetables which are fruits; some pulses; pure water.

JANÁRDAN SAKHÁRÁM GADGIL, LL.B.,

Judge of the High Court, Baroda.

The following verses, in our last number, from Pandit Indravarma Saraswati's poem "On the Oriental Weather in England in the Year of Centuries, 1893," may be read with interest in connexion with the above and with the article on, and Legend of, "*The Red Rajputs*" in this issue.

4. The dark iron has conquered the yellow gold and gold has acquired the white diamond of learning. The TAMO-GUN (love of strong liquor, beef and slaughter) gives way to the RAJO-GUN (qualities of a ruler, courage, loyalty, etc.) of the Yavana Kshatryas, the English, who conquered India, but under her benign warmth have developed the SATWA-GUN (intellectual and moral qualities) of the Brahmin, the worshipper of Light, whose colour is white. May cloudless knowledge ever guide the councils of this Empire!

5. In all countries the yellow peasant and the dark grain-dealer complain of the weather in order to raise their prices; but in England the heat has not dried up the food of man. The red Raja and the white Brahmin love the country, but the labourer and trader prefer the town, the devourer of life. Out of its fogs emerge the men of prey who, cold and hungry, destroy Worlds for food and raiment. Their knowledge is that of the lightning which shows false paths in the surrounding darkness. O fertilising river-goddess, Saraswati, Goddess of Learning, may the peasant, not depending on rain, irrigate his soil and, worshipping its cultivation, derive from it boundless wealth and wisdom with health and happiness, which are not found in the devastation of foreign lands!

A RACE OF HAIRY SAVAGES IN TIBET.

In Mr. Rockhill's "*Land of the Lamas*" (London, 1891), there are several references to a race of savages, said to inhabit some of the remote corners

* The lower form of Yoga practice, which uses physical means for purposes of spiritual self-development. It is the opposite of Raja-yoga, the true system of developing spiritual powers and union with one's Higher Self—or the Supreme Spirit, by the exercise, regulation and concentration of thought.

of Tibet. Mr. Rockhill, however, seems strongly inclined to regard the stories about such people as all based upon encounters with *bears*, seen for the first time by people to whom such animals were unknown. When staying at Lushar, he fell in with an old lama, then on his return journey from Lh'asa.

"He described most graphically the journey of the caravan he had joined, through the desert of northern Tibet, and the attacks made on it by small parties of brigands (*Golsak*). Several times, he said, his party had met hairy savages, with long, tangled locks falling around them like cloaks, naked, speechless beings, hardly human, who threw stones at the travellers, but who, having no arms, could do but little harm. This story of hairy savages I had often heard from Tibetans, while at Peking, and I was interested at hearing it again. From many things that happened later, on my journey, I am convinced that this story has its origin in travellers seeing bears standing erect. In northern Tibet these brutes are numerous and large, and people who are in constant dread of meeting brigands take the bears, seen probably at a distance, for them; this notion is further strengthened by the sight of their tracks, which, especially those of the hind paws, have some resemblance to those made by men with naked feet." (Pp. 116-7.)

Although Mr. Rockhill's opinions are deserving of every respect, one is apt, on first reading these statements, to question the soundness of his deductions. It seems odd that people passing through a district where bears are "numerous," should confuse those animals with "brigands." Moreover, would they describe bears as "hardly" human? And, do bears ever "throw stones at travellers"? Nevertheless, Mr. Rockhill supplies further evidence in support of his contention. Another traveller, a Mongol,

"had seen innumerable herds of wild yak, wild asses, antelopes, and *girsun bambursh*. This expression means literally 'wild men'; and the speaker insisted that such they were, covered with long hair, standing erect, and making tracks like men's, but he did not believe they could speak. Then, taking a ball of tumba he modelled a *girsun bambursh*, which was a very good likeness of a bear. To make the identification perfect, he said that the Chinaman [his companion] cried out, when he saw one, '*Hsing, hsiung*.' 'Bear, bear'; in Tibetan, he added, it is called *dré-mou*. The Mongols do not class the bear among ordinary animals; he is to them 'the missing link,' partaking of man in his appearance, but of beasts in his appetites. . . . This is certainly the primeval savage of eastern Tibet, the unwitting hero of the many tales I had heard of palaeolithic man in that country." (Pp. 150, 151.)

These remarks, and the additional statement that "Prjevalsky had in 1871 an experience very similar to mine," seems still further to strengthen Mr. Rockhill's position. But one is again plunged into uncertainty when he goes on to say:—

"There is no doubt, however, that intelligent and educated Chinese, well acquainted with the appearance, habits, etc., of bears, believe there are primitive savages in the mountains of eastern Tibet." "Legends concerning wild men in central Asia were current in the middle ages. King Halibon of Armenia, in the narrative of his journey to the courts of Batu and Mangu Khans in A.D. 1254-1255 speaks of naked wild men inhabiting the desert southeast of the present Urumtsai."

And on a later page (p. 256), Mr. Rockhill mentions that he heard from a Chinese military officer

"many stories about his long and varied experience in Tibet. He had been stationed for three years at Lh'asa and about fifteen years in other localities in Tibet, and being an observant man had much of interest to tell about. When speaking of the wild tribes to the north of the Horla country, he assured me that men in a state of primitive savagery were found in Tibet. Some few years ago there was a forest fire on the flank of

Moont Ka-lo, east of Kanré, and the flames drove a number of wild men out of the woods. These were seen by him; they were very hairy, their language was incomprehensible to Tibetans, and they wore most primitive garments made of skins. He took them to belong to the same race as the Golek, of whom many lived in caves in a condition of profound savagery."

In view of these latter statements, furnished by "intelligent and educated Chinese, well acquainted with the appearance, habits, etc., of bears," it is hardly possible to accept without reserve Mr. Rockhill's dictum that the bear "is certainly the primeval savage of eastern Tibet." It seems clear that the Mongols speak of the bear as a "wild man," but it does not follow therefrom that bears are indicated every time the expression denoting a "wild man" is employed. The Malay *orang utan* is applied to an actual "man of the woods" as well as to *Simia satyrus*. No doubt, to any one who believes in the evolution of man from lower forms, there is a perpetual difficulty in drawing the line between brute-like man and man-like brute. Ortelius calls Vesso "The Island of Satyrs," but that does not justify us in assuming that he understood the Ainos to be no higher than anthropoid apes. The same people were called "*hominis sylvestres*" by a Jesuit priest, in 1565, but it is clear that he used that term with the sense which the Malays themselves are said to attach to *orang utan*, not as indicating anthropoid apes but an actual human, although savage race. As in these cases, therefore, a degree of uncertainty exists with regard to the Mongolian application of the term denoting "wild men." But there can be no doubt that some of Mr. Rockhill's evidence points quite clearly to the existence of a race of hirsute savages, in some of the unfrequented regions of eastern Tibet. From the fact that those people are "very hairy," and that their language is "incomprehensible to Tibetans," a possible kinship with the Ainos of north-eastern Asia suggests itself. One would think that much could be learned from Chinese writers, with regard to those hairy men of Tibet. Are there any other accounts, in addition to Mr. Rockhill's, in European literature?

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

In the last number of the Asiatic Quarterly Review our readers will find a reprint of Dardistan Legends regarding animals (published in 1867) in which they will see the prominent place taken by bears, who are supposed to be runaway debtors. Bears are also said to marry human females, to have a marriage ceremony, etc. Our idea is that, quite apart from the human habits of the bear, the name is that of an aboriginal tribe, just as the "gold-digging ants" of Tibet, mentioned by Herodotus, are the tribe called "anis" that used there to dig for gold, till Tibetan wisdom made it a crime.—E.).

THE RECRUDESCENCE OF LEPROSY OWING TO VACCINATION.

MR. WILLIAM TEEB has addressed us on the subject of our notice on his book on the recrudescence of leprosy and its causation. He admits that a comparison of the censuses of 1881 and 1891 does not disclose an increase of leprosy, but attributes it to the sufferers from white leprosy being excluded from the latter. White lepers, however, are numbered by thousands in India. Mr. J. Hutchinson says that this disease is specially conspicuous in dark races and that it has often been included in Indian

statistics. Mr. Tebb impugns the reliability of the last Census which issued the unusual instruction "not to dispute the statements" made by a person or his guardian. This direction, coupled with the announced intention of segregating the lepers in India, which followed the Leprosy Committee in 1889, must, in Mr. Tebb's opinion, have led to the concealment of thousands of lepers from the last Census Report. None but the lepers of the lowest classes will ever admit being lepers, who, besides, are difficult of diagnosis, unless completely stripped and examined by a trained eye, which the unskilled enumerator cannot do. The Medical Reporter of September 1891 gives particulars of 2,345 lepers in Calcutta which were not included in the Census of that year. "It gives," says Dr. Sirkar to the Lt. Governor, "but half the actual number." This is indeed admitted by Mr. Maguire, one of the Census officers. Sir Andrew Clarke stated at a public dinner that leprosy was increasing as Mr. Tebb's book shows to be the case in various parts of the world as mainly due to arm-to-arm vaccination, as: e.g., in Hawai. The Leprosy Commissioners deny this, but Mr. Tebb has furnished cases which he found among natives and Europeans in India and in the West Indies, British Guiana, South Africa and elsewhere. He then gives a long list of witnesses, beginning with Dr. Sir Erasmus Wilson who not only believe that leprosy could be inoculated into healthy persons by vaccination, but also give particulars of medically certified persons. The Select Parliamentary Committee on Vaccination received similar evidence from the Vaccinator General of Trinidad. The Royal Vaccination Commission under Lord Herschell has had similar evidence tendered to it by the late Dr. Hoggan. Dr. Arning traced the alarming increase of leprosy to a general vaccination in Lahaina, Hawai, and other dermatologists have come to a like conclusion. In Honolulu an entire school had been swept away by leprosy vaccination and Mr. Tebb was begged to make this known to the English public. Mr. Tebb concludes: "The leper asylums in nearly all our tropical colonies, as I have found by personal inquiry are full to overflowing, the new wards recently erected being occupied as soon as completed, and leprosy is increasing *pari passu* with the extension of vaccination. Meanwhile the leprosy arm-to-arm vaccine is enforced in India and in the Crown Colonies by penalties more severe than anything known in Europe."

The *Law Magazine* points out that on the 31st July, Lord Stanley of Alderley elicited from Lord Kimberley a reply regarding the Behar Cadastral Survey, which it considers to be discreditable to our Indian Administration, both financially and morally, and which practically admits the implied charge of misappropriation of trust funds. Lord Kimberley said that he approved of the Bengal Tenancy Act and that it answered all expectation, and that there were good reasons for the Cadastral Survey;—a mere irrelevant expression of private opinion;—that Lord Cross had stated, Decr. '91, that half the cost of the Cadastral Survey of Benares had been paid from a special fund contributed by landlords for quite a different purpose; but that there had been no concealment about its use (which

does not make it the less wrong); and that this appropriation had been subsequently authorized by the Govt. of India (a mere self-authorization of misappropriation); that there was no need of producing the papers, which could be found with N.W.P. Administration Reports—publications inaccessible to the general public from their cost, and not at all likely to have been seen by the contributors to the fund. That they intended to conceal the matter would appear from the fact, that even in the act authorizing themselves to misappropriate the fund, the purpose to which it was diverted was not divulged. Lord Kimberley added that there was a strong feeling in the province of the want of this Survey depriving the Ryots in several cases of their rights; but this is incorrect; or why would the Ryots have petitioned Govt. not to pass the Bengal Tenancy Act, with its Cadastral Survey clauses?

We have also been favoured with a reprint from *The Law Magazine and Review* of August 1893, comparing the financial position of India with that of France before the Revolution. It draws serious consideration to the parallel offered by Baron F. de Rothschild's two articles on "The Financial Causes of the French Revolution."

Frequent unnecessary and profitless wars, subsidies to tribes to favour our reckless advance, faulty public works, waste of money in bad purchases and the annual flittings of the Indian governments to the Hills are contrasted with similar wasteful acts of the French Kings and court. The division between rulers and ruled, the growing sense of wrong in the hearts of the people in old France find their counterpart in the India of to-day. The incidence of taxation, so high as to paralyze industry without increasing revenue, the evils of the salt monopoly, the excessive borrowing, the increase of debt and the decline of revenue all point to a faulty fiscal policy, parallel to that of old France. The high credit of India is stated to be due to the belief that Great Britain guarantees Indian obligations; but Parliament and the British taxpayer would object to spend their money on India. The exactions and oppressions of officials in France are repeated by our sub-officials, and are not the less real because they are unauthorized. Forced labour, discouragement of industries, neglect of redressing grievances, and the absolute and unchecked control assumed by the Secretary of State are all touched upon. The natives, naturally conservative and law-abiding, will bear much, but the continual bad government must eventually arouse them. Of the three causes assigned for the Mutiny, our interference with the rights of the Chiefs and our spoliation of the native nobility and gentry continue the first. The native army, though seemingly staunch, sends out each year a large number of drilled but disappointed men, who are declared to constitute a little considered danger; and a European or other war may at any time reduce the European troops in India on whose strength our Empire is declared to be based. The suddenness of the outbreak of the Mutiny of 1857 is held to show how little our officials know of the under-currents of native thought.

The article, distinctly pessimistic in tone, is still of great importance.

The Indian Census Report for 1891 has just been laid on the Table of the House of Commons. Its accuracy may be estimated from the assertion of the Census Commissioner that the final enumeration of over 250 millions of people was carried out within four hours!! This is like the talk of a former Military Secretary to the Indian Government that the taking of Kandahar by the Russians would be equivalent to their taking Calcutta, or like the tact which sent Lord Roberts of Kandahar to meet the Amir of Kabul and Kandahar.

The analysis of the Census Report in our next issue may show with what wisdom the Indian World is governed. In the meanwhile, a third edition of a pretentious and inaccurate book enlightens the British public as to the geography and politics of "Where Three Empires do *not* meet."

Dr. C. Berdoe has addressed us an article comparing the pity inculcated in Oriental writings for our fellow-creatures, the dumb animals, with the professional cruelty which *dissected living human beings* during the Middle Ages in Europe on precisely the same grounds of the supposed exigencies of science that are advanced now by vivisectionists in favour of subjecting live dogs and rabbits to every circumstance of sustained torture.

The brutalizing effect of such practices in India cannot be overrated. We hear of a case in which a disgrace to the medical profession insisted on a fee of Rs. 5,000 being paid down by a dying native Chief before he would go to see him. The Government of India have not been a moment too soon in publishing a scale of fees to be charged by its Medical servants who may be called to attend native Chiefs.

Another instance is that of a vivisectionist performing an operation for the cataract before a class. He blinded the patient by mistake and then coolly told his audience "Here you see the result of a mistaken operation." Dr. Pasteur is said to have recommended that Slam be tried for experiments in Rabies inoculation on the ground, perhaps, of *fiat experimentum in corpore vivo*. Why should Eastern nations be thus experimented on? We are astonished at one Muhammadan State permitting vivisection and at a Maharaja, similarly blinded by pseudo-scientific phraseology, inoculating himself and his Court against Cholera. There will not be much health and caste left in India after the natives are inoculated against Rabies, Cholera, Consumption, Small-pox and every other disease for whose prevention this doubtful process is recommended.

His Highness Sayad Abd-ul Aziz bin Saeed, sole surviving son of the late Sultan of Zanzibar is a claimant for the throne now occupied by one of his nephews. Sultan Saeed was succeeded in turn by his sons, the last dying in March last. Sayad Abd-ul Aziz was absent in Oman on the last two demises of the crown, and was consequently passed over in favour of younger scions of the family, though he claims to have been the rightful heir, according both to Zanzibar custom and his father's will. It is stated too, that the last Sultan, his brother, named him as the successor to the throne in his will. Sayad Abd-ul Aziz, in an evil moment for him-

self, went to Bombay in 1890, to secure the aid of the Indian Government for his claim. That Government, while declining to help him will not allow him to quit India; and he complains both of virtual imprisonment and of want of means for a suitable living. He has lately appealed to the Secretary of State. We hope that his case will be fully investigated, and that due redress will be given for what certainly seems, at first sight, a high-handed interference with the personal liberty of a free-born nobleman. Sayad Abd-ul Aziz, we must add, does not seek the deposition of the present Sultan, but only a declaration of his own right of succession, in case of the present Sultan pre-deceasing him.

THE BRITISH MISSION TO AFGHANISTAN.

A LEADING article in the *Times* of September the 19th announced to the World that a British mission was on its way to Kabul, with the object of removing certain causes of uneasiness which disturbed the relations subsisting between the two Governments. The writer of the article, after recording that a similar mission had been arranged in 1888; that an interview between the Amir and the Indian Viceroy had afterwards been proposed; that later, Lord Roberts was to have met the Amir at Jellalabad; that all those endeavours to obtain a conference had failed through "the dilatory diplomacy of the Afghan Court," goes on to state that

"a strong and stable Government in Afghanistan is the keystone of our frontier policy, and that the fall of Abdurrahman and the establishment of a new order of things at Kabul would bring new dangers upon India."

The particular matters to be discussed with the Amir are referred to in the following sentences, towards the end of the article:—

"The attitude of the Amir with reference to the terminus of the railway from Quetta to the Afghan frontier; his attempted aggression in the Kussam Valley; his endeavours to encroach on Mohmand territory; his insidious advances on the side of Baluchistan—all these are matters that must be cleared up. It ought not to be difficult to convince the Amir that he has absolutely nothing to dread from the supposed forward policy of any Anglo-Indian party."

The drift of these sentences becomes clear when we look back at our recent differences with Abdurrahman. The Amir remonstrated with us for building a railway station in his territory near Chaman; and, on our side, we complained of annoyances offered to our troops and to the British Agent in the Zhob Valley. Our complaints failed in obtaining from the Amir the least support in favour of the military posts we had established beyond the Indian frontier; and the annoyances to our troops have greatly increased of late: our patrols have been ambuscaded, our officers attacked on their way to and from our camp, and our post at Kajuri Kach has recently been burnt, with large quantities of grain, forage, saddlery and other stores.

In short, our advance into the border-lands of Afghanistan has been objected to passively by the Amir, but with active hostility from the tribesmen; and the object of the present mission is to remove the obstacles thus raised against our military occupation and the free movements of our troops. The matter is to be presented to the Amir under various aspects:

he is reminded that, in consideration of the subsidy he receives, he has undertaken to shape his external policy in consultation with us; and that "it is his interest as well as his duty to abstain from anything which would give his formidable neighbours on the North a pretext for resuming the offensive against him."

He is to be told at the same time that

"his susceptibilities cannot be permitted to cover proceedings that would throw all our frontier policy into confusion."

In all this there seems a covert menace as to the action we should take, if our demands are not complied with, and as to the fatal consequences which might ensue for the Amir himself. This menace and the promise given to the mission, cannot fail to awaken general interest and some anxiety regarding the result of this step now taken in the furtherance of "the forward policy." What we require of the Amir is, that he will consent to our occupying Afghan tribal territory and give us at least his moral support in the matter. Abdurrahman's position is described in the *Times* as "the ruler of a loosely organised State, peopled by tribes who have no love of the English name."

We know, moreover, that the tribes of Afghanistan are governed, each by its elected Chief and Council, but are all united by a faith which strictly enjoins the exclusion of a non-Mahomedan power from their land. Amir Yakub Khan in 1879 lost his influence the moment he consented to the permanent residence of a British Envoy at Kabul and to the temporary occupation of the Kurram Valley by British troops. The concessions he made in the treaty of Gandamak were at once repudiated by the Afghan tribes who rallied under the standard of Islam against the common enemy.

While such conditions prevail in Afghanistan it seems vain to expect that Abdurrahman will comply with our present demands, or that his compliance, if obtained, would promote our policy. Sher Ali, when threatened and attacked by us for purposes precisely similar, retired beyond the Hindu-Kush, and we were left to deal with the tribes, with results which it would be useful to remember at the present conjuncture.

HISTORICUS.

Our readers of a recent article on "the Kelâm-i-pir" and on the Head of the Ismailian community will be pleased to hear that its present Chief, H.H. Aga Khan, has rendered excellent service to the cause of peace in connexion with the late Bombay riots by "directing all the Khojas to keep the peace and not to join the riots" as was prominently brought to notice at the Reception on the 29th August last by Lord Harris of the Muhammdans and Hindus who had assisted the police in suppressing the outbreak and in restoring order. Indeed, it is only by the co-operation of Government with the leaders of the religious communities in India that the *Pax Britannica* can be easily maintained.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA.—Sir Henry W. Norman, G.C.B., K.C.I.E., at present Governor of Queensland and formerly a member of the Council first of the Supreme and then of the India Office Council, has been announced to succeed, as Viceroy of India, Lord Lansdowne whose term of Service expires in the beginning of next year. To say that this has been a surprise to all is to say little; nor shall we add a word on the subject beyond expressing the hope that his already advanced age may not be an impediment to his placing a worthy coping-stone on the edifice of his already acquired good reputation.* Major General C. E. Nairne, C.B., from Meerut has been nominated to the chief command in Bombay, and Major General C. Mansfield Clarke, C.B., to that of Madras. Sir A. P. MacDonnell succeeds Sir P. Hutchins in the Governor General's Council.

The closing of the Indian mints to free coinage of silver has not yet produced all the good results expected from it; for the long delay in the signing of the report of the Herschell commission had allowed India to be flooded with enough cheap silver to swamp indefinitely the effects of the closure: practically the mints are still open and have been coining at the rate of Rs. 600,000 per day. But when this flood has been absorbed and the export season necessitates larger remittances to India which India now will decline to take in silver, a steady rise must occur in the rate of exchange. Already there are signs of this. Exchange had touched 1.4d. at the proclamation of the Indian Government; and though forced back to 1.2½ by abnormal dealings in Rupee paper backed by the suicidal policy of the India Office, with its Council Bills, the exchange is already again above 1.3½. The India Office has caused severe loss to India in this matter, which we hope to see fully investigated. And here we must pointedly call attention to the important fact, that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P. for Finsbury, who poses as the representative in Parliament of India, has remained perfectly silent, while India has been thus treated. Silent, too, have been the committee of Members of Parliament—including Sir W. Lawson, Sir W. Wedderburn, Sir J. Pease, Messrs. Caine, Paul, and others—who have undertaken to interfere in Indian affairs. The mints in the Native States are closed to silver, or soon will be.

A needless Commission has been appointed, at the outcry of a small knot of pretentious busy-bodies, to investigate the Opium question, and India is to be most unjustly saddled with half the expense—adding a grievous injury to the deliberate insult of a vexatious and uncalled-for interference with Indian administration and finance. This has already provoked adverse criticism in India, and done much to excite ill-feeling among the natives. Any attempt at suppressing the use of Opium will certainly and rightly be resisted by some of the best races of India—the Sikhs and the Rajputs. Apropos of this subject, the report of the Bombay

* As we go to press, we learn that he has withdrawn his acceptance of the offer.

Lunatic Asylums gives 1 inmate from opium, against 21 from alcohol and 44 from Ganja and Bhang.

The British India Association have made a formal protest against it to the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, who in his carefully worded reply pointed out that if India had (as some of the most vehement supporters of this commission pretended to wish) any extended local or representative government, that Commission and its interference with Indian affairs would be an absolute impossibility. The Hemp Drugs Commission has been a failure, as not a single witness has come forward for examination.

Numerous and important meetings of the respectable natives continue to be held all over India against the resolution of the House of Commons regarding the Civil Service Examinations being held in India, as also against the Secretary of State's action in thwarting the effects of the closure of the India mints to free coinage.

The Committee on the Indian Cantonments Contagious Diseases system have reported that the previous resolution of the House of Commons—another of its unwarranted interferences with the internal affairs of India—has not been carried into effect. Even its limited application keeps 4,000 British troops continually in hospital—a serious drain on the Indian treasury for absolutely unserviceable material, which is likely to be much increased by further interference.

Very serious riots, attended with loss of life have occurred, in Rangoon, the Azimgarh district and Bombay, between Hindus and Muhammadans, owing to the opposition of the former to the sacrifice of a cow by the latter on their *Id-us-zuhâ*. The mutual animosity, well known to be chronic in India between the two religions, has been lately accentuated by the circulation of incendiary pamphlets by Hindus and the persistence by Muhammadans in sacrificing a cow, when other animals would better answer their purpose. We doubt not that the Government will strenuously continue their traditional and wise policy of perfect religious freedom, limited by the prohibition to do anything offensive to the religious feelings of anyone; and that while the actual offenders are punished, their instigators—the writers, publishers and circulators of the incendiary literature—will not be allowed to escape with impunity. These riots do much to show the necessity of the strong and impartial hand of the British Government, to withhold the heterogeneous masses in India from mutual slaughter.

The crops in India have been generally good; but heavy floods have done damage in many places; and notably at Srinagar and in the Kashmir valley, where immense loss was caused, in Gilgit where two bridges on the lately made road were swept away, at the Mud Gorge where another slip occurred, at Hyderabad on the Nizam's Railway and several other lines.

In the native States, we have to chronicle the conferring of an honorary Colonelcy in the British Army, by an autograph letter of her most gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress, on His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore. This is a graceful act of recognition for the excellent government of that State, the character of its ruler and the ability of its Dewan. The Khan of Khelat has been allowed to abdicate, and has been succeeded by his

son; but to repress some disturbances that had arisen, a small force of our troops has been sent back to garrison Khelat itself. The grant by the Maharaja of Patiala of some land to a relative, the Rana of Dholepore, has had to be referred to the Government of India, as such grants are forbidden by treaty. Disturbances were reported from Mandi, owing to the compulsory extension of vaccination. The Sikhim-Tibet treaty is at last concluded: a mart is to be established near the frontier, where all Indian produce may be sold, except Indian Tea, which is excluded for 5 years.

The Samana range is to be occupied permanently by 400 troops, to be raised in summer to 1,000. Rs. 95,000 have been sanctioned for officers' quarters at Cherat; Rs. 14,000 for a general Hospital at Agra.

Pundit Mahesa Chandra Nyayaratna has established associations for encouraging Sanscrit study at Balasore, Puri and Cuttack. The Raja of Morbhhanj gives Rs. 8,000 a year for the maintenance of two of them. Sir D. M. Petit of Bombay has given Rs. 25,000 towards the Bengal Veterinary Schools.

IN AFGHANISTAN there has been desultory fighting in the Hazarajat, and the rebellion is not yet quite suppressed. The Khushh valley delimitation has been accomplished; and Col. Yate goes on to his post at Meshed; but from the fact that many subjects of the Amir are quitting the territory assigned to Russia it is evident that we have once more yielded to Russian aggression. The Amir has loyally accepted the award. He has also consented to receive a mission for arranging several matters which require settlement between him and the Indian Government. Sir Mortimer Durand, the Secretary of the Foreign Department, is the envoy chosen, who with his small staff will be the guest of the Amir till he quits Afghanistan on his return. The ease with which the Amir's consent was obtained and the promptitude with which he has made the preparations for receiving the embassy show, as we thought all along, that his former objections were not to the thing itself but to the person selected by the Viceroy. It speaks little for the tact of the Indian Foreign Office not to have foreseen the very natural objections which prevented the Amir from receiving Lord Roberts of Kandahar and this is one more proof of the present incapacity in high quarters in India. The mission has already been most hospitably and cordially received in Afghan territory, by General Ghulam Haidar Khan. Major Ellis, Lieutenants MacMahon and Manners-Smith, Dr. Fenn, and Mr. Donald accompany Sir Mortimer; and all go without escort except that of the Amir's troops.

The weak yielding of SIAM to the first unjust and arrogant demands of France has, as was foretold, led France to larger claims and greater pretensions. The first ultimatum being accepted was loyally executed by Siam; but M. Myre de Vilers, late of Madagascar, now "asks for more" still. It seems strange that the Indian and the Home Governments should continue to show such apathy in a matter which so intimately concerns both Indian and British interests.

At the STRAITS SETTLEMENTS, a committee has been formed to see what can and should be done in the matter of silver currency, a great difficulty being that the coining of the current Mexican dollars is beyond

our control. The report of this committee* will be of all the more importance, because till it has been issued and discussed, Lord Herschell's Commission on Colonial Currency, lately sitting at the Colonial office, has adjourned its own action: this commission is composed of the Indian Currency Commission, except that Messrs. Meade and Fairfield have replaced Sir A. Godley and General Strachey. Ceylon and the Mauritius, using Rupees, will be dealt with by the action of India; the Straits and Hong Kong have to face the question of the irresponsible Mexican dollar; and the West Indies present difficulties of their own.

In JAPAN there have been renewed earthquakes and volcanic outbreaks in the Higo and Nasu districts. Two boat crews of emigrants for the Kurile Islands were wrecked. Hawaii has lately received 480 Japanese; and the Imperial Government seem to favour an extensive exodus of their people to foreign countries. Corea has consented to pay the indemnity of 90,000 yen, demanded by Japan.

In CHINA two Swedish missionaries were murdered at Sung pu, about 100 miles north of Hankow. Two others trying to recover their bodies were sent back. The Chinese decline to pay compensation; and it is stated that some mandarins were implicated in the murders. The Italian Catholic Mission of Mien Yong, 90 miles S.W. of Hankow, was destroyed in a riot. An insurrection was reported from the Huaichih district, and was suppressed with a loss of 5,000. A great famine has occurred in Mongolia, when $\frac{2}{3}$ th of the people have either left their homes or have perished of hunger; and women and children have been sold as slaves to save them dying of starvation. It is stated that the Emperor on being informed of their dire distress, ordered that relief should be sent at once, and on the officials replying that the difficulty of doing so was great owing to the distance, said that railways should be used:—a most important utterance, likely to produce great results, if it be a fact. Our minister at Peking has visited Formosa and is gone to Corea also.

From Russian Asia we learn that 24 miles of Railway are opened from Vladivostock westwards, and the preliminary works are completed as far as the Amoor, across which a bridge is to be constructed over 1 mile 5 furlongs in length. For the Gafskoi-Kabaroska section, the rails are being conveyed *via* the Yennisee river. The boats employed in this service have been specially built in Scotland. Along the same route the pioneer effort chronicled by Mr. J. M. Price, whose book is reviewed in our October, 1893, number, is being followed out by both Russian and English enterprise. About the Pamirs, the Russians left Marghilan on 1st June, but the great part of the force is to remain in the Alai valley, while Col. Yonoff goes with reliefs for the troops which had been left last year in the Pamirs. Chinese troops also are said to be moving towards their part of the Pamirs.

In TURKEY, further disturbances are reported from Armenia. Of seventeen implicated at Angora, 2 were pardoned, 10 had their sentences of

* This report has just been issued and is discordant. Some members advocate the use of the Indian Rupee, others the continuance of the Mexican Dollar, and others against the local coinage of a British Dollar.

death commuted to various terms of imprisonment, and the court of appeal confirmed the sentence on the remaining 5, on their own confession of being guilty of bloodshed and murder. The facts were communicated to our minister. A great deal of undeserved sympathy is wasted on the Armenians who appear systematically to cause trouble for the purpose of throwing discredit on the Turkish administration. The last scheme we heard was that of disguising themselves as Kurds, slaying some of their number who for some reason were obnoxious to them, and casting the blame on the Kurds who have doubtless quite enough of their own misdeeds to answer for, without being made responsible for those of the Armenians. A large number of normal schools for girls have been opened by direct order of His Majesty the Sultan, to meet the increased demand for highly educated ladies to be employed as schoolmistresses for female education. Herr Dorpfeld, director of the German Archæological Institute at Athens, has been excavating at Troy, Madame Schlieman contributing 10,000 frs., and the German government paying the rest of the expenses incurred, up to April next. He has discovered more ruins of Homeric Troy,—Mykenian remains 6 ft. thick, and great Cyclopean walls in the Acropolis. In the recent earthquake in the district of Malatia, 915 persons were killed, 328 wounded, 4,628 houses were destroyed and 4,801 rendered unsafe. Two-thirds of the owners are said to be too poor to repair them. The Sultan and many of the higher officials have subscribed liberally to help them. Cholera has been raging at Jeddah, Mecca and the Hedjaz. The deaths have been counted by the thousand; and the Egyptian medical delegate says the reality is fully double the statements made; and that the scarcity of gravediggers aggravated the horrors of the epidemic.

From EGYPT, H.H. the Khedive paid the customary visit to Constantinople for investiture by H.M. the Sultan, who received him with great favour, and conferred on him the *Nishan-i-Imtiaz*. His Highness visited his grandfather, Ismail Pasha, and received visits from the Vizier and the Secretary of the British Embassy. But his reception though most cordial, failed signally to procure him any countenance from the Sultan in his opposition to England. It was asserted that he wished the Sultan to insist on the recall of Lord Cromer, the substitution of Turkish for British troops in Egypt, or at least a Turkish battalion to act as his personal body-guard. The Sultan with great tact is said to have dispelled the illusions under which the Khedive has laboured; and His Highness has returned to Egypt loaded with honours but without any of the demands he had made being complied with. Mukhtar Pasha also continues to represent the Sultan in Egypt. A decree has been published insisting on the Arabic language as the basis of instruction in all branches of the curriculum in Government schools. Till now, though always taught and up to a high standard, it was not the medium for teaching sciences, etc. The last French yellow book shows that Mr. Gladstone has pointedly denied any right of France to interfere specially in the affairs of Egypt.

In MOROCCO, Sir J. West Ridgeway has been replaced by Mr. E. Satow as our minister. The Sultan has prohibited the export of wheat from the 12th of October; and though the consular body have remonstrated, he

has adhered to his decision. There has been some serious fighting between the Sultan's troops and the Himaleen and Sarasheen tribes, the former proving victorious, though suffering heavy loss. The country is still in an unsettled state. Captain Binger has been appointed French governor on the Ivory Coast, and General Dodds, after a hearty reception in France, has returned to Dahomey, where Behanzin has not yet submitted. The French have got behind Sierra Leone, and are preventing caravans from coming to British territory from the interior, compelling them to go round to French territory.

From the CONGO STATE, it is said that Tippu's sons have been defeated at the Stanley Falls and driven from the fortress of Issangi at the mouth of the Lomani; Capt. Jacques at Albertville has been reinforced by Lt. Long from Tabora, and has driven back the Arabs beyond the Lukuga; and Capt. Decamp is conveying 2 artillery guns, *via* the Shiré, to Tanganyika. Captain Dhanis has succeeded Van Kerckhoven, and has fixed England's sphere of influences at the 24° to 31° degrees, and is about to extend his own operations up to Wadalai, an expedition sent to his aid under Capt. Baert having enabled him to repulse those who barred his way. Emin Pasha, reported to have started for the Congo State direct in October 1892, is at length definitely pronounced to have been slain by the Arabs. Capt. Dhanis has found a box full of interesting documents left by Emin.

At the CAPE the revenue for the year is given at £5,008,241, and the expenditure at £4,689,424; the surplus will be used to extinguish the balance of the 5% debt of 1883. For the ensuing year the revenue is estimated at £5,600,000 and the expenditure at £4,874,071. The anticipated surplus will be used for railways and local expenditure. A loan is proposed of £100,000 for railway betterment. No additional taxes are needed. Diamond stones to the amount of £1,000,000 have been sold by the De Beer's mine to a Stone Syndicate in London.

In NATAL Responsible government was proclaimed on 4th July, and came into operation on the 20th, after a general election. The SWAZI LAND convention continues to hang fire, but President Kruger is said to be dissatisfied with the action of the British government. Lobenguela's *impis* have been raiding in Mashonaland, and approaching Victoria. On being warned, they refused to retire, and were chased out. Lobenguela himself continued friendly and declared it had been done without his orders; but the situation continues serious. The South Africa Co. who were responsible for the peace, were quite alive to the circumstances. At Lourenço Marques, the greater part of the Postal, Customs, and Railway officials had been dismissed, and traffic was suspended, leading to an acute crisis. The German E. Africa Co. shows a profit of 205,560 mks., for which 117,154 were carried over from last year: the dividend was 5%; and the coffee plantations are prospering. The German Anti-slavery Committee at the request of Major Wissmann have sent presents to the British officers who had helped him in the expedition for the conveyance of their steamers to the Nyassa lake. The Anglo-German delimitation has been ended satisfactorily.

In UGANDA, Sir Gerald Portal has given back to the Catholics some

territory of which they had been deprived by Capt. Lugard, and a kind of *modus vivendi* has been established. While on his way back to the coast, he was suddenly recalled to re-establish order which had been seriously threatened by the Muhammadans. The Muhammadans are said to number 20,000; the Protestants about 200,000; and the Catholics about 50,000, of whom about 10,000 have been baptized. The total population is given as 500,000 but is said to be more probably only 300,000. Our government still await Sir Gerald's report, before deciding what they will finally do regarding Uganda.

MAURITIUS has suffered from a severe fire.

The late financial crisis in AUSTRALIA has resulted in the prosecution of several Bank officials and in the reconstruction of several of the collapsed Banks. The last measure is partly to be regretted, as there are far too many Banks for the requirements of the colonies. Retrenchments are being made all round, education and public works both suffering heavily on this score. The gross public debt at the close of 1891 was £192,000,000; of which £131,000,000 had been spent in productive works, £116,000,000 being for railways. The Colonies have objected strongly against the proposed occupation by France of the New Hebrides. Two or three artillery officers are to be sent each year to India to attend the winter camps of exercise of their arm of the service. Australian wines last year were 260,231 gallons against 177,346 last year.

In WEST AUSTRALIA the new Constitution Bill has granted virtual manhood suffrage. The gold product of last year is given at £277,000. A new loan is proposed of £540,000 for completing public works, but will not be floated at once. Though an unfortunate outbreak of small-pox diminished the Customs' receipts, the total revenue increased 10 per cent., and was £205,000, expenditure £142,000—credit balance £63,000.

In SOUTH AUSTRALIA, notwithstanding new taxation, the revenue was only £2,500,000 being a decrease of £280,000. Customs fell off £41,000, railway revenue £56,000 and Land £61,000. The estimate for the coming year is to show a surplus of £6,000. The total deficit which in 1887 was £1,000,000, had by 1893 been reduced to £680,000, but has now increased again.

VICTORIA has reduced its Governor's salary from £10,000 to £7,000 a year, and also the salaries of her ministers, members of parliament and other officials. The financial statement shows a deficit of £960,188; this is to be met by retrenchments, an income tax graduated from 3d. to 6d., a dividend tax and other imposts—3 per cent. on all foreign produce which does not actually pay 4 per cent. The retrenchments are believed to save £175,000; the new primage duty to bring in £100,000. If the estimates prove correct, there will be a balance to the good next year. The income tax was carried after violent opposition, by a majority of 7. The revised estimates just received promise a clear surplus of £471,000 towards reducing the estimated deficit of £1,250,000.

NEW SOUTH WALES has been very indignant at the apathy of the Home government in not insisting on full redress in the matter of the *Costa Rica* ship detained by the Dutch East Indian authorities; and say that the

indemnity of £2,500 paid to the Captain is insufficient. A seamen's strike has collapsed after doing some damage to trade as a matter of course. Additional taxation has been imposed to about £250,000 on wealth and property. The revenue shows a decrease of £497,000.

In QUEENSLAND, Sir T. Mac Ilwraith, escaping defeat by the casting vote of the Speaker, wished to resign; but his resignation was not accepted, as it was felt that in the present financial situation any dislocation in the government would be a positive calamity. Retrenchments have been made to the amount of £300,000, and 600 officials have been dismissed. The revenue was £3,446,000, or £220,000 below the estimates; expenditure £3,473,716; the deficit was £27,716; making a total debit of £287,000, mostly covered by recent Treasury Bills. The estimates for this year are, revenue £3,375,000 and expenditure £3,378,000. Salaries of Civil Servants over £150 are reduced by 10 per cent.; but salaries fixed by parliament (especially of ministers) remain intact. The creation of North Queensland into a separate colony was rejected by the Legislative Assembly by 31 to 16 votes.

NEW ZEALAND continues her prosperous career, and naturally objects to being federated with Australia—at least just now. She has a surplus of £130,000 to put to that of £283,000 from last year. Of this £250,000 are to be devoted to public works, and a small reduction will be made in taxation. The Bill for Woman's Suffrage has passed.

TASMANIA is still under her financial depression, and her deficit in December will be £30,000. It will be met by increased customs and probate duties, a land tax and a graduated income tax, Sir E. Braddon retires from the office of Agent of the Colony, and his successor is to receive only £500 a year.

The SOLOMON ISLANDS group, which was already under our protection, is now formally annexed.

The most important event of the quarter regarding CANADA is the Award of the Behring Sea Arbitrators. The court consisted of seven members, 2 for America, 2 for Great Britain (one a Canadian), and one each from France, Italy, and Sweden and Norway. Of these, one American sided throughout with the American claims, the other only on one point, while on all the rest, the decisions were given by 6 to 1. These were:—1. that though Russia had claimed jurisdiction over the Behring Sea up to 100 Italian miles off its coasts and islands, she had subsequently admitted both to the United States in 1824, and to Great Britain in 1825, that her rights were restricted to "a cannon shot" from the shore, and since then, till the cession of Alaska, had exercised no greater powers;—2. that Great Britain never recognised nor ceded any exclusive jurisdiction of Russia beyond the ordinary 3 mile limit;—3. that the Behring Sea was included in the term Pacific Ocean in the treaty of 1825 between Russia and Great Britain and that no exclusive rights beyond territorial waters were held or exercised by Russia;—4. that all Russian rights did pass unimpaired to the United States by the treaty of March 1867 (unanimous);—5. that the United States have no right of protection or property in the seals frequenting the islands belonging to the United States when such seals are found

outside the 3 mile limit (both the American delegates dissenting). The arbitrators continued that these decisions having left it necessary that the British Government should concur for the establishment of any regulations for preserving and protecting the seals frequenting the Behring Sea, they (by 4 votes to 3, the Canadian and the 2 Americans dissenting) agreed to the following articles: 1. Both Governments to forbid sealing within a zone of 60 geographical miles around the Prityloff Islands;—2. to have a close season from 1st May to 31st July on all the high seas north of 55° N. Lat., and 183° E. (Greenwich) Long. till this meridian strikes the water boundary described in Art. I. of the 1867 Treaty, and following that boundary up to Behring Straits;—3. steam vessels to be forbidden to engage in sealing;—4. all sealing vessels to have a special licence from their respective Governments and a special flag;—5. their log is to contain the exact date and place of each sealing operation, and the number and sex of the seals caught each day; and these entries are to be exchanged between the Governments at the close of each sealing season;—6. nets, firearms and explosives to be forbidden, but shot guns may be used outside the Behring Sea at lawful times;—7. the two Governments are to test the fitness and skill of all sealers;—8. these regulations are not to apply to Indians inhabiting the coast, and sealing in open canoes carrying not more than 5 persons, provided they seal for themselves and are not employed by other persons; and this exemption does not extend to the waters of the Behring Sea and the Aleutian Passes;—and 9. this concurrent regulation, which will continue in force till abolished by mutual consent, shall be subjected to examination of its working every 5 years, for the purpose of revision or modification. The award on matters of fact, concerning the seizure and warning off of vessels was also given in favour of England. Finally, the minority (while not withdrawing their recorded negative votes in detail) accepted the whole of the award as decided by the majority, and thus formally constituted it a unanimous award. They added, 1. that Article VII. should be supplemented by detailed regulations by each of the two Governments and be settled by mutual agreement;—2. that they should try to agree to prohibit all killing of seals on land or sea for 3, 2 or at least 1 year, and should repeat such prohibition from time to time;—3. that the mode of carrying out these awards must be settled by the two Powers. The result has given general satisfaction to Great Britain, the United States and the Canadian Government: but the Canadians interested in sealing naturally object to it as restricting their former liberty of action. May all future difficulties between Great Britain and the United States be solved with equal ease, good-will and satisfaction!

Esquimaux is at length to be fortified by the Royal Engineers and to be garrisoned by the Royal Marines. The Canadian Militia is also being reorganized, with 38,000 men, while Halifax remains the only place held by the Imperial troops, in number 1,500. Martini-Metford rifles have been received for the Canadian service. The Intercolonial Railway, owing to the introduction of reforms, has succeeded in wiping out its annual loss—the average for 6 years being \$440,000,—and has shown a small surplus of Income \$3,065,499, and Expenditure \$3,045,317. A strike on the Mani-

toba and North Western Railway had injured trade a good deal. Messrs. Hudellart and Ward's line of steamers between Canada and Australia has secured a contract for 10 years: a third vessel is to be added at once and the number to be gradually increased. Keppel Bay in Queensland is to be the last Australian point of departure, subject to the payment of a subsidy by the Brisbane government; and the Canadian Pacific Railway officials are to act as Agents for the line in Canada, the United States and England. Messrs. Napier and Sons of Glasgow are treating with Canada for a service of fast steamers across the Atlantic. A great fire at Gibson, N. Brunswick, has destroyed half the town, causing damage valued at \$200,000, but luckily without loss of life; and a great hurricane swept over the maritime provinces of Nova Scotia, with great loss in shipping, forests and crops. The total deposits in the Dominion Postal Savings Banks on the 30th June were \$24,153,193, an increase of nearly \$2,000,000. The number of Chinese immigrants was 2,258 against 1,024 last year, giving a Poll tax of \$113,491. It is stated that in future Yokohama, on account of the cheapness of outfitting, will be the new headquarters of the sealing fleets, *vice* Victoria, British Columbia. The crops have been the best since 1882. The revenue for the year ending 30th June shows an increase of \$1,250,000, and the expenditure was reduced by \$600,000, leaving a surplus of \$1,500,000. The Fisheries' report gives the total at \$18,941,171, of which exports were \$9,675,396; the capital invested is \$7,500,000, and employs 63,000 men. The failure of the Commercial Bank of Manitoba will injure only the shareholders, as the depositors are paid in full. There was some religious rioting at Montreal, but luckily not of a serious nature. An American fishing schooner was seized at Cape Egmont, Prince Edward's Island, and admitted poaching, paying \$500, and costs.

At NEWFOUNDLAND the French persist in giving more and more trouble, and pretend to the right of exemption from duty for all things imported for them. The Newfoundland Government object; and having seized some provisions which had not paid duty, they declared that they were treating the French vessels exactly as they treated British vessels. The French, however, were not satisfied; and their admiral, in a childish huff, declined the civilities offered him, and blustered a good deal. The matter is still pending.

From the WEST INDIES, the TRINIDAD Report for 1892 shows an increase of exports and a larger number of visitors and tourists, and of depositors in the Savings Banks. Its revenue was £563,984, and expenditure £554,390, showing a surplus for the first time—£9,793. The public debt was £608,820. The population was 214,496—an increase of 8,787 during the year. Imports were £1,861,027, and Exports £2,005,277. The Pitch lake revenue was £37,232; and is estimated for 1893 at £42,500. Roads are still much wanted. In BARBADOS, the receipts with the surplus in hand covered the expenditure, leaving £10,000 to be carried forward. In both islands the McKinley Tariff Act has failed to injure exports. In TOBAGO there was a deficit of £1,551; and at the end of the year, the assets were £962 and the liabilities £2,596. The population was 19,534.

OBITUARY.—The deaths have been announced during the quarter of :—
 Lt.-Gen. W. G. Gordon, B.S.C., who served in the Sonthal, Mutiny, Bhootan, Assam and Cuttack Campaigns; Major W. T. Johnson (Crimea, Persia, and Mutiny); Jehangirshaw Erakshaw Kohiyar, Assistant Secretary to the Bombay Government, distinguished for scientific, literary, and administrative ability; General Sir Lothian Nicholson, R.E., K.C.B. (Crimea and Mutiny), Governor of Gibraltar; Gen. H. Pritchard (Goomsur 1835 and Kolapur 1845); H. H. Ali Kemal Pasha, cousin of H. H. the Khedive; J. G. Grant, C.M.G., sometime Speaker of the Barbados House of Legislature; Sir Charles P. Layard, K.C.M.G. of the Ceylon Service; Madame Lenormand, widow of the eminent Orientalist; Dr. John Rae of Arctic Exploration fame; Count Terashima, a leading Japanese nobleman and politician; Capt. Raymond Portal, who died on duty in Uganda; Gen. Sir Edward Hamley, R.A., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., Grand Officer of the Medjidieh, equally distinguished for military and literary work; Col. G. N. Greene, (Maharajpur, 2nd Punjab and China wars); H. G. G. Cadogan, 2nd Secretary of Legation at Teheran; W. Holloway of the E. India Co., for 14 years Judge of the High Court, Madras; Sir R. Price Pulleston, Bart. (Kaffir war); Col. F. C. H. Clarke, C.M.G. Bombay Artillery, Surveyor-General of Ceylon, who had helped in the delimitation of Bulgaria in 1878 and of Turkey in Asia in 1879; Lt. Gen. J. R. Gibbon (Crimea and Mutiny); Major-Genl. C. C. Johnston, R.E.; Gen. the Hon. Sir A. A. Spencer, G.C.B. (Portugal and Crimea), Commander-in-Chief at Bombay, 1869-74; Col. A. G. B. Terna (Manipur 1891), Maj.-Gen. W. Ramsay, Madras S.C.; Sir J. Russell, C.M.G., Chief Justice of Hong Kong; Genl. W. Arbuthnot, C.B.; General J. Daubeney, C.B.; Sir J. P. B. Walsh, B.S.C. (Mutiny), author of several works on India; Surgeon-Major T. H. Parke, of the Stanley-Emin expedition; Gen. Sir Arthur Borton, G.C.B., G.C.M.G. (1st Afghan, Sutlej and Crimean wars), Governor of Malta, 1878-84; General Purwana Khan, Deputy Commander-in-Chief (Naib Sipah Salar) of Afghanistan, who rose to that office from being a slave; the Rev. Dr. H. Gundert of the Basel Mission, sometime Inspector of Schools in Malabar, and author of an Encyclopædic Dictionary of Malayalam-English, published at Bangalore in 1892; the Nawab Abdul Latif Khan Bahadur, C.I.E., a leading Muhammadan gentleman of Calcutta; Senator Donald Montgomery of Halifax, N. Scotia; the Hon. Mr. Justice Telang, C.I.E., of Bombay, a well-known Sanskrit scholar and jurist; Sir A. Tilloch Galt, G.C.M.G., a leading Canadian statesman; Col. T. B. Kennion, R.A. (Sutlej and Mutiny); Dr. Daniel Jerome MacGowan, the oldest Foreign resident in China, unequalled for his knowledge of the people and their ways; the Hon. W. Pearson, of Melbourne.

21st September, 1893.

V.

P.S.—The INDIAN BUDGET, most culpably delayed, was introduced in the House of Commons on the 21st September. A motion was made to allow all officials an appeal to the Home Government, now restricted to the higher grades. The Under-Secretary said it would only cause an enormous increase of work, but he was willing to consider any practical plan. The motion was negatived without a division. Another motion was then made, for a Royal Commission to investigate the condition of India. It was

seconded by Mr. D. Naoroji who dwelt on the poverty of India and the evils of a foreign administration. This motion became merged in the general discussion of the Budget on the 22nd, after being opposed by Sir G. Chesney who showed the incompetency of Mr. Naoroji to pose as a representative of India, from want of general experience of the country, by Sir J. Gorst who defended the Indian Services, by Sir W. Harcourt who dwelt on the unmerited slur to the Indian Government, citing Lord Beaconsfield who declined to entrust the British Empire to select committees and commissions; and by Mr. Goschen who endorsed that view. Sir W. Wedderburn supported Mr. Naoroji and, when challenged as to what practical good the Congress party had done, attributed to it his own life-long labours for the relief of agricultural distress in the Doon, a remarkable instance of self-effacement for party purposes!

* The Under-Secretary for India then made the Budget statement, which we condense. The surplus in 1891-2 had been Rs. 467,000 or Rs. 113,435 over the estimate. In 1892-3, the net revenue had increased by Rs. 1,891,600,—net expenditure by Rs. 3,120,000,—and the anticipated surplus had been changed into a deficit of 1,081,900. Half the increase of revenue had been owing to reduced sales of opium causing increased prices; the remainder, from Land, salt, Excise, stamps, etc. Of this increase, Rs. 451,000 were credited to the Provincial Governments, and Rs. 1,440,600 to the Imperial Government. The chief increase of expenditure was due to forestalling some of the following year's expenses, in (1) the conversion of 4 per cents.—(2) changing Furloughs and Pensions to monthly payments,—(3) Settlement of accounts with the War Office (£175,000 = Rs. 280,000). Exchange, calculated at 1s. 4d.; had been just under 1s. 3d.; and the fall of a penny on the net expenditure in England meant Rs. 2,055,500. The increase in military expenditure was Rs. 464,400. The calculations for 1893-4 were:

<i>Receipts.</i>		<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Expenditure.</i>		<i>Rs.</i>
Departmental Receipts	...	29,500,000	Army	...	23,000,000
Land	...	25,200,000	Railways	...	21,500,000
Salt	...	5,600,000	Civil Governments	...	14,500,000
Opium	...	7,300,000	Buildings and Roads	...	6,500,000
Excise	...	3,200,000	Interest on debt	...	4,100,000
Stamps	...	4,400,000	Canals	...	2,600,000
Provincial Rates	...	3,700,000	Post Office and Telegraphs	...	2,000,000
Minor Sources	...	6,100,000	Miscellaneous	...	6,500,000
Total Rs.	...	90,000,000	Total Rs.	...	91,600,000
Deficit	Rs. 1,600,000.

"The Home Charges" had increased from Rs. 3,000,000 in 1891-2, to Rs. 10,500,000, in 1893-4!!! The Under Secretary then went into a commonplace statement of the question of exchange and the closing of the Indian mints to free coinage of silver, and mentioned, but gave no justification of, the extraordinary sale of Council Bills just in the nick of time to smother the rising exchange at the close of last June. The official exchange for remittances had been fixed at 1s. 6d. at a cost of Rs. 480,000. The estimates revised to date gave an increase in revenue of Rs. 1,640,000 and in expenditure of Rs. 15,500, leaving a clear improvement of Rs. 290,000 and reducing the estimated deficit to Rs. 1,305,100. The opium outlook was bad.

From 1891-2 to 1893-4, Rs. 19,850,000 had been sanctioned for railways and irrigation, with an addition of only Rs. 3,400,000 to the debt; and Rs. 5,700,000 had been spent by companies, the interest being guaranteed by government. The present value of the assets of public works covered the debt of India, except about Rs. 28,000,000, or half a year's net revenue; 4½ and 3½ per cent. loans and debentures had been and were still being converted to 3 per cents. at favourable rates; 490 miles of railway had been opened during the year,—the total mileage on 31st March being 18,042. Evidence of the prosperity of India was found in the increase of imports and exports, in accumulation of treasure, in enhanced material comforts, art and ornaments in houses, the greater quantities of food and salt consumed and in the higher prices paid for land. Much remained to be done for education and hygiene, and the Government were sincerely desirous to do everything possible for India.

Sir R. Temple pointed out the fallacy of the alleged depreciation of silver hoarded by the people of India and their asserted misery. Mr. Emsy spoke about ruin to India from the closing of its mints to free coinage. Mr. Goschen stated that the Indian Government were very careful not to be overcharged by the British Government, that India did not pay its due share for its protection by the Imperial navy, and that the Colonies ought also to pay more, not India less. He approved of the closing of the mints as there was no alternative, but doubted if unmitigated good would result. Mr. Everett spoke about the closing of the mints having contracted the currency of India; and Mr. Montagu refuted him. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that the Government had acted on the best advice possible; and Sir J. Gorst approved of that action. Mr. Egerton Allen complained of the inadequate machinery for administering justice in Burma. Mr. Russell assented up and said that this point would be considered; and the resolution accepting the Budget was passed. The formal report was brought up and agreed to, on the 23rd September.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

1. *Our Indian Protectorate*, by C. L. TUPPER, I.C.S. (London: Longmans and Co., 1893; 16s.). This bulky book is none too large for the very important question which it treats. Mr. Tupper is master of his subject, and he discusses, with great knowledge and marked ability, the relations between the British Government in India and the Feudatory Indian Chiefs. The progress of time, developing and consolidating what had already been achieved, must render more close and intimate the present bond of union between us and these Chiefs, if India is to be made a peaceful, prosperous, contented and powerful Empire. On what lines shall this intimate union be established? Arbitrary interference and domineering high-handedness must have no part in our dealings. We must study history, and the texts of our treaties with these Chiefs, and the advantage of both rulers and ruled, in order to establish the principles on which we are to deal with our feudatories. This is what Mr. Tupper has ably tried to do; and considering that this is almost the first attempt to do justice to this vast and important subject, he has done his work excellently and thoroughly. He touches on International Law, as connected with this matter; he glances at the history of the protectorate—including (at greater length) the annexation of Oudh; he treats of Lapse and Adoption; and he gives clearly our present policy and mode of dealing with native States. The nature of sovereignty and feudalism in India is next given at length, with its difference in various parts of India. Chapter XVII states very fairly some of the advantages of native rule; and Chapter XX is on India in relation to Imperial Federation. Many things laid down by Mr. Tupper are simply applications of Western legal ideas to the special circumstances of India; and these, though sound enough in themselves, must rather rank as what should be than as what actually is the law at present. We have the power to lay down laws; and so long as we do this with due consideration for the rights, feelings and susceptibilities of our Indian feudatories and subjects, they will accept our regulations willingly, act up to them honestly, and be loyal to our paramount power. But we must be just and prudent. Mr. Tupper tells us plainly that his book is unofficial. It is a "study" to help towards the settlement of a question as important and complicated as it is difficult and delicate. As a help to this desirable conclusion, his work is invaluable to British and Indian politicians; and we congratulate Mr. Tupper on having written with much pains a book deserving of deep and careful study, free from serious blemishes, and stating his case ably and clearly. We hope that he will be followed by other writers, on the lines which he has here opened out and made practicable for them, with one strong, admirable effort.*

2. *Ceylon in 1893*, by JOHN FERGUSSON (London: John Hadden and Co., 1893; 7s. 6d.) is a well-illustrated Handbook to Ceylon, brought up to date from former editions, and enlarged by the addition of the statistics of the census of 1891. The appendices which form the bulk of this stout

* We have just received an article on the above work which, with every appreciation of its able writer, differs from the opinion of its reviewer in this issue in pointing out that it will lead to the still further lowering of the status of our Indian Feudatories. We propose to examine this subject in our next issue.—ED.

volume, deal, at length, with many matters concerning Ceylon, its products, sports and resources, and they are generally very interesting reading. Appendix VII, where under the title of Christianity and Missions in Ceylon, we had expected to find much interesting detail, gives little beyond a panegyric of the author's own sect and his efforts at disestablishment. There is a rather long drawn description of an "Elephant Kraal," by which we suppose he means a Keddah; but he errs in saying that it is peculiar to the Island. Appendix VI, on Anarudhapura is the most interesting part of the book. There is too much tendency to giving a *coulour de rose* view of things; and those who have been in the island, will hardly agree that there are no leeches or snakes in Ceylon.

3. *Round the Black Man's Garden*, by ZÉLIE COLVILLE, F.R.G.S. (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1893; 16s.). This book is excellently got up by the publishers; it is well-written and well-illustrated by the authoress; and it has two good maps,—one of Africa and the other, on a larger scale, of Central Madagascar. The accidental spoiling of many of the negatives taken by the authoress of typical natives in various places, was a serious loss, with which the reader will sympathize. She gives us a personal account, interspersed with good descriptions of places and peoples, of a journey from Alexandria, *via* Suez, Mombasa and the inevitable Zanzibar, to Madagascar, which she traversed from East to West. This is the most interesting part of the book, because it deals with an almost unattempted country; and in the lively pages describing her journey, some space is occupied by M. Myre de Vilers, who, transferred from Madagascar for no special qualification as far as our authoress can tell us, is now engaged in trying to bully and outwit Siam. From Madagascar our authoress and her husband went to Mozambique, Quilimané, Lourenço Marques and Durban, whence they visited Pretoria, Joannesburg, Kimberley and Cape Town. Thence going by steamer to the Canaries, they proceeded to Senegambia, and visited Bathurst, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Accra, Bonny and Libreville, and ended their long and eventful journey at Lisbon. Mrs. Colville writes well and pleasantly, and is a good observer and a plucky traveller; and her book will be read with great pleasure by the general reader, who besides the entertainment provided by the varied incidents depicted in its pages will find no small amount of knowledge of the lands and peoples visited by the authoress.

4. *Lord Auckland*, by CAPTAIN L. J. TROTTER (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1893; 2s. 6d.: *Rulers of India Series*). The different volumes of a Series like this are necessarily of varying merit, according to the capacity of each individual author. In the volume here noticed, Captain Trotter maintains the high position secured to him as an author by his previous works. As a biography, however, it is decidedly wanting. We are told little regarding Lord Auckland himself, either before, during or after his Governor-Generalship; and even the sketch of his character is brief, fragmentary and incomplete: we have the right to expect, in such a work, a good deal more regarding both the man and the ruler. Captain Trotter gives us, in fact, little beyond a history of the first Afghan war, with its fortuitous concourse of, singularly blundering and incapable actors. This

our author has told in an excellent manner—clearly, boldly and truthfully, though the share of the blame deserved by Lord Auckland himself is rather minimized. The story is very opportune in the present year, when the same "Forward Policy" is being again advocated and pursued, notwithstanding the warning voices of numerous able and experienced men; and when young politicians eager for distinction and ignorantly earnest for the security of our North-western Frontier, are again being allowed to meddle and muddle, and to worry and harry on our extreme frontiers in that direction, while the Amir of Afghanistan is being needlessly interfered with and abused. Among some other defects of Captain Trotter's book, we note his having taken, at full value, Broadfoot's *Career of Major George Broadfoot*, which thrusts the latter gentleman into an undeserved prominence. We would recommend the reading of Sir A. Lyall's just strictures on that work and his remarks on the proved character of its hero. The attempt to damage the reputation of Sale should not have found a place in this account of the Afghan war.

5. *Lord Clive*, by COL. G. B. MALLESON, C.S.I. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1893; 2s. 6d.). This other volume of the *Rulers of India Series*, more than maintains the high character of its predecessors; and nothing less could be expected from the talented author, who is so thoroughly at home in every part of Indian History. He throws new light on Clive's history from some documents lately published by Dr. Forrest. The account of the battle of Plassey is of deep interest: Col. Malleison shows clearly how little of real fighting settled the already arranged fate of the betrayed ruler of Bengal; and how, for once in his life, Clive, utterly unnerved, simply drifted into safety on a tide of events over which, after he had started them, he was unable to exercise any control. Other parts of the book are equally well done. But the defect, which we have pointed out in other volumes of the series is not absent from this; we see Clive beautifully delineated as the dashing soldier, the daring leader, the inflexible governor, and the prudent reformer; but of Clive as a husband, a father, a friend, as a man in one word, little or nothing is given except what one may read between the lines of the history. His private domestic life remains so much under a veil, that Lady Clive is barely mentioned; and here at least we have no hint how many children they had, when she died, and how they lived together. There are some blemishes of diction. One cannot gather who murdered Chanda Sahib (p. 73), or what was "the insidious disease which rarely left him" (p. 142), what it was he proposed to do with his jaghir, nor how the Clive fund in 1858 came to Clive's descendants (p. 178). There are some peculiar and faulty constructions as at pp. 40, 65, 153. The "stiver" at p. 173 may pass; but a grove cannot be correctly described as diagonal to a river (p. 95) nor a man as "resolving to act *in petto*," (p. 66); and to sue *in forma pauperis* (p. 118) is quite a different thing from being merely a humble suppliant. Surely it was not the Subahdar but the Subah which was put up for sale (p. 162). There are misprints as 111 for 113 (page 87), Doh for Dah at p. 118, India Office for India House, several times. But what becomes of Sir W. Hunter's transliteration, when Shah 'Alam (King of the World) is changed *passim*,

into Shah Alim (Learned King); and the Mogul Emperor, well known as Aurungzebe becomes Aurungzib under Col. Malleeson's pen and Aurungzib under that of Captain Trotter. These are, however, minor defects, which we point out rather for the sake of correction by the gifted author in subsequent editions of the book, which are sure to be called for, as new documents are unearthed. We have to thank Col. Malleeson for a book as delightful to read as it is correct and exact.

* 6. *Aurungzib*, by STANLEY LANE POOLE, B.A. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1893; 2s. 6d.). In this work, another of the *Rulers of India Series*, the author gives us an excellent portrait of the great Imperial bigot, who though not the greatest of the Mogul Emperors reigned over a larger extent of Indian territory than did any of his race. Yet amid the glory of his surroundings and the amount of his revenues, the star of Mogul domination had already passed the zenith. Our author believes in the entire sincerity of Aurungzib's bigotry and religiousness, and he certainly presents strong arguments for it; but they are not absolutely convincing, and we still feel that a certain amount of hypocrisy was not absent from the character of the "Namazi" as Dara called him. The word-portrait of the man and ruler given us by our author is as excellent as the engraving from an Indian artist's pencil which forms the frontispiece of the volume. There is an opportune disquisition at p. 120 proving that the Rupee of Aurungzib's time was fully from 2s. 3d. to 2s. 6d. Not only the Emperor himself, but the circumstances of his times and the changes then taking place in India are clearly given, making the whole a very readable volume of this excellent series. We object, however, to the by no means proved charge of immorality against Jehanara Begum, whose loyal filial devotion during her unfortunate father's captivity ought to have ensured the veiling of this irrelevant scandal. The mention, too, of *bhang* (p. 49 and elsewhere) in connexion with deeds of Rajput valour is historically incorrect and calumnious. Rajput chivalry needs no stimulant beyond its own high sense of honour, and to say that they need intoxicants is as untrue as the assertion that the French charge on Champagne, or the British resist to the death on Whisky or Beer. But the most serious blot in Mr. Poole's work is his description of Delhi and of the Mogul's palace, where, while professing to follow the generally accurate Bernier, there is no excuse for his placing the Chandni Chauk (Silver Street) inside the Fort, any more than for placing on the wrong walls the "*Agar firidous har rul zamin ast, Hamin ast, o hamin ast, o hamin ast.*" It would be well for Mr. Poole to correct his pages of description of the great Imperial city with the help of some—and there are still a few alive—who knew Delhi and especially the Imperial palace before the time of the Indian mutiny.

7. *Lord Wellesley*, by the REV. W. A. HUTTON, M.A. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1893; 2s. 6d.). This—the last issued volume of the *Rulers of India Series*—is superior to several of its companions in giving us a better biography of its hero, and thus placing before the reader not only Wellesley the Ruler, but also Wellesley the man. Mr. Hutton had to contend not with the want but with the exuberance of the materials for his work; but the selections already published—and these he candidly

acknowledges—placed valuable matter ready to his hands, and he has used it skilfully and ably. Wellesley's great qualities are impartially noted with all his little foibles; his accomplished services and his proposed reforms—especially for the education of officers—are well shown; the circumstances of the times are carefully delineated, their difficulties clearly stated, and the vexatious action of the Court of Directors, hampering him as they hampered others both before and after him, are duly dwelt upon. That Wellesley did really found the British Indian Empire and thus did an inestimable service to England, and by no means a less one for India itself, is an admitted fact; the justification of his predetermined scheme of aggrandizement at the expense of Indian states is by no means an easy task. It may be said that if he had not founded the British Indian Empire someone else would have established a French one, may make his action politically justifiable; but we must distinguish between his case and that of some of his compeers who acted under the necessity of self-preservation, whereas he deliberately planned and perseveringly executed an aggressive system of extension, which, whatever its innate worth and resulting benefits, began and ended with many acts of questionable justice:—*e.g.* his action towards the Nizam. But apart from this consideration, which is not inopportune amid the present craze for another "Forward Policy," he certainly was a great man, who achieved a great work, and left to his followers, despite themselves, the task of consolidating and extending it. It logically resulted in the present developed state of this great dependency of the British Empire. Lord Wellesley and his work have found a good historian in Mr. Hutton. We must, however, note, as usual, a few defects. The dates at p. 44 are incorrect and confused; Madhava Rao becomes Mahadaji and Nana is used as a name instead of being a title, at p. 83; we have Jadhpur at p. 98; and Omdal ul Omrah for Omdat ul Omrah in several places. We hope to see these and similar blemishes eliminated in future editions; for one of the services rendered by this *Rulers of India* Series is the stimulating of a taste for Indian literature which is proved by the call for successive editions of most of the volumes of the series, already published.

8. *The Book of Enoch*, by R. H. CHARLES, M.A. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1893; 16s.). Mr. Charles has given us a most valuable work, the knowledge of which is necessary to all students of the Bible; for the ideas in it must have existed in the minds of the writers of the New Testament, and of both Jewish and Christian writers down to the fourth century. Our translator has been preceded by several and notably by Professor Dillmann, whose learned and exhaustive work, indispensable to all who succeed him, Mr. Charles has mainly followed, supplementing it by the many discoveries since made. Mr. Charles gives the text of Dillmann's translation, adding, in notes, his own corrections from the *Æthiopian MS.* discovered by him in the British Museum. This modest plan is by no means good, and we should have preferred Mr. Charles' continuous translation from the British Museum MS., with Dillmann's variations in the notes; and we hope this will be done in any future editions that may be called for. Fragments of the Greek and Latin versions, also recently discovered,

have helped to make the result of Mr. Charles' learned labours more satisfactory; and his book is a complete exposition of all that we yet know regarding the Book of Enoch. His introductions, general and special, his notes and critical apparatus, his excursus and appendices are all valuable contributions both to philology and Exegesis; and we recommend it warmly to our readers. A very interesting study is that of the origin of evil spirits from the souls of the slaughtered giants, the descendants of the angels and of the daughters of men—which seems to constitute a link between demons, Jinns and Devas.

9. *The Story of Abibal the Taurian*, by Val C. PRINSEP, A.R.A. (London: Smith Elder and Co., 1893; 2s. 6d.), has eighty pages of an insipid story of the imaginary find by the pretended translator of the false papyrus of a pointless story of Abibal; a Phœnician supposed to be shipwrecked and offered as a sacrifice to the gods in ancient Britain. There is nothing novel or interesting in either the plots or the results of the two stories, or parts of one story. Historical fiction is all right, when the author avows his literary offspring; but the statements of giving pretended translations from imaginary ancient documents goes beyond fiction; and as it may misguide the general reader, it approaches dangerously near becoming a falsehood.

10. *The Life and Enterprise of Ferdinand de Lesseps*, by G. BARNETT SMITH (London: W. H. Allen and Co., 1893; 7s. 6d.). The sad darkness enveloping the evening of the life of this truly grand Frenchman gives to this book a deep and melancholy interest. The author begins with an account of the distinguished family of which Ferdinand has been the most distinguished. He then relates Ferdinand's successful and brilliant diplomatic career, in which his tact, energy, honesty and kind-heartedness are conspicuous in a remarkable degree. That career closed with an undeserved censure by a Ministerial Court who were really the parties meriting blame. It drove Ferdinand to the great work of his life—the Suez Canal; and we are told, at length, the single-handed firmness of purpose, the indefatigable labours, the undaunted perseverance, and the unconquerable energy which accomplished that enterprise in the teeth of the senseless resistance of England. Next follows, in equal detail, the unfortunate Panama Canal scheme. That it was undertaken imprudently—especially as regards the inevitable loss of life in that terrible climate—is now an acknowledged fact. But beyond that, Ferdinand de Lesseps himself seems to be clear of blame, on whomsoever that may ultimately rest. Among the causes of failure, sufficient prominence is not given to the great earthquake of September 1882 (p. 271). The late trial and its results are given at great length; with touching scenes of the present child-like condition of the Great Engineer: what the French deserve for their action against Ferdinand personally, no words can say. The book is well written, occasionally a little prolix, but full of interest. There are some easily rectified mistakes—as Cicéronaccio for Cicernacchio the Roman demagogue, and a hopelessly confused sentence at p. 17; and sufficient credit is not given to Lord Beaconsfield's statesmanly purchase of the Canal Shares in 1875 (pp. 177 *et seq.*). The book, however, will be read

with a sad pleasure by all. The text of the treaty of Paris in 1888, which fixes the international status of the Suez Canal is of permanent value.

11. *Persian Literature, Ancient and Modern*, by ELIZABETH A. REED (Chicago: S. G. Griggs and Co., 1893; \$2.50). As a popular compilation of much information, this book does a service to the general reader by placing before him in a condensed form—with occasional inaccuracies—what he would otherwise have to seek in many and not easily accessible books. The authoress deals with Cuneiform, Pahlavi, and Persian, including—goodness only knows why—the Qur'an. There is a good deal of the style known in America as "High falutin" which often degenerates into sounding nonsense. The authoress continually speaks of the "feet" of mountains, but does not specify how many each has; and trips in her mythology, and, of course, in her Oriental words. Canopus, she says, "was a star": what it has become now who may tell. At p. 224 she condescends to call the Shah Nameh "a valuable Persian Classic," and that "in the Persian tongue it exists only in manuscript form," evidently ignorant of the book's true place in Persian literature, its peculiar purity of style, and the fact of its having been, long ago, printed in France and in India, not to mention other countries. We wish, nevertheless, to compliment her on her diligence and perseverance. She gives us frequent extracts from Persian books, and thus presents to her readers specimens of some of the gems of oriental thought and language. The book is utterly useless to orientalists, as wanting both in depth and accuracy; but it will benefit the general reader, because in generally following approved authors—e.g., Sayce and Rawlinson—our authoress is not often astray.

12. *Canadian Poems and Lays*, edited by W. D. LIDTHALE, M.A., of Montreal (London: Walter Scott, 1893; 1s.). A dainty little volume of selected poetry by Canadian authors, arranged under nine distinct heads, illustrative of Canadian national life and aspirations, Canadian history and scenery, Canadian sports and seasons. The versification throughout is as correct, varied and charming as the subject matter. The beautiful ballad form lies side by side with lordly Spenserian stanzas and the nervous long measure rendered familiar in Macaulay's Lays of Ancient Rome. The double nationality with its double history is well and justly reflected, as is also the blending of the two together in the new spirit of the united nation, loyal and true to British Imperialism. At pages 8 and 9 is a stirring popular song, of which we quote the concluding verse:

"O triune kingdom of the brave,
O Sea-girt Island of the free,
O Empire of the land and wave,
Our hearts, our hands are all for thee.
Stand, Canadians, firmly stand
Round the flag of Fatherland."

Our readers will appreciate the poetic spirit and sentiment of this little gem from p. 120:

"O light canoe! where dost thou glide?
Below thee gleams no silvered tide,
But concave heaven's chiefest pride."

Above thee burns Eve's rosy bar;
 Below thee throbs her darling star;
 Deep 'neath thy keel her round worlds are!
 Above, below, O sweet surprise!
 To gladden happy lovers' eyes:—
 No earth, no wave,—all jewelled skies!"

We strongly recommend this charming collection of beautiful poems.

13. *The Story of a Dacoity*, etc., by G. K. BETHAM (London: W. H. Allen, 1893; 6s.). This book consists of two parts. The first relates, in a graphic and pleasant style, a tale of Indian life—fortunately of rare occurrence—the night attack by robbers on a village head-man's house, attended with unusual and harrowing fatalities,—the tracing of the murderous outrage to its actors and abettors,—their pursuit, capture, and execution. The characters are well drawn, and the narrative spirited and smooth. The second part describes the gaieties into which most Indian stations break out, at least once a year, when dances and dinners, races and athletic sports reign, amid some flirting and much merriment. Here too the narrative is graphic and good; and though it lacks the excitement of the dacoity story, it presents a well-drawn picture of Anglo-Indian life. The whole is a pleasant and interesting book. Publishers should remember that books on India require the revision of their proofs by competent readers. Here we are treated to: "Tricfinopoly," and "Sahib-yok," "fines (ficus) Indica," "maidan"; and so on. These might pass; but the unconscious use of an improper Hindustani word on page 258 should be rectified at once.

14. *Parthia*, by PROF. GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A., F.R.G.S. (London: T. Fisher Unwin; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1893; 5s.). This new volume,—the 34th of the *Story of the Nations* Series which is doing good work in popularizing ancient History in detail—is worthy of a place in the Series, and worthy of the high reputation of its author. A good map of Ancient Parthia and its surrounding countries accompanies the work, with several illustrations, especially of Parthian coins. Prof. Rawlinson first gives the geography of Parthia and its surroundings, and what is known of the ethnography of the people, whom he decides to belong to the Turanian race. Then he correctly traces their history in a clear, and pleasant style, through all its vicissitudes, from after the death of Alexander, its contests with its Seleucid, Bactrian and Armenian neighbours, and its wars with the Romans, to its downfall from a revolt of the Persians, under Artaxerxes. The last chapter—Parthian Art, Religion and Customs—forms a most interesting portion of a wholly interesting work, which, with the other publications of which it forms a part, we can sincerely recommend.

15. *Hindustani as it Ought to be Spoken*, by J. TWEEDIE, Beng. C.S., 2nd Ed. (Calcutta and London: Thacker and Co., 1893; 6s.). We are glad to welcome anything which is at all likely to help the study of Oriental languages. In this work, the last 225 pages consist of a double vocabulary, English-Hindustani and *vice versa*. Of the first 100 pages, no small part is made up of columns of words with their meanings, which the author, in his preface, tells us, one must learn. We hope not; otherwise he will learn much that is not Hindustani at all:—Barun (brown), Kauch (Couch), names

of European wines and articles of clothing, etc., which one wonders to find in such a book. Glancing at random, we find numerous mistakes:—*Hisaab likhna* for *doing* accounts, p. 24; *cha, e* for *Cha*, p. 12; *chiz sab* for furniture; *ghusl* for bath; several names of months and days at p. 66; and several ordinals at p. 103. Even the vocabularies are not trustworthy: firmness is not *sakhti*, and *Aru* is a better word for peach than *Shahtalu*.

16. *Etudes économiques sur la république de Nicaragua, par Desiré Pector* (Neuchâtel, 1893), is a detailed report on this Central American State, containing useful and reliable information on its geography, politics and commercial statistics, very important for intending emigrants and investors, and interesting to the general reader.

17. *The Great Palace of Constantinople*, by DR. A. G. PASPATES (London and Paisley: Alexander Gardener, 1893; 10s. 6d.). Mr. William Metcalfe presents us with an excellent translation, from the modern Greek, of the erudite work of the lamented Dr. Paspates. The stout 8vo. volume, accompanied by a map showing the position of the ancient buildings, is of commanding interest to archaeologists and, though in a less degree, to readers and students of Byzantine history, which it enables us now to study more clearly by the assignment of localities, that were hitherto little more than mere names. Personal observations and excavations, where practicable, have been supplemented by a rare familiarity with Byzantine writers, whose works have been exhaustively studied for topographical references; and though these works are at times vague and even contradictory, their collation has enabled the erudite author to fix, at least approximately, the sites of most of the places mentioned in Byzantine history. He follows in the main Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Yet studying the text side by side with the map, we cannot but see that a great deal is guess-work and does not quite tally with the description quoted—take, as an instance, the Hall of the Pearl, p. 216. It is not to be expected that one author alone could fix definitely, in one effort, the position of buildings of which all traces are either completely lost, or the sites are covered with modern abominations. Students of Roman Topography will understand the difficulty; and hence we are all the more grateful to Dr. Paspates and his translator for the present attempt, successful as it is almost beyond all hope.

18. *Chips by an Old Chum* (London: Cassell and Co., 1893; 1s.) is a light and airy sketch of the author's experiences in Australia, some 40 years ago. Things have, of course, changed greatly in the meantime; and the Australia here described can no more be a guide to the colony at the present time, than it can be to ancient Britain; but it is a clear and detailed account of life in Australia in the olden days; and as the author tried town and country life and gold-digging, there is much variety as well as interest in the 94 pages of this well got-up little work.

19. *The Spoilt Child*, by PEARY CHAND MITTER (Calcutta and London: Thacker and Co., 1893; 4s. 6d.). Mr. Oswell has done well in presenting the English reader with a genuine Bengali novel, written by a Bengali and dealing with Bengali life. Almost all the characters are natives of India, of various castes, religions and states of life. The story is meant to show the evil of excessive parental love, which, by indulging every whim and

neglecting to punish, forms that very common evil in India,—a spoilt child. The incidents narrated by the author are good, the tale is full of interest and is well told. Being a didactic tale, however, it, as a matter of course, is rather prosy and goody-goody. Its chief merit consists in the insight which it gives into native manners of life and thought—generally unknown quantities to most Europeans. The translator has done his part well, though there is an occasional slip, as at p. 152, when the visitor snaps his fingers when Matilal *sighs*—a practice with Hindus, when one *yawns*. The book is well got up; and we recommend it to our readers as one in which they will find much interest and amusement.

20. From Messrs. C. J. Clay we have received Book VIII. of *Herodotus*, with an introduction and notes by E. S. SHUCKBURGH, M.A. (Cambridge: University Press; London: C. J. Clay, 1893; 4s.). This volume fully maintains the character of the well-known and justly admired Pitt Press Series. Mr. Shuckburgh's notes are both numerous and good, and the Geographical and Historical Index is both full and valuable.

21. *A Short History of China*, by DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER (London: W. H. Allen and Co., 1893; 12s. 6d.). Mr. Boulger's larger History of China is favourably known; and this shorter one, which, as he tells us, is more than a mere abridgment of the former, is a book we can recommend to those of our readers, who wish to form a correct idea of the present condition and government of the great Eastern Empire. Ten pages—and quite enough—dispose of the semi-mythical history of the centuries before our era; the next 24 pages bring us nearly to the close of the viiith century A.D., when we reach more trustworthy sources of knowledge; and 12 more pages land us at the Mongol conquest in the xiiith century. The character and deeds of Genghiz Khan are well commented on at pp. 54—56. The Manchu conquest brings us to p. 125; and in the remaining 294 pages, Mr. Boulger treats, in increasing detail, the modern history of China; and more than half the volume deals with the present century. The decline of the Manchu power, the increasing contact with foreigners, the wars and troubles resulting therefrom, the military operations and rebellions that ensued, are all given in good order and proportion. Nor are the internal affairs of the Empire, its intricate system of government and policy, so unintelligible to the ordinary Western reader, neglected: all these points are brought down to date and are treated fairly and impartially. A chronological table of the dynasties and emperors, and, as an appendix, the texts of various treaties between England and China complete a very useful and well-written book. There are blemishes which few works are quite free from. At p. 12, Mr. Boulger who ought to know better repeats the shocking bad character given to Lucrezia Borgia chiefly by Victor Hugo—a character unknown to her good and faithful people of Ferrara. He often calls the Chinese troops opposed to the Taipings the "ever victorious army," forgetting that the name applied to them only after Gordon assumed their direction; and this misnomer is used even on the page where he himself records their defeat. Matteo Ricci, the well-known Jesuit Astronomer, becomes an astrologer at p. 101. The diction, too, is at times prolix, and often capable of useful condensation. But on the whole Mr. Boulger gives

us a very readable and exact history, in which we note as a special characteristic, the justice with which he apportions blame, where blame is due, to the foreigners who have themselves pretty often caused that very hatred of the Chinese which they then decry. Instances will be found at pp. 100, 160, 248, etc. There is a useful map; and the work is an excellent book of reference for Libraries.

22. *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al Medinah and Meccah*, by CAPTAIN SIR RICHARD BURTON, 2 vols. (London: Tylston and Edwards, 1893; 12s.). Lady Burton has undertaken to issue, as a memorial to her late husband, a new edition of his works, at reasonable prices; and Messrs. Tylston and Edwards here give us the first instalment, in a re-issue of perhaps the best known and most popular of Burton's many writings. The two volumes are excellently got up, with the illustrations and maps well executed, and give a good earnest of the rest of Burton's works being made easily accessible to the general reader, in a very creditable form. Of the book itself, but little need be said here as a recommendation, as it had already reached a fourth edition before the author's death. The incidents of a journey, as daringly planned as it was perseveringly and ably conducted, are graphically set down; the author's notes of manners and customs are of the deepest interest; and Burton's many great and good qualities shine forth very prominently. The sustained pretence of being a Muhammadan when he was not, is a matter for more condemnation than it has met with. Many will agree that no amount of knowledge acquired or information procured can compensate for the moral evil done by travestying things sacred for profane purposes. Of course this pretence of being a Musulman reduced considerably both the difficulty and the danger of the undertaking, though we have no intention of derogating from the one or the other. Burton went as an Afghan Muhammadan; and we doubt whether there would have been any more danger for one who professed to be an English or a French Muhammadan. Worthy of all admiration are his talent for disguise, his powers of observation, his readiness in difficulty, his perseverance, tact, endurance and energy which have procured to the world so deeply interesting a narrative of a journey through countries and a description of places which had been till his visit almost—but not quite—a sealed book to the West. Our readers will peruse, with pleasure, even if it be not for the first time, Sir Richard's visit to the Hejjaz.

23. *The Life of Sir R. F. Burton, K.C.M.G.*, by his wife (LADY) ISABEL BURTON; 2 vols. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1893; 42s.). These two very bulky volumes, which reflect every credit on the publishers, contain a most elaborate and detailed account of their hero, with copious extracts from his writings published and unpublished, the whole of his own autobiography, and a good deal of Lady Burton's additions, explanations and *excursus*. The result, though heavy and tiresome to read, is a perfect picture of Sir Richard, with all his gifts and all his defects. Not that Lady Burton ever could see any defect in him: to her he was, most excusably, the one man created while all others only grew. But in her blind adoration, she has given much which a more judicious biographer would have omitted; and her indiscriminating publication of all that she can recall of

his words and deeds, presents us the man as he really was : strong-minded, strong-bodied and learned in many oriental tongues ; passionâte, pushing, plucky and persevering ; headstrong, venturesome, obstinate and eccentric ; lively, jovial, and highspirited ; a good friend and a bitter enemy : an excellent writer, a daring traveller, a successful explorer ; self-opinionated, if not vain ; with many fine qualities and great gifts, but also with no small defects. What Lady Burton says of the Press writers, that the Burton of their ideas was not the real Burton at all, but a man she had never seen or known (ii. p. 409) is true of herself. From the puerilities related of her first seeing him (i. p. 166) to the moment of going to press with her book, she has worshipped before an ideal idol, unable to see the reality before her ; and so far as her biography goes, the Nile, for him and of course for her, really issues out of the Tanganyika Lake, which Burton discovered ! It goes without saying that Sir Richard's Biography in Lady Burton's hands becomes also a concurrent biography of Lady Burton ; that in trying unconsciously to paint him in false colours, she unwittingly shows more of his nature than the most skilful painter could have done ; and that her own character is laid bare before the reader of her pages as plainly as that of her husband. There is a good deal of unnecessary padding—e.g., long pages of extracts from his published works, extracts from his diary having no connexion with his life (as the Casa Micciola earthquake and other things at ii. p. 253) ; absurd details such as doses of medicine administered and their effects, newspaper extracts, and the like. Far more serious faults are the attempts to lower the characters of well-known men, whether because Burton disliked them, or came into contrast with them, as the great Outram, W. G. Palgrave, Speke, Grant, Sir W. Williams of Kars, Monsignor Valerga, etc. Lady Burton's book, full of blemishes as a mere literary production and a conventional biography, is a perfect reproduction of her husband (and of herself), and as such is all the more interesting to read, as it is invaluable for acquiring a thorough knowledge of a remarkable and distinguished man, who is a profitable subject for study, if we admit that "The greatest study of mankind is man."

24. *The Chronicles of Budgepore*, by ILLUDUS PRITCHARD, F.S.S., F.R.G.S. (London : H. Allen and Co., 1893, 6s.). We welcome this new edition of a book which excited much attention and did much good at its first appearance. The facile and graceful pen of the sometime editor of the *Delhi Gazette* not only charmingly describes the varied phases of Anglo-Indian life, but records also the evils of some workings of the Indian departmental service and especially the condition of our courts of justice and administration where the European officers are so completely under the thumb of their native officials or *Amla*, that they see and hear only with the latter's eyes and ears. Many things have changed since these *Chronicles* were first published at Agra ; but we have no reason for thinking that India has changed in this last particular. On the contrary, the throwing open of the service to natives under the competitive system often brings forward to even more prominent positions and places in more influence and power classes of Indians who, except in the matter of knowing English, are utterly unfitted to govern or even to help in governing. The

amount of injustice and oppression resulting from the old system and if possible now aggravated under the new development may be seen and guessed in the lively pages of Mr. Pritchard, who, as a practising Barrister in the Indian courts, was much behind the scenes, and, known to be unconnected with the Government, allowed to see and hear much which most Europeans resident in India little dream of. His *Chronicles* pass from grave to gay and from sad to amusing; red tape and official routine, strict integrity and false accusations, absurd schemes and laughable occurrences, incredible folly and horrible injustice pass before the eyes of the reader in a long and brilliant array of varying incidents. The book is of equal value both to those who know India and those who do not.

25. *Abridgment of the History of India*, by J. C. MARSHMAN, C.S.I. (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1893; 6s.). We welcome this abridgment of Marshman's well-known and much valued work, very neatly published in one handy volume. The early and the Muhammadan periods have been condensed, while the British epoch, as of much greater importance, has been expanded into fuller detail. It forms an accurate History of India, for reference regarding leading events, notable persons and important circumstances, from the earliest times to the assumption of the Government of India by the Crown directly. A subsequent section gives in 30 pages a summary of events from 1858 to 1891—appropriately concluding with the last census. Very unaccountably the date of 27th March 1893 is placed immediately after the statement that the Imperial census was taken "this year"!

26. *The Indian Mutiny: Selections from State Papers*, edited by G. W. FORREST, B.A., Vol. I. (Calcutta: Military Dept. Press, 1893). Mr. Forrest is so well known for his painstaking and judicious selections from the records of the Government of India, over which he so ably and diligently presides as Director, that we need only say here that this volume—the first of a series to follow—is well worthy of his high reputation. The Series is to present to the public all the available State papers relating to the Mutiny. He has divided the mighty mass into three classes; and the present volume gives us the first of these, relating to the Barrackpur, Berhampur, Meerut and Delhi revolts, down to the capture of the last named city. We have not space except for a brief review of this bulky book—pp. 493 + clviii + ci. The introduction gives an admirably clear and succinct account of the events till the capture of Delhi; but a few corrections are needed. At the Cashmere gate (p. 25) there was no "long" drawbridge; for it crossed only the moat, here but a few feet wide. Some Christians were left unmolested in Delhi (p. 30), mostly belonging to families that had served previous emperors. The Kussauli range does not rise abruptly from the plains (p. 32), but lies beyond the Sewalik ridge. A far more important mistake is that of decrying Lord Lawrence's advice of pushing straight for Delhi, and saying it must have led to disaster, forgetful of the fact that it was the delay in the attack which gave strength to the defence. The selection of papers is very good, and besides some new matter, furnishes most interesting details of the Siege of Delhi; but the chief interest centres naturally round the vexed question of the cartridges.

Regarding this we note first that more information is required: why, for instance, are we not given the papers on which the Governor General's minute of the 27th March 1857 was based, p. 88: "Enquiry was immediately made as to the composition of the grease. The tallow used had been supplied by a contractor, and it was ascertained that no sufficient precautions had been taken in the Arsenal to ensure the absence in it of all matter which might be objectionable to the Sepoys." The only other paper bearing on this point is the rather off-hand D.O. of Col. A. Abbott, C.B., Inspector General of Ordnance, given at pp. 3 and 4: "I hear that objection has been made by the Sepoys to use the cartridges . . . because one end is . . . greasy. It is absolutely necessary that grease should be used. . . . It was of coconut oil and bees wax. The present grease is tallow. I think that a committee should decide what grease should be employed." Surely there is more than this in the Indian archives. In fact, our impression is strengthened that, no matter how much designing malcontents may have utilized the feeling to provoke a rebellion, the chief and in truth the only thing that drove the soldiers to a mutiny was the supposed attack on their caste and religious system. General Hearsey seems to have been the only one to understand from the beginning that more than the Sepoys themselves were concerned in the matter; and that even when they became convinced that the cartridges were innocent of all pollution, they still could not use them so long as their relatives and friends all over India, were persuaded that their use entailed loss of caste. Mr. Forrest fails to see this even now; for at p. 6 he says: "Concessions made to the murmurs and threats of an ignorant race only increase their perversity and folly." Should we then act on the principle that when the culpable folly of a few officers, as in 1857, has excited a universal fear of religious interference, we should do nothing to allay it? Who can say if Abbott and his assistants had been dismissed with ignominy from the service, and a plain straightforward proclamation been made to all India, the mutiny would not have been averted? Mr. Forrest's own pages show that the Sepoys literally had no other grievance; that, to the last, they continued subordinate and respectful; and that only the blindness of the Government in failing to see that they had to deal with the public opinion of India, even more than with the demands of the Sepoys, forced the reluctant soldiery to their fatal act. When the 19th Regiment was disbanded, in the General Order read at that sad parade, there is some very vague generality, but no categorical denial of an attempt to tamper with the caste of the men. The disbanding, moreover, was about the best means that could have been adopted for spreading the evil. Had General Hearsey and Major J. Bontein's recommendations been followed in place of the ignorant and shortsighted ideas of higher placed officials, much evil might have been avoided. The book is sure to be studied with the greatest care, and will be read with the deepest interest; for not only has lapse of time failed to lessen the captivating grasp of the story of the Indian Mutiny, but the papers here given both show more clearly its inner working, and convey lessons of care and caution in the details of administration which our officers, both Civil and Military, in India will do well to keep in mind. In England the book can be got at the India Office.

27. *A Practical Arabic Grammar*, Part I., compiled by MAJOR A. O. GREEN, R.E., 3rd edition (Oxford: The Clarendon Press). The circumstance that this Grammar should, in so short a time have passed through a third edition, would lead one to suppose that it is a work of great excellence. No doubt, the book has its sphere of usefulness, but otherwise we have not been able to discover anything very remarkable in it. If this Grammar reaches a fourth edition the following corrections should, we think, be made: Page 5, No. 11—*ا* is not a servile letter; p. 10, Lesson 2, in as much as there is nothing more regular in the Arabic language than the feminines of Adjectives denoting *colour*, it is absurd to call this an *irregular* formation; on the same page *لني* with *ي* is a blunder and so is *كنتي* on page 14; p. 20, *واسع* cannot form its plural *واسعين*; p. 22, *مكة* is *مكة*, with Kasra not Damma, the same on p. 23 *جراش* should have the Kasra and no Damma. P. 27 *بلد* is not a village, but a town. p. 64 "illustrious" is *مجدد* not *مجدد*. P. 120, 172, the *م* is also regularly changed into *د* after *ن* and *ز* *اندكره* and *ازداني*; this should have been mentioned. P. 120, the form *اعل* is used to express any quality which is very conspicuous, especially colour or distortion, so *اسود* is to become *intensely* black, not merely to become black.

28. *English Arabic Vocabulary*, by LIEUT.-COLONEL E. V. STACE, C.B. (London: Bernard Quaritch), 218 pp., 8vo. The author of this vocabulary takes pains to impress upon his readers that he is treating of *colloquial* and not *classical* Arabic, as if the former were not, at least three-fourths, in perfect accord with classical usage. To accentuate, no doubt, as much as possible the difference supposed to exist between so called *colloquial* and *classical* Arabic, the author carefully registers in his vocabulary the vulgarest and lowest expressions in preference to more refined—though not less *colloquial* terms—whenever he has the choice. It appears from a perusal of this book that the charmed circle of true colloquialism is somewhat narrow in *Aden*, for the following words seem to be unknown there, or perhaps the author has purposely omitted them on account of their *classical* associations: absent from Colonel Stace's colloquial vocabulary is the word *Heaven*—but *Hell* is well represented by three incisive Arabic words, all, no doubt, thoroughly in use. *Mosque*, *Synagogue* and *Church* are also, it seems, words that it is unnecessary to know in *Aden* Society. But what may be considered their opposites are conscientiously registered in the compilation before us. *Prophet*, *Priest* and *Apostle* are omitted but *Missionary* figures and so do useful words like *Intriguer*, *Pimp*, etc. *Moslem*, *Christian* and *Jew* are left unmentioned in these select colloquial leaves, as the author probably found that the term "*Infidel*" takes the place, in common parlance, of these three words. We believe the work aims at some completeness for we find an out-of-the-way word with an out-of-the-way spelling, to wit, "*hicklady-pickledy*." We wish the student joy in his study of this vocabulary; if eminently successful, he may in time aspire to rival the language of an Arab menial. The plan of the author of illustrating the use of words by short phrases is excellent.

29. *Village Communities*, by SIR H. MAINE (London: John Murray).

We are glad to see a new edition of this standard work. The excellence of the former edition has, it appears, left no room for improvement in the new issue.

30. *سورة الاحقاف Sawāṭi' Al Iḥdām* (Radiant Inspiration). This bulky volume issued from the famous Nawul Kishore Press, Lucknow, is a commentary on the Qurān written by Abul Feid Feidi in the year 1582 A.D. A lengthy prologue and a piece of poetry introduce the work, which is distinguished by the peculiarity that the author has throughout restricted himself to words which are composed of "unpointed" letters, thus omitting one half of the letters composing the Arabic Alphabet. It goes without saying that the commentary is, in consequence, to be regarded chiefly as a curiosity and as a valuable collection of obsolete words and difficult constructions.

31. *The Wisdom of Naushirwan the Just*—commonly called *Tauqiyat-i-Kisrawiya* (Lucknow, Nawul Kishore Press, 1892). Students of Persian will feel grateful to Mr. W. Young, B.A., C.S.I., for having edited, transliterated and translated this most interesting, though somewhat difficult work; the book reflects credit alike on the editor and the publisher.

32. *Krypto-Monotheismus in den Religionen der Alten Chinesen und anderer Völker von FERD. ADALBERT JUNKER VON LANGE* (Wilhelm Engelmann, Leipzig; and Williams and Norgate, London). This is an exceedingly interesting book on the consistent Monotheism hidden in Oriental religions—chiefly that of the Ancient Chinese—discoverable by esoteric inquiry and research into the sacred religious books and traditions that are available to the student of Comparative Religion. The learned author was principally stimulated to these inquiries by travels in the East and association with indigenous Oriental scholars—who, after all, generally possess a more accurate knowledge of their respective religions than their European critics at home, who often do not even know the language in which any particular form of religious belief, on which they pose as authorities, is expressed.

The book before us treats of a vast subject into which considerations of space do not permit us here to enter; we must content ourselves with recommending its perusal to all whose studies lie in this direction. The chapter on Zoroastrian "supposed" dualism, but real monotheism, is especially interesting though it is, perhaps, not so thorough and accurate as other chapters are.

33. The latest addition to the series of works, issued under the distinguished editorship of Kari Dziatzko of Göttingen, on Bibliography and the collection of books, is a booklet by the editor, sent to us by the publisher M. Spigatis of Leipzig, on the development and present state of Scientific libraries in Germany (*Entwicklung und gegenwärtiger Stand der wissenschaftlichen Bibliotheken Deutschlands*). The historical portion of the little work is much more interesting than what might be supposed from the title.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

WE have on our table: *Journal of the United Service Institution of India* (Simla Times Press, May, 1893), containing a very full and interesting geography of Russian Turkestan, by N. V. Ostroumoff, translated by Lt. E. Peach; *A Dream, and other poems*, by Hafid (Madras: Srinavasa, Vavadachari, 1893)—three little poems in rhyme preceded by a long dream, apparently symbolic, in blank verse; *Annual report of the Reformatory School at Yerrowda for 1892* (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1893, 4 as.), an institution with just over 100 inmates, where we note that the mark system has been introduced with good effect; *The Tracing Board in Modern Oriental and Medieval Operative Masonry*, by C. Purdon Clarke, C.I.E. (Margate: Kebles Gazette Office, 1893), a learned technical discussion printed in 4to. with 6 full page illustrations; *The Allahabad Review* (Church Mission Press, July, 1893), by M. Hamidullah, Barrister-at-law, in English and Urdu; *The Currency Question*, by the Right Hon. A. J. Balfour, M.P. (London: E. Wilson and Co.; Manchester: J. E. Cornish, 1893), a very good statement of Bimetallism, but leaving unexplained why the Conservative Party have taken up an attitude of opposition against the closing of the Indian mints to free coinage of silver at the goodwill of any importer; *Bostan-i-Khiyal*—بوستان خیال (Lucknow: Nawul Kishore Press, 2 vols.).

WE beg to acknowledge, with thanks, the following works: 1. *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid* (Fortenot), among the articles of which, always valuable, are the continuation of the history of Gibraltar since 1779 and an interesting note on Andrew de Morales and his observations on Ocean-currents at the close of the 15th century; 2. *Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute, 1892-93*, by the Secretary, where British Federation, New Guinea, British Guiana, Australia, and British Columbia are discussed in addition to much other matter, including Mr. F. C. Sellous' Incidents of a Hunter's Life in S. Africa; 3. *The Geographical Journal*, January to June, 1893 (London, E. Stanford), which among the usual details regarding the Royal Geographical Society contains, as matter of great special interest for our readers, Mr. W. M. Conway's *Hesper Pass*, C. Hore's journey in Borneo, F. C. Sellous' South Africa, Captain Bowers' Across Thibet, E. A. Floyer's Routes in the deserts of Egypt, and Alfred Sharpe's Central African Explorations; 4. *La Civiltà Cattolica*, containing among other articles the continuation of Fr. de Caras' Hittites, and of the Historical novel "The Day after the Deluge," which grows in interest; 5. *The Contemporary Review* (London, Isbister and Co.); 6. *The National Review* (London, W. H. Allen and Co.); 7. *La Minerva* (Roma, Società Laziare), a monthly extract from English and other Reviews; 8. *Biblia*, the New York monthly Biblical and Oriental Magazine; 9. *La Polybiblion* (Paris: Rue St. Simon); 10. *The Review of Reviews* (London); 11. *The Strand Magazine* and 12. *The Picture Magazine*, both of which are excellent; 13. *The Religious Review of Reviews* (London: Catherine Street); 14. *The Missionary Review of Reviews*, New York: Funk and Wagnalls; 15. *La Revue des Revues* (Paris); 16. *La Revue Générale* (Bruxelles: Société Belge de Librairie); 17. *The Library Review* (London:

Hutchinson and Co.); 18. *The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable); 19. *Tung Pao*, the Leyden bi-monthly Chinese magazine (E. J. Brill); 20. *Comptes-Rendus de la Société de Géographie* (Paris); 21. *Lucifer* (London); 22. *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*; 23. *The Antiquary* (London: Elliot Stock); 24. *The American Journal of Philology* (Baltimore); 25. *The Royal Scottish Geographical Society's Magazine* (Edinburgh); 26. *Le Bulletin des Sommaires* (Paris), and 27. *La Marine et les Colonies* (Paris); 28. *Journal of the Society of Arts* (London); 29. *Public Opinion* (Washington and New York); 30. *Public Opinion* (London); 31. *Ueber Land und Meer* (Stuttgart); 32. *India*, the organ of the Indian National Congress.

We have just (20th Sept.) received from Messrs. W. H. Allen and Co., H. G. Keene's *History of India*, 2 vols.; and from Messrs. Thacker and Co., May Edwood's *Autobiography of a Spin*; they will be duly noticed in our next issue. Messrs. W. H. Allen have just favoured us with a copy of "the Dictionary of Islām" by the Rev. T. P. Hughes, to which we hope to devote a special review in our next issue.



(3) *End*





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